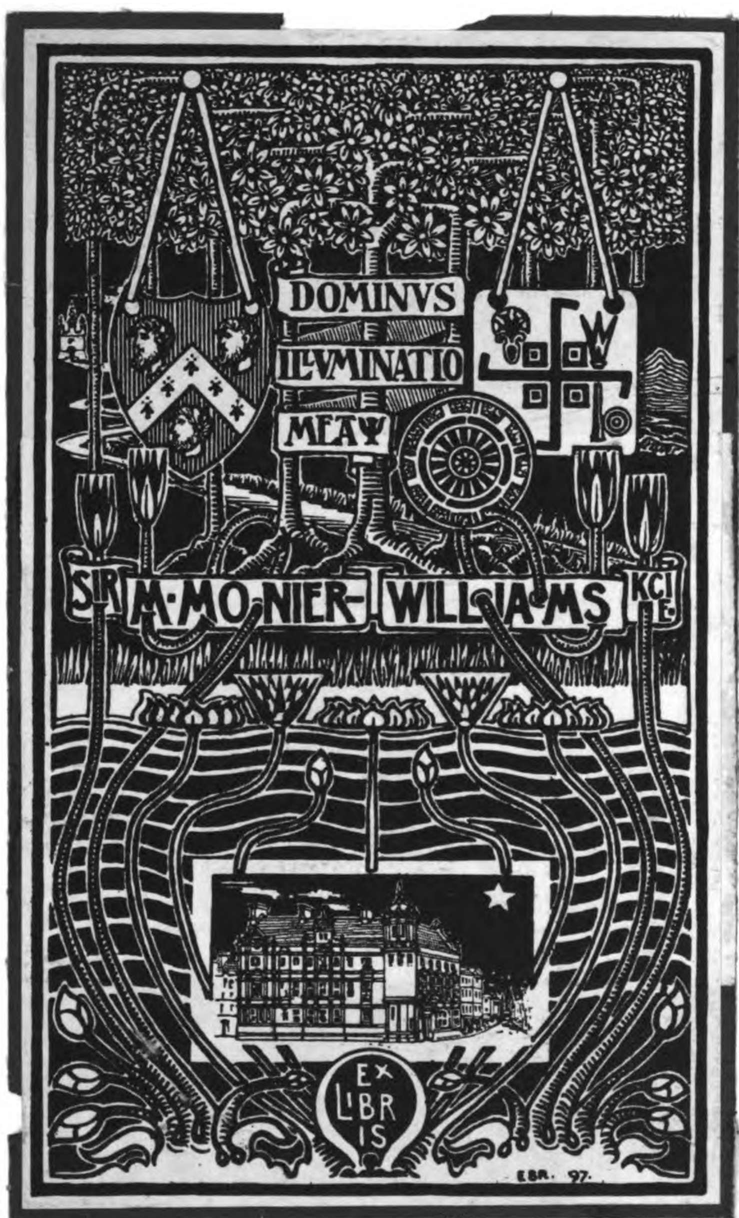
Indian caste

John Wilson


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INDIAN CASTE.

BY THE LATE

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

VOL. II. is bound up with this

See page 451.

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NOTE.

WHEN Dr. Wilson died in December 1875, he left no instructions as to the future disposal of the work on *Caste* on which he had been engaged at intervals for the last twenty years of his life. A cursory inspection of the vast mass of papers which Dr. Wilson left led me to hope that ample material existed for a continuation of the work, if not for its absolute completion. Accordingly, after a delay caused by the necessity of going through all the papers for purposes connected with the winding up of the Estate, all those that seemed to appertain to Dr. Wilson's literary activity were sent to Mr. Andrew Wilson, into whose hands the task of completing the Book from material existing in manuscript would naturally have fallen. But the result of a careful investigation was to satisfy the family that nothing would be gained by attempting to add materially to the work as Dr. Wilson left it; and, accordingly, I was requested to have it brought out without further delay.

Dr. Wilson had finally corrected the whole of the first volume of the work, and the second volume as far as the end of page 184. The material for pp. 184-228 of the second volume, completing the account of the Brahmanical castes, existed partly in type, partly in manuscript. But these pages were not revised by the Author.

I should perhaps mention that a portion of the first volume has been in type since 1857.

An index of names and the more important subjects has been added.

PETER PETERSON, M.A.

Elphinstone College,
1*st October*, 1877.

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INDIAN CASTE.

PART FIRST.—WHAT CASTE IS.

I.—Introductory Remarks.

Pride of ancestry, of family and personal position and occupation, and of religious pre-eminence, which, as will be immediately seen, is the grand characteristic of "Caste," is not peculiar to India. Nations and peoples, as well as individuals, have in all countries, in all ages, and at all times, been prone to take exaggerated views of their own importance, and to claim for themselves a natural and historical and social superiority to which they have had no adequate title. That spirit which led many of the olden tribes of men to consider their progenitors as the direct offspring of the soil on which they trode, as the children of the sun moon and other heavenly bodies in whose light they rejoiced, or as the procreations or manifestations of the imaginary personal gods whom they worshipped, has been very extensive in its influence throughout the world. The higher communities and classes of men, ungrateful to Providence for their advantages when real, have often looked with contempt and disdain on the lower; while the lower have looked with envy, jealousy, and depreciation on the higher. Comparatively few individuals, indeed,

except under the liberalizing and purifying influences of our holy faith, have been able sincerely to adopt the language of the Roman poet,

> Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco;*

or of the Roman orator, "Quanto superiores sumus, tanto nos geramus submissius."† Who maketh us to differ? and what are the responsibilities of our respective positions? have been questions but seldom put and made the subject of distinct recognition. The existence of a common brotherhood in the human family, and the practice of a common sympathy and succour, have by the majority of men been grievously overlooked. Tyranny and mischief and cruelty have been most extensively the consequence of antisocial presumption and pretension. The constant experience of the general observer of human nature has been not unlike that of the Hebrew sage, Agur, the son of Jakeh:

> There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes,
> And yet is not washed from their filthiness.
> There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes!
> And their eyelids are lifted up.
> There is a generation whose teeth are as swords,
> And their jaw-teeth as knives,
> To devour the poor from off the earth,
> And the needy from among men.‡

It is among the HINDUS, however, that the imagina-

* For descent and lineage, and the things which we ourselves have not accomplished: these I scarcely call our own. Ovid.

† The loftier that we really are, the more humbly let us conduct ourselves. Quintilian.

‡ Prov. xxx. 12-14.

tion of natural and positive distinctions in humanity has been brought to the most fearful and pernicious development ever exhibited on the face of the globe. The doctrine and practice of what is called CASTE, as held and observed by this people, has been only dimly shadowed by the worst social arrangements which were of old to be witnessed among the proudest nations and among the proudest orders of men in these nations. The Egyptians, who, according to Herodotus, considered themselves "the most ancient of all nations," and who are described by him as "excessively religious beyond any other people," and "too much addicted to their ancestorial customs to adopt any other,"* most nearly approached them in their national and family pretensions, and the privilege and customs of priests and people viewed in reference both to descent and occupation; but in the multitude, diversity, complication, and burdensomeness of their religious and social distinctions, the Hindus have left the Egyptians far behind. Indian Caste is the condensation of all the pride, jealousy, and tyranny of an ancient and predominant people dealing with the tribes which they have subjected, and over which they have ruled, often without the sympathies of a recognized common humanity. It is the offspring of extraordinary exaggeration and mystification, and of all the false speculation and religious scrupulosity of a great country undergoing unwonted processes of degeneration and corruption. It is now the soul as well as the body of Hinduism.† More than anything that ever came within

* Herodot. Euterp.

† This is admitted by the natives of India. E. g., Gangádhar Shástri Phaḍaké, in the Hindu-Dharma Tatva (p. 76), says या भरतखंडात

the sphere of the observation of our own great poet, Shakespeare, it is

> "That monster Custom, who all sense doth eat
> Of habits devil."

It is dishonouring alike to the Creator of man, and injurious to man the creature. It is emphatically the curse of India and the parent of India's woes. It is the great enemy of enlightenment and improvement and advancement in India. It is the grand obstacle to the triumphs of the Gospel of peace in India. Its evil doings of late, it is not too bold to say, have moved earth below and heaven above and hell beneath. With its terrible deeds before us proclaiming its hate and power, attention may well be bestowed on its origin, developments, character, and results, and on our own duty with respect to its continued influence on Indian society.

II.—The Meaning, Sphere, Authority, and Symbols of Caste.

Caste is not an Indian word. Its original form, *casta*, belongs to the Portuguese, by whom it was ordinarily used among themselves to express "cast," "mould," "race," "kind," and "quality." It was applied by the Portuguese, when they first arrived in the East, to designate the peculiar system of religious and social distinc-*

* हे जातिभेद आहेत या योगाने हा हिंदुधर्म फार सुरक्षित राहिला आहे....हे जातिभेद हा हिंदुधर्माचा मुख्य पाया आहे; हा ज्या काळीं ढांसळेल त्या काळीं निखालस हिंदुधर्म बुडेल यांत संशय नाहीं:—It is by means of these Caste distinctions that in the Bharatkhanda the Hindu religion has been so well preserved.... These Caste distinctions are the chief support of the Hindu religion; when it (this support) gives way there can be no doubt that the Hindu religion will sink to destruction.

tions which they observed among the Hindu people, particularly as founded on race.* The Indian word which partially corresponds with Caste is *Játi*, equivalent to the Latin *gens*, (in the inflected form *gent*—) and Greek γένος, "race or nation;" while *Játi-bheda*, the representative of the foundations of the caste-system, means the "distinctions of race *(gentis discrimina.)*" *Varna*, another word used for it by the Hindus, originally meant a difference in "colour." Gradually these Indian words, conveniently rendered by CASTE, have come to represent not only varieties of race and colour, but every original, hereditary, religious, instituted, and conventional distinction which it is possible to imagine. Caste has its peculiar recognitions,—though of a discordant character,—of creation, formation, constitution, and birth, in all varieties of existence and life, whether vegetable, brutal, human, or superhuman. It gives its directions for recognition, acceptance, consecration, and sacramental dedication, and *vice versâ*, of a human being on his appearance in the world. It has for infancy, pupilage, and manhood, its ordained methods of sucking, sipping, drinking, eating, and voiding; of washing, rinsing, anointing, and smearing; of clothing, dressing, and ornamenting; of sitting,

* Thus, in describing the people of Malabar, Camoens (Lusiad. Cant. VII. 37) says:—

> A lei da gente toda, rica, e pobre
> De fabulas composta se imagina:
> Andam nús, e sómente hum panno cobre
> As partes, que a cobrir natura ensina:
> Dous modos ha de gente; porque a nobre
> Naires chamados são; e a menos dina
> Poleás tem por nome; a quem obriga
> A lei não misturar *a casta antiqua:*

rising, and reclining; of moving, visiting, and travelling; of speaking, reading, listening, and reciting; and of meditating, singing, working, playing, and fighting. It has its laws for social and religious rights, privileges, and occupations; for instructing, training, and educating; for obligation, duty, and practice; for divine recognition, service, and ceremony; for errors, sins, and transgressions; for intercommunion, avoidance, and excommunication; for defilement, ablution, and purification; for fines, chastisements, imprisonments, mutilations, banishments and capital executions. It unfolds the ways of committing what it calls sin, accumulating sin, and of putting away sin; and of acquiring merit, dispensing merit, and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession, and dispossession; and of bargains, gain, loss, and ruin. It deals with death, burial, and burning; and with commemoration, assistance, and injury after death. It interferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows, or what is supposed to precede and follow life. It reigns supreme in the innumerable classes and divisions of the Hindus, whether they originate in family descent, in religious opinions, in civil or sacred occupations, or in local residence; and it professes to regulate all their interests, affairs, and relationships. Caste is the guiding principle of each of the classes and divisions of the Hindus viewed in their distinct or associated capacity. A caste is any of the classes or divisions of Hindu society.

The authority of Caste rests partly on written laws, partly on legendary fables and narratives, partly on verbal tradition, partly on the injunctions of instructors and priests, partly on custom and usage, and partly on the

caprice and convenience of its votaries. "The roots of law," says Manu, "are the whole Veda, the ordinances and observanes of such as perfectly understand it, the immemorial customs of good men, and self-satisfaction." "No doubt that man who shall follow the rules prescribed in the *Shruti* [what was heard, from the Veda] and in the *Smriti* [what was remembered, from the Law] will acquire fame in this life, and in the next inexpressible happiness." "Custom is transcendent law."* The rules, and customs, and prejudices, and breaches, and offences, and concessions, and intermissions, and compromises of Caste are numerous and capricious, and complicated beyond conception. They are constantly characterized by pride and folly, and frequently by wickedness.

Caste has its marks, and signs, and symbols, and symbolical acts, as well as its laws and customs; and very great stress is laid by it on their constant exhibition. The grand index of Hinduism is the tuft of hair on the crown of the head,—called in Sanskrit *chúḍá*, or *shikhá*, in Maráthí *shenḍí*, and in Tamul *kuḍamé*,—which is left there on the performance of the sacrament of tonsure, on the first or third year after birth in the case of the three first classes of the Hindus.† In consequence of this mark, Hinduism is popularly known as the *Shenḍí-dharma*, or religion of the *Shenḍí*.‡ In the eighth year after the conception of a Bráhman (the representative of the priestly class), in the eleventh from that of a prince or *Kshatriya*, and in the twelfth from that of a *Vish* or *Vaishya*, the agriculturist and mer-

* Manu, ii. 6; ii. 9; i. 108. † See Manu, ii. 35.

‡ See Molesworth's Maráthí Dictionary, sub voc.

chant, the investiture with the sacred cord should occur ;* though this sacrament, in the case of these classes particularly eager for its special blessings, may be resorted to by them in their fifth, sixth, or eighth year respectively.† It should never be delayed in the case of a *Bráhman* beyond his sixteenth year; nor in that of a *Kshatriya*, beyond his twenty-second; nor in that of a *Vaishya* beyond his twenty-fourth.‡ This investiture must be hallowed by the communication of the *Gáyatrí*, the verse of the Vedas esteemed most sacred. The parties who neglect it are to be reckoned apostates and outcasts,§ with whom no connexion is to formed either in law or affinity, even by Bráhmans distressed for subsistence. The sacrificial strings of each class have to be formed after a fashion prescribed in the Law Books. Certain orders as to the clothes to be worn, and the staves to be carried, issued as authoritative in ancient times are now in abeyance, though long established custom reigns supreme in these matters. The brow of every Hindu must be marked, at least when he is in a state of ceremonial purity, with various pigments indicative of his particular caste, and sectarial connexions as a worshipper of particular gods and goddesses in their varied forms.‖ These marks are spots and dots and figures of particular size and shape, and lines horizontal and vertical, as the caste regulations may require. An engraving

* Manu, ii. 36. † Manu, ii. 37. ‡ Manu, ii. 38.

§ पतिता व्रात्या. Manu, ii. 39.

‖ "He, who not entitled to distinguishing marks yet lives by wearing such marks, takes to himself the sins of those who are entitled to such marks, and shall be born from the womb of a brute animal." Manu, iv. 200.

illustrative of some of them is given in one of the plates of Moor's Hindu Pantheon. They suggest to a Christian an apt illustration of the figurative expression of the Book of Revelation, the "mark of the beast in the forehead."

III.—Orthodox View of the Four Original Castes of the Hindus.

According to the opinions of the Hindus deemed by them orthodox, the original Castes were four in number,—that of the *Bráhmans*, or priestly class; that of the *Kshatriyas*, or warrior class; that of the *Vaishyas*, or Mercantile and Agricultural class; and that of the *Shúdras*, or Servile Class.

"For the sake of preserving the universe," says Manu, "the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot. To *Bráhmans* he assigned the duties of reading [the Veda], and teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts.* To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read [the Veda], to shun the allurements of sexual gratification, are in a few words, the duties of a *Kshatriya*. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, are the duties of a *Vaishya*. One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigns to a *Shúdra*; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depre-

* These are the Six constituted Works of the Bráhmans, technically denominated by them यजन, याजन, दान, प्रतिग्रह, अध्ययन, and अध्यापन.

ciating their worth.* A similar origin and similar duties are ascribed to the Four Castes in the Shánti Parva of the Mahábhárata;† in the Matsya, Bhágavata, and several others of the Puráṇas;‡ in the Játi-Málá, or Garland of Castes, of authority in Bengal and the Upper Provinces of India, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke;§ in the Játi-Viveka, or Discrimination of Castes, of authority in the West of India;|| and in the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Pu-ráṇa, the great practical authority of the Maráthá Bráhmans.¶ This, in fact, is the view taken of the origin of the four classes by the Caste system now prevalent throughtout the whole of India. All other passages of the Shástras, with representations on the subject of a different character,—and such there are in abundance,

* Manu i. 87-91. In this and other quotations from the Hindu Law Book, I mainly follow Sir William Jones, omitting such of his expletives as are not warranted by the text, and bringing the renderings sometimes closer to the original.

† Mahábhárata, Shánti Parva adh. 72. v. 2723. Different accounts of the origin of Caste are given in other works, including the Puráṇas and the Mahábhárata, which, to use the words of Dr. John Muir, (Original Sanskrit Texts p. 37) "is made up of very heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies which have been thrown together by the successive compilers or editors of the work without any regard to their mutual consistentcy."

‡ In the Matsya (adh. 4), Vámdeva is the name given to the god (*bhagaván*, "the worshipful") who (as Brahmá, according to the context) created the Castes:— वामदेवस्तु भगवानसृजन्मुखतो द्विजान् राजन्यान्य सृजद्बाह्वोर्विट् शूद्रानूरुपादयोः. In the Bhágavata, the most orthodox view of the origin of Caste is given in Skanda iii. adh. v. 33-34.

§ Colebrooke's Essays, vol. ii. p. 177.

|| There are two forms of this work now before me, the larger and smaller.

¶ Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, A'di Rahasya, Chap. 25.

as will afterwards appear—are contorted and interpreted in the light of the dogmas here announced. Caste, to the present day, adheres to its claims as set forth in Manu, without essential compromise or concession.

To understand the subject of Caste, then, we have to keep the statements now quoted constantly in view. For the same purpose, we have to look to the information given in detail in the Shástras of the Hindus respecting the prerogatives, privileges, and duties of these the primary divisions of Caste, and which is still approved and acted upon, with very slight modifications in form, throughout the whole country. This we attempt concisely to do.

1. We give a miniature picture, in the first instance of the *Bráhman*.

The Shástras dwell much on the pre-eminence of the Bráhman, both by birth and original endowments, above all the other classes of man. "Since the Bráhman sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation." "Him, the Being who exists of himself produced in the beginning from his own mouth, that, having performed holy rites, he might present clarified butter to the gods, and cakes of rice to the progenitors of mankind, for the preservation of this world. What created being then can surpass Him, with whose mouth the gods of the firmament continually feast on clarified butter, and the manes of ancestors, on hallowed cakes? The very birth of Bráhmans is a constant incarnation of Dharma, (God of religion;) for the Bráhman is born to promote religion, and to procure ultimate happiness. When a Bráhman

springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil. Whatever exists in the universe, is all in effect, the wealth of the Bráhman, since the Bráhman is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Bráhman eats but his own food; wears his own apparel; and bestows but his own in alms: through the benevolence of the Bráhman indeed, other mortals enjoy life."* His inherent qualities, however sparingly they may be developed, are "quiescence, self-control, devotion, purity, patience, rectitude, secular and sacred understanding, the recognition of spiritual existence, and the inborn-disposition to serve Brahma."† In every member of his body, power and glory are resident. The purifying Ganges is in his right ear; his mouth is that of God himself; the devouring fire is in his hand; the holy *tírthas*, or places of pilgrimage are in his right foot;‡ the cow-of-plenty *(kámadhenu)* from which all desires may be satisfied, is in the hairs of his body. The Bráhman is the "first-born," by nature *(agrajanma)*; the "twice-born" (*dwija*), by the sacrament of the *maunjí*; the "deity-on-earth" (*bhúdeva*), by his divine status; and the intelligent one (*vipra*), by his innate comprehension.§

* Manu, i. 93-95, 98-101. † Bhagavad-Gítá, xviii. 42.

‡ These are among the common synonyms of the Amarkosha. Khanda ii, brahmavarga 4.

§ The following verse from the Tírtha Mahátmya has become popular:—

पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि तानि तीर्थानि सागरे ।
सागरे सर्व तीर्थानि पदे विप्रस्य दक्षिणे ॥

All the *Tírthas* in the world are in the ocean;
All the *Tírthas* in the ocean are in the Bráhman's right foot.

The Bráhman, thus exalted in original position, is according to the Shástra, superior to all law, even of a moral character, whenever it clashes with his wordly interests. Even truth and honesty must be dispensed with for his peculiar advantage. "In the case of sensual gratifications," says Manu, "of marriages, of food eaten by cows, of fuel for a sacrifice, of benefit or protection accruing to a Bráhman, there is no sin in an oath."* "A Bráhman" says the same authority, "may live by *ṛita* and *amṛita*, or by *mṛita* and *pṛamrita*, or even by *satyámṛita* (truth and *falsehood*); 'but never let him subsist by dog-living' (hired service.)"† "A Bráhman may without hesitation take the property of a Shúdra. He (the Shúdra) has, indeed, nothing of his own: his master may, doubtless, take his property."‡ To this injustice, too, the most horrid cruelty may in his case be added; for of the most barbarous treatment of the lower orders, and, unbecoming leniency to Bráhmans, the Hindu sacred writings are in no degree ashamed. They actually enjoin this atrocious despitefulness. "A priest shall be fined five hundred (*panas*), if he slander a soldier; twenty-five, if a merchant; and twelve, if he slander a man of the servile class. For abusing one of the same class, a twice-born man shall be fined only twelve; but for ribaldry not to be uttered, even that shall be dou-

Hence, the readiness to taste the water in which a Bráhman has washed his foot. In the Padma Parána (Kriyá yadnasára, xx) it is said,

विप्रपादोदकं यस्तु कणमाहवन्नरः। देहस्थं पातकं तस्य सर्वमेवाशु नश्यति ॥

—The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Bráhman's foot has all the sins of his body thereby destroyed.

* Manu, viii. 112. † Manu, iv. 4. ‡ Manu, viii. 417.

bled. A once born man, who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit; for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahmá. If he mention their name and class with contumely, as if he say 'Oh! Devadatta' (useless gift of God!) an iron style, ten fingers long shall be thurst red hot into his mouth." "Should he, through pride, give instructions to priests concerning their duty, let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and ear."* "A man of the lowest class, who shall insolently place himself on the same seat with one of the highest, shall either be banished with a mark on his hinder part or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock; should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both of his lips to be gashed; should he..[decency requires the suppression of what here follows.] If he seize the Bráhman by the locks, or by the feet, or by the beard, or by the throat, or by the scrotum, let the king without hesitation cause incision to be made in his hands."† Ignominious tonsure is ordained, instead of capital punishment, for an adulterer of the priestly class; while the punishment of other classes in this case may extend to loss of life. "Never shall a king slay a Bráhman, though convicted of all possible crimes; let him banish the offender from his realm; but with all his property secure and his body unhurt. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Bráhman; and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest."‡ "A Bráhman, who, by his

* Manu, viii. 268-272. † Manu, viii. 281-3-28.

‡ Manu, viii. 379-381.

power and through avarice, shall cause twice-born men, girt with the sacrificial thread, to perform servile acts, with their consent, shall be fined by the king six hundred *panas*. But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to perform servile duty ; because such a man was created by the self-existent for the purpose of serving Bráhmans. A *Shúdra*, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude: for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested ?"* The Bráhman, even, is the adjudicator in his own cause, and need make no complaint to royal authorities for the punishment of his enemies, it being left free to himself to take vengeance.†

The Bráhmans, as themselves the great authors of the preceptive parts of the Hindu Shástras, have no feeling of shame whatever in stating their pretensions and urging their prerogatives. Only they must now read and interpret the Veda, which they profess to be the highest revelation of the will of God. Their wrath is as dreadful as that of the gods in heaven. They and their wives, and daughters, are to be worshipped as gods on earth.‡ They allege that they have in many instances,

* Manu, viii. 124-14. † Manu, xi. 31-32.

‡ सर्वथा ब्राह्मणाः पूज्याः परमं दैवतं हितत्. "In all ways, Bráhmans are to be worshipped: they are a Supreme Divinity." Manu, ix. 318. In the Padma Puráṇa (Kriyá yadnasára, xx) it is said, "The good man who worships a Bráhman, moving round him to the right hand, obtains the merit of himself going round the seven dwipas (insular continents) of the world." In the same work, it is said, that "immoral Bráhmans are to be worshipped, but not Shúdras though subduing their passions: the cow that eats things not to be eaten is better than the sow of good intent."

kicked, and beaten, and cursed, and frightened, and degraded the highest deities, and distressed and destroyed their children. One of their number, *Kashyapa,* they tell us, was the parent of the sun, and another, *Atri,* of the moon. Others of them, they hold, wrought great marvels in creation and formation. *Brihaspati*, the instructor of the gods, is said by them to have turned the moon into a cinder, for two kalpas of enormous length; and to retain his power over it by covering it with rust, when it assumes a ruddy appearance. *Vishvakarma*, they declare, clipt off the hands and feet of the sun, to make it round, and cut it also into twelve pieces, in which it appears in the twelve signs of the zodiac. The same individual, the architect of the gods, they assert, formed heaven; and another of his caste manufactured a child of grass, which Sítá, the wife of Ráma, could not distinguish from her own son. *Kashyapa*, already mentioned, they make, through his different wives, the parent of fowls, of beasts of prey, of buffaloes, cows, and other cloven-footed animals; of hawks, vultures, and other similar birds; of the Apsaras, or water-nymphs, serpents, and other reptiles; of trees; of evil beings; of the Gandharvas, and of animals with hoofs,* He, also, they tell us, made fire; while *Bhrigu* imparted to it its property of consumption; and *Sapta* gave it its capability of extinction; and *Agastya*, the great Bráhman missionary to the South of India, swallowed up the ocean at three sips, and then passed it impregnated with salt. The achievements of the great Bráhmans here referred to are thus alluded to by the Hindu lawgiver:—" Who without perishing could pro-

* Bhágavata Puráṇa, vi. 6 : 26–28.

voke those holy men by whom the all-devouring fire was created, the sea with waters not drinkable, and the moon with its wane and increase? what prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and mortals? What man, desirous of life, would injure those by the aid of whom worlds and gods perpetually exist."* The following syllogism has gained universal currency in India:—

> The whole world is under the power of the *gods*,
> The gods are under the power of the *mantras*,
> The *mantras* are under the power of the Bráhman;
> The *Bráhman* is therefore our God."†

These fabrications, which appear to us so ridiculous, were intended to secure to the Bráhmans veneration and awe. The endeavour, also, has been made in the Shástra to secure to them their lives. They must not be killed, as we have seen, for the most enormous offences. When an individual weeps for any person whom they may have killed, he must make an atonement for his infirmity. The goddess Durgá is pleased with the blood of a man a thousand years; but no Bráhman must be sacrificed to her. Garuda, the bearer of Vishṇu, used to eat every sort of creatures, except Bráhmans, who, if swallowed, would have caused an insufferable pain in his stomach, as is said to have been exemplified on a particular occasion. While Shúdras may offer themselves as sacrifices by what is called the *Ḳámya maraṇa* (voluntary

* Manu, ix. 314-316.

† देवाधीनं जगत् सर्वं मंत्राधीनंच देवतं।
ते मंत्रा ब्राह्मणाधीना ब्राह्मणो मम देवतं॥

death), Bráhmans are not required to make any such consecration of themselves. "A twice-born man," says Manu, "who barely assaults a Bráhman with an intention to hurt him shall be whirled about for a century in the hell named *Támisra;* but having smitten him in anger, and by design, even with a blade of grass, he shall be born in one and twenty transmigrations, from the wombs of impure quadrupeds."* Life, however, must not only be preserved exceptionally for the favoured; but it must be rendered comfortable. The Bráhmans get all the offerings made at the temples; and the most heinous sins are atoned for by giving them presents. If a man sell his cow, he will go to hell; if he give her in donation to a Bráhman he will go to heaven. If on Gangá's anniversary whole villages be given to Bráhmans, the person presenting them will acquire all the merit which can be obtained: his body will be a million of times more glorious than the sun; he will have a million of virgins, many carriages, and palanquins with jewels; and he will live in heaven with his father as many years as there are particles in the land given to Bráhmans. Land given to Bráhmans secures heaven; a red cow, a safe passage across the boiling infernal river, *Vaitaraṇí;* a house, a heavenly palace; an umbrella, freedom from scorching heat; shoes, freedom from pain when walking; perfumes, freedom from offensive smells; feasting of Bráhmans, particularly at births, marriages and deaths, the highest merit. If a house be defiled by an unclean bird sitting down upon it, it becomes pure when presented to a Bráhman. A proper gift to a Bráhman on a deathbed will

* Manu, iv. 165-166.

secure heaven to a malefactor. The Bráhmans oblige the other castes, in fact, when they condescend to receive their presents.* Money given to them should be dipped in water, lest the latent glory of their hands should burst forth and consume the donor.†

Most obvious is it that the legislation of the Bráhmans, embracing such matters and supported by such legends as those now alluded to, has originated exclusively with their own body. Its partialities, and preferences, and prejudices are of the grossest character. Along with these enormous faults, however, it is but fair to look at the strict discipline, continuous ceremoniousness, and rigid austerities, which in certain circumstances,—associated with numerous puerilities,—it has prescribed for its favourites.

In the first *A'shrama*, or Order, that of the *Brahmáchárí*, or Pupil, the Bráhman boy, must render the greatest reverence and attention to his priestly instructor, observing constant oblations, and practising unceasing restraints of his appetites. His religious exercises must commence with the morning twilight; and, except during the times of study and eating, they must be con-

* The imparting of gifts (*dána*) is quite a science according to the institutions of Caste, which, as far as this matter is concerned, are collected and explained, in all their particularities, in the Law Book entitled the Dána Mayukha.

† In thus mentioning the pretensions of the Bráhmans, I have availed myself of and expanded the notices contained in my two Exposures of Hinduism in reply to Brahmanical controversialists. To natives of India acquainted with the Maráthí language I would warmly recommend Mr. Nesbit's tract on the Bráhman's Claims, which appeared after the Exposures were published, and in which some of the popular aspects of the subject are commented on in a telling way.

tinued throughout the day. "Let the twice-born youth," it is said, "who has been girt with the sacrificial cord, collect wood for the holy fire, beg food of his relations, sleep on a low bed, and perform such offices as may please his preceptor, until his return to the house of his natural father."* With devotion and austerities he is ordered to study the Véda. He is commanded to abstain from honey, flesh, perfumes, garlands, vegetable juices, women, acidulated substances, the killing of animated beings, unguents for his limbs, black powder for his eyes, wearing sandals, using an umbrella, sensual desires, wrath, covetousness, dancing, singing, dice, disputes, detraction, and falsehood.† He is enjoined to sleep alone, and to perform the duty of a religious mendicant.

In the second Order, that of the *Gṛihastha* or Householder, after the Bráhman has chosen, or got chosen, for his wife, a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable name, who walks like a goose,‡ or young elephant, whose hair and teeth are moderate in quantity, and whose body is distinguished by softness, and who, in the case of the first marriage at least, should be of the Bráhman class § he should live with her in the strictest fidelity, giving her elegant attire, though not from the most exalted motive,¶ seeking to raise up a family, embracing especially a son, without whom, na-

* Manu, ii. 108. The other statements here made are on the authority of the context.

† Manu, ii. 167-178.

‡ Sir W. Jones makes this a phenicopteros, or adjutant bird. The Sanskrit, however, is *hansa*, a gocse.

§ Manu, iii. 12, 17, etc. ¶ Manu, iii. 68.

tural or adopted, the salvation of a father cannot be effected.* He has to practise unceasingly various minute and burdensome rites and ceremonies, connected with study; oblations to fire; the presentation of food to spirits, through animated beings, particularly the "twice-born;" the entertainment of Bráhmanical guests; and the offering of rice and water to the manes of ancestors.† At the *Shráddhas*, or reverential feasts and services performed either for ancestors or for gods, he has to avoid inviting or holding intercourse with parties labouring under any disease, deformity, impotency, or defect (held under the doctrine of the metempsycosis to be the consequence of past crimes), despising Bráhmanical institutes, or following employments uncongenial with the Bráhmanical doctrines and practices, or guilty of crime.‡ During the feasting, he has to preserve his mind in absolute composure, for the shedding

* Though the Sanskrit for son, is *putra*, the reciprocal word for *pitar*, (*Lat. pater* a father,) the following fanciful derivation of it, founded on this doctrine, is given by Manu, (ix. 138):—"Since the son delivers (*tráyatê*) relieves his father from the hell named *put*, he was therefore called *putra* by Brahmá himself!"

† Manu, iii. 70, et seq.

‡ Among the parties thus to be avoided are the attendants upon images (*dévalaka*), the sellers of flesh, the party supporting himself by traffic, a young brother married before the elder or vice versâ, a dancer, the husband of a Shúdra, the pupil or preceptor of a Shúdra, a seller of the moon-plant (used in sacrifices), a navigator of the ocean, an encomiast, an oilman, a maker of bows and arrows, a father instructed in the Véda by his son, a tamer of elephants, bulls, horses or camels, an astrologer, a keeper of birds, a breeder of sporting dogs, a shepherd, a keeper of buffaloes, the husband of a twice-married woman. Manu, iii. 150–167.

of a tear would send the messes before him to restless spirits; anger, to foes; falsehood, to dogs; contact with the foot *(pada-sparsha)*, to Rákshasas; and agitation, to scoundrels.* At the same time, he has to regale his silent guests with readings from the Véda, from the institutes of law (*Dharma-Shástra*), from stories, from historical poems (*Itihása*, generally applied to the Mahabhárata,) from antiquities (*Purúnas*), and from other scriptures.† At these ceremonial offerings animal food, to be ate by the company, is declared to be of more avail in the work of propitiation than vegetables, a fact which the Bráhmans of the present day are shy in admitting.‡ He has to be most particular about the times of the month and day of his religious services. "He must live, with no injury, or with the least possible injury, to animated beings, by pursuing those means of gaining subsistence which are strictly prescribed by law, except in times of distress."§ He has to keep his hair, nails, and

* Manu, iii. 230. † Ibid. iii. 232.

‡ "The ancestors of men are satisfied a whole month with *tila*, rice, barley, black lentils or vetches, water, roots, and fruit, given with prescribed ceremonies; two months, with fish; three months, with venison; four with mutton; five, with the flesh of *such* birds as the twice-born may eat; six months, with the flesh of kids; seven, with that of spotted deer, or the antelope, called *éna*; nine with that of the *ruru*: ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes; eleven with that of rabits or hares, and of tortoises; a whole year with the milk of cows, and food made of that milk; from the flesh of the long-eared white goat, their satisfaction endures twelve years." Manu, iii. 267–271.

§ Manu, iv. 2. The fourth chapter in many respects corresponds with the third. They appear to me to have originally belonged to two different Codes.

beard clipped, his passions subdued; his mantle, white; and his body pure.* He must not gaze on the sun whether rising or setting (unless in religious services), or eclipsed, or reflected in water, or advanced to the middle of the sky. He must be reserved in his intercourse with his wife, and neither eat with her, nor see her eating. He must neither dishonour earth, nor fire, nor water. He must not dwell under the government of a Shúdra. He must neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instruments or with dice. He must not use the clothes or vessels which have been used by another, till they are purified. The beasts with which he travels must be sound, and well trained; and he must never bestride a member of the bovine race. He must not cut his own nails or hairs. He has to be sober in his speech and conduct. He has to accept gifts only from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas; and never from Shúdras.† He has to observe religious ceremonies at night (when awake), and at morn, noon, and evening. He has to keep at a distance from the destroyers of animals and vegetable seeds not simply used in food. He must suspend the reading of the Védas during thunder, rain, earthquakes, and other atmospheric and terrene changes and movements. He must intermit the reading of the Véda for a day and night when a beast of labour, a frog, a cat, a dog, or a snake passes between him and his pupil.‡ He is commanded to abstain from iniquity, lest he

* Manu, iv. 35-37.

† This is not now the case, as will be afterwards explained.

‡ I once asked a learned Pandit, what inference he was disposed to draw from this injunction. He very adroitly said, "I should infer that the teacher and pupil should sit very closely together!"

should be punished for it either in his own person or in those of his descendants. His moral duties he has to prefer to his ceremonial acts, though great exceptions, elsewhere noticed, are made to this rule. He is not permitted to take food from a servile man, except raw grain for a single night when it may be necessary for the support of his life. He has to be liberal in giving gifts to those deserving of benevolence, and he is not be too proud of his charity. "By falsehood, sacrifice becomes vain; by pride, austerities go for nought; by the dishonour of priests, life is diminished; and by the display of charity, its fruit is destroyed."* In regard to food, the householder, as well as other Bráhmans, has to show the greatest scrupulosity. He must avoid eating garlic, onions, leeks, and mushrooms,† and all vegetables raised in dung, though the vegetable processes know no impurity; red gums and resins, supposed to be like the blood of animals; and carnivorous birds and quadrupeds, and many others of different orders. He might, according to one law, partake of the hedgehog, porcupine, some species of lizards, hares, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have

* Manu, iv. 204. See authorities for the preceding statements in the context.

† It is difficult to see the reason of the interdiction of the use of these vegetables, unless perhaps it is to be found in their strong smell, especially when imperfectly cooked. The crime of eating them seems to have been a peculiarly heinous one with the Hindu legislators. "The twice-born who has intentionally eaten a mushroom, the flesh of a tame-hog, or a tame-cock, a leek, or an onion, or garlic, is degraded immediately." Atonements are available for undesigned eating, Manu, v. 19-20.

but one row of teeth.* According to another, he might use considerable latitude in the use of flesh-meat:—"No sin is committed by him who, having honoured the deities and the manes, eats flesh-meat which he has bought, himself acquired, or had presented to him by another."† Yet, without these religious rites, he would contract great sin by encouraging the slaughter of animals, which, in the main, is strongly disapproved of by the legislators and not now generally resorted to.‡ He has to submit to great inconveniences from ceremonial defilement caused by the birth and death of relatives and connections of various degrees, and by the touch of the lowly Cháṇḍála, and of all parties in a state of ceremonial impurity.§ The duties prescribed for the Bráhman householder, in short, are such as must keep him ever busy, ever on the alert, and ever scrupulous and cautious.

The *Vánaprastha*, the Hermit of the Wilderness, the Bráhman in the third *A'shrama*, must be a vast deal more selfdenied and restricted than the Householder. At the approach of old age he must abandon his family and

* Manu, v. 18.

† Manu, v. 32.

‡ The general doctrine of Manu on this subject may be understood from the following passages:—"Flesh-meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude; from flesh-meat therefore let man abstain. He who consents to the death of an animal, he who kills it, he who dissects it, he who buys it, he who sells it, he who dresses it, he who serves it up, and he who makes it his food; these are eight principals in the slaughter." Manu, v. 48-51.

§ Manu, v. 85, et seq. For the special laws on these matters, see the Mayukha under *Shaucha* and *Ashaucha* (purity and impurity).

worldly affairs. He must not only feed on herbs, fruits, and roots, but use them in sacrifice. He must wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of the bark of a tree; and suffer his hair, beard, and nails to grow continually. He must be constantly engaged in reading the Véda, and in other religious exercises. His devotion must be varied by austerities. "Let him slide backwards and forwards on the ground; or let him stand a whole day on tiptoe; or let him continue in motion rising and sitting alternately; but at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let him go to the waters and bathe. In the hot season let him sit exposed to five fires; in the rains let him stand uncovered where the clouds pour the heaviest showers; in the cold season (when the evaporation caused by the dry air is excessive) let him wear humid vesture; and let him encrease by degrees the austerity of his devotion."* Abandoning the use of all means of gratification, he must for the purpose of uniting his soul with the Divine Spirit, engage in meditation, and study the sacred *Upanishads*, or philosophical pantheistic treatises. Shuffling off his body, if he is attacked by disease by any of these means,—he is given to understand,—he will rise to exaltation in the divine essence.†

The *Sannyásí*, or Anchorite, in the fourth *A'shrama*, has to improve upon the course now mentioned, practising contemplation, however, more than austerities. Delighted with meditating on the Supreme Spirit, being fixed in such meditation, without needing anything earthly, without one sensual desire, without any compan-

* Manu, vi. 22-23.

† Manu, vi. 32, etc.

ion to his own soul, let him live in this world seeking the bliss of the next, "absolute absorption." "His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a waterpot, his whole mind being fixed on God, let him wander about continually, without giving pain to living beings,"* either vegetable or animal. Once a day only he has to ask for food; and that ought to be at a late hour. Meditating [in gross delusion] on the identity of his own spirit with that of the Supreme, and seeking reunion, he is to be ready cheerfully to leave the cumbersome and miserable body.†

The profession by the Bráhmans, that, with certain nonessential modifications, they have still this sacred character, and that they follow these injunctions, esteemed divine, gives them a powerful hold of the mind of India, quite independently of their pretensions to pre-eminence which we have noticed at the commencement of this heading. Its natural effects are often too little regarded in the estimate of the religious and social forces by which we are surrounded in India. With Bráhmanical discipline and pursuits, there is much sympathy, even on the part of those large portions of the community which are legally debarred from participating in them. There is an admiration and approval of the Bráhman among the people, as well as much dread and distrust of him, and contempt of him for his extravagant claims in connexion with his status and prerogatives. Hence,

* Manu, vi. 49-52.

† The notice taken of the four *áshrams* in the Puráṇas, is quite accordant with that of the Law Books. See, for example, Wilson's Vishnu Puráṇa, pp. 294-296.

the attempt, in late centuries especially, of multitudes precluded from all priestly services, to become wandering saints and devotees of various orders and grades. There is very great deference shown to the Bráhman, even in the view of the fact that he is now left without a legal remedy for enforcing in his own behalf the unjust laws which he has made connected with his own life, honor, and support. I add another observation to this remark. I have a strong impression on my mind that a great deal of the Bráhmanical legislation was, from the first, intended only for effect, and that it was never designed to be carried into execution as far as the priestly practice itself was concerned. An intelligent native writer in the Calcutta Review justly says, "Those who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man who prides himself on the greatness of his origin must admit, that it behoveth him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Bráhmans have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the Shástras intended, that their austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing, however, is certain, that as the Bráhman acknowledged no earthly superior, he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his in-

clinations, than he himself [or the priestly community of which he was a member] chose to allow.*"

2. From the Bráhman, we pass to the *Kshatriya*, the Warrior, or rather, as will be afterwards explained, the Ruler or Prince.

According to the orthodox view of Caste, the Kshatriya is derived from the arms of the god Brahmá,† in the same way as the Bráhman is derived from his head. This explanation of the origin of the Kshatriya, however, is not consistently adhered to, even in the Law Books, which are the great support of the Caste system. In the seventh chapter of the Code of Manu, which is evidently intended for the use of the ruling authorities, the creation and glory of the prince is thus set forth :—
"Since the world destitute of a king quaked on all sides, the Lord created a king for the maintenance of this system, both religious and civil, forming him of eternal particles‡ drawn from [the gods] Indra, Anila (Váyu), Yama, Arka (Súrya), Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra, and Vittésha (Kuvera): and since a king was composed of particles drawn from these chief guardian deities, he consequently surpasses all beings in glory. Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creatures on earth gaze on him. He is fire and air; he, both sun and moon; he the god of retributive justice (Yama); he the god of wealth (Kuvéra); he the regent of waters (Varuṇa); he the lord of the firmament. A king, even though a child, must not be

* Calcutta Review, 1851, p. 53. † See above, page 17.

‡ *Mátrá* in the singular, corresponding (etymologically) with the Latin *materia* and our own *matter*.

treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal; no, he is a powerful divinity who appears in human-shape."* "The natural duties of the Kshatriya," according to the Bhagavad-Gítá, "are heroism, splendour, pertinacity, policy, not fleeing in battle, liberality, and fitness to govern."† Other views of his creation and glory will afterwards fall to be alluded to. The Bráhmans, while setting forth their own pre-eminence and superiority, knew how to flatter the powerful and wealthy of their own race, in varied ways not very consistent with the general dogmatic announcements which were most consistent with the religious system which they sought to uphold.

The Kshatriya, according to what has now been said, is set forth in the Law Books as the essence of majesty and power; and as the great dispenser of justice, particularly in the matter of punishment, of which he is the personal manifestation (*puruṣhodaṇḍa*), and which, though needed both by gods and men, is to be leniently applied to Bráhmans.‡ He is to be the protector of the various Castes attending to their prescribed duties.§ In discharging his functions, he has to abide by the decision of learned Bráhmans.¶ He must cultivate humility and be warned by the examples of kings who, in the lack of it, have involved themselves in ruin. He is enjoined to seek sacred and secular knowledge from the Bráhmans, and

* Manu, vii. 3-8. Some of the gods here mentioned are contemplated in aspects different from those in which they are exhibited in the Védas.

† Bhagavad-Gíta, xviii. 43.

‡ Manu, vii. 17-32.

§ Manu, vii. 35.

¶ Ibid. vii. 37.

to avoid various kinds of immoralities and sensualities. He is recommended to choose eight ministers, some of whom are to be versed in the sacred books, and others, in the art of war. The ambassador *(dúta)* selected by him should be skilled in all the Shástras. He should live in a capital surrounded by a desert, and otherways difficult of approach, and well-defended by fortifications, his own palace being in its centre. His wife should be of his own class *(varṇa)*, and of good descent and agreeable person. He must appoint a domestic priest *(purohita*)*. and be liberal in sacrifices and in gifts to Bráhmans. "An offering in the mouth of a Bráhman," he is told; "is far better than offerings to holy fires; it never drops; it never dries; it is never consumed."† In battle he must be brave, resolute, and generous. He must subordinate to one another the various districts in his realm. He must raise taxes from his subjects according to their means; but, though even dying with want, he must not receive any tax from a Bráhman learned in the Védas, while at the same time he must suffer no such Bráhman to die of hunger.‡ The season of the year most favourable for weather and crops, he must choose for his warlike campaigns. His troops he has to march in varied lines, and according to varied figures, with considerable skill, forming, when thought expedient, a van, a rearguard, and a mainbody, and also wings and a centre. His ordinary soldiers,—who it would appear, might have been of varied tribes and castes,—he was to dispose of in battle according to their capacities. "Men born in Kurukshetra, in Matsya, in Pan-

* Literally, a foreman. † Manu, vii. 84. ‡ Manu, vii. 133.

chála, and in Shúraséna," he is required to engage in the van, and "other men who are tall and light."* He has to respect the deities and Bráhmans of conquered countries, and to appoint over them a prince of his own race *(vansha)*. To his neighbours who support his cause, he has to practise kindness; and for self-preservation, he has to be ready to part with his dominions and even with his family when required. "Against misfortune let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife; but at all events let him preserve himself, even at the hazard of his wife and riches."† His

* Manu, vii. 193.

† Manu, vii. 213. The principle here involved is applied to all classes of the Hindus as well as to Kshatriyas. The Bráhmans have embodied it in the following Sanskrit proverb:—

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत् दारैरपि धनैरपि ।
पुनर्दाः पुनर्वित्तं न शरिरं पुनः पुनः ॥

"Preserve your wife, preserve you pelf;
But give them both to save yourself:
There's other wealth, another wife;
But where is there another life?"

By a slight change (by a Pandit from the West), this wise-saying can be reversed in favour of the poor wife:—

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत् भर्त्तांवापि धनेन वा ।
पुनर्भर्त्ता पुनर्वित्तं न शरिरं पुनः पुनः ॥

"Preserve your man, preserve your pelf;
But give them both to save yourself;
There's other wealth, and other men;
But who shall see this life again?"

For a short comment on these versicles, see a paper by the late Rev. R. Nesbit in the Oriental Christian Spectator, Sept. 1842.

religious and domestic duties he has to attend to in their own relations. After ablution he has to eat at noon, taking food prepared by faithful servants skilled in the differences of times (lucky and unlucky), and hallowed by texts repulsive of poison. He may then divert himself with his women in the inner apartments, taking due care, however, lest he should be betrayed by them. At sunset, after having performed his religious duty, he should deal with spies and emissaries in retirement.* When unable personally to inspect his affairs, he may commit the superintendence of them to a Bráhman.† From the Bráhman, but never from a Shúdra, he has to seek the interpretation of law. "Of that king, who stupidly looks on while a Shúdra decides causes, the kingdom shall sink like a cow in deep mire."‡ The king is the guardian of all property, including that of minors, and the owner of the half of treasure-trove (the other half belonging to Bráhmans), except that found by a learned Bráhman, who may take it without any deduction, as he is the lord of all. He also receives the wealth of all other classes on the failure of heirs, except that of Bráhmans, which must go to their own community without, in any case, being escheated.§ He is the upholder of the Caste laws, and customs of the various classes of the community,¶ in so far as practised by good men and virtuous Bráhmans, and not inconsistent with local usages. In the dispensation of justice, the king himself is not to be made a witness; and he has also to make an exemption,

* Manu, vii. ad finem. † Manu, viii. 9. ‡ Manu, viii. 21.

§ Manu, iv. 189. ¶ Manu, viii. 37-38.

generally, in the matter of giving testimony to certain classes of people, some of whom are thought too humble, and some too great, to appear as witnesses.* He has to order the administration of oaths, or ordeals, to competent witnesses, with considerable solemnity from the Indian point of view; with a due regard to the comparative dignity of Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras; and with the recognition of injury said to accrue both to ancestors and posterity from the speaking of falsehood, except when a pious motive intervenes, when this sin is found not to be contracted even by perjury.† The legislation by which he is to be guided, in these matters, to use the words of Sir William Jones, is "a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks; it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions, and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception; it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous; the punishments are partial and fanciful; for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are, in one or

* Among the latter class are specified in Manu, (viii. 65) the learned in the three Védas, Bráhmans waiting on the sacred fire, and religious devotees who have abandoned the world. It is in consequence of the principle here involved that the Bhâṭyá and other native merchants of Bombay are claiming the right of their high-priests (*Mahárájas*, or great kings!) to decline attendance on the courts of law.

† Manu, viii. 66-112. See also above, p. 21.

two instances, (as in the case of light oaths and of pious purjury) [just alluded to] unaccountably relaxed.* It is interesting to notice, in the view of these faults and defects, that, in regard to the boundaries of property, evidence taken is to be recorded in writing ;† and that the lowest classes of the population may be useful in giving testimony in this matter. Punishments inflicted are to descend with violence inversely as the station in caste of the offenders. A Kshatriya defaming a Bráhman shall be fined a hundred [*panas*] ; a Vaishya, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred; but a Shúdra [acting in this way] shall be corporally punished. A Bráhman shall be fined fifty, if he slander a Kshatriya ; twenty-five, if a Vaishya ; and twelve, if a Shúdra.‡ Fines for theft are to be inflicted in proportion to the status in Caste of the party offending.§ Adultery is be treated with much severity, the punishment being a cruel death to be inflicted on the lower orders transgressing with the higher. Punishments by kings are said to form atonements for the guilty. "Men who have committed, and have received from kings the punishment due to them, go to pure heaven, and become as clear as those who have done well."¶ This dictum, which removes man from his responsibility to God, has taken a great hold of the popular mind in India. Native musicians attend the capital executions of the vilest criminals throughout the country, seeking to introduce them into the other world with joy and rejoicing, simply be-

* Preface to the Institutes of Manu. † Manu, viii. 255-266.

‡ Manu, viii. 267-268. § Ibid. 337-8. ¶ Manu, viii. 318.

cause they view their death by the public sentence of the law as an atonement for all their transgressions.

It is the duty of the princely Kshatriya to keep the Castes below himself close to the works respectively prescribed for them. He should order the Vaishya to practise trade, or money-lending, or agriculture and attendance on cattle; and the Shúdra to act in the service of the twice-born. It is incumbent upon him to regulate all market prices, with a due regard to the interests of the buyer and seller.* This principle of Caste law is the foundation of the demand often made on government to interfere in matters of sale and trade. The doctrines of Adam Smith were not in vogue when the laws attributed to Manu were reduced to a Code.

It is also the duty of the Kshatriya to aid the male portion of the community in maintaining its lordship over the female portion. This is a matter of much consequence with the Hindus; and it is so intimately connected with Caste that it may be proper onwards to devote to it a separate section of this work.

3. Leaving the Kshatriya, in the meantime, we proceed to notice the *Vaishya*, who is the Cattle-keeper, the Agriculturist, and the Merchant.

In a passage in the Code of Manu, already referred to, it is said that "to keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land are the

* Manu, viii. 401. Difficulties in regard to this matter are often felt by our own officials, particularly in the matter of grain. For hints as to the removal of these difficulties, see Colonel Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, vol. i. chap. 24.

duties of a *Vaishya*."* "The natural duties of the Vaishya," says the Bhagavad-Gítá, "are agriculture, keeping of cattle, and the practice-of-merchandise."† Respecting these duties, indeed, without any hints as to their comparative importance, the information of the later Sanskrit books is throughout self-consistent.

In the Law Books, the general ordinances affecting the Vaishya are such as the following. After performing the initiatory sacraments, ending with that of the sacrificial thread, and marrying a wife of his own class, he should be attentive to his proper business, especially that of cattle-keeping, which he is by no means to overlook, as the Lord-of-men has committed cattle to his trust in the same way as he has committed men to that of the Bráhman and the Kshatriya. He must never say, "I keep charge of no cattle;" nor must others supersede him in this charge while he is willing to undertake it. With the prices of mercantile commodities he has to be acquainted, especially of gems, pearls, coral, iron, cloth, perfumes and liquids. He has to be skilled in sowing seeds, in the qualities of land, in weights and measures, in the excellence and defects of articles of traffic, in the advantages and disadvantages of different districts, in the probable gain and loss on goods, in the breeding of cattle, in the wages of servants, in the various languages of men,‡ in the best places for keeping

* See above, p. 17, where the words "to cultivate lands" are, by an error, omitted.

† Bhagavad-Gítá, xviii. 43.

‡ This intimates a diversity of language in Ancient India, and perhaps in the bordering countries holding intercourse with it.

goods, and in all measures for effecting purchase and sale. The augmentation of his wealth should command his vigilant care and solicitude, while he is attentive to the giving of nourishment to all sentient creatures.* Considerable intelligence and ingenuity seem to have been requisite for the Vaishya's duties. Let this be marked as an indication of the state of society when the Hindu Law Books were composed.

4. We conclude this sketch by referring to the legal position of the *Shúdra.*

In illustration of this position, especially when compared with that of his great master, the Bráhman, some notices have already been given by us. The principal duty assigned to the Shúdra is that of serving the Bráhman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya, especially the Bráhman, for whose advantage, principally, he has been created. Throughout the Law Books, he is viewed as a domestic slave, to whom servitude is natural and of which he cannot be divested, and whose property even is at the disposal of his master.† From his daily engagements in the family of his superiors, it is obvious that ceremonial ablution was not required to be the consequence of simple contact with him. His religious degradation, however, is complete according to Hindu legislation. On the Bráhman the following injunctions are laid in Manu :—"Let him not give advice to a Shúdra, nor (except to his own servant) what remains from his own table ; nor clarified butter of which part has been offered (to the gods), nor let him

* Manu, ix. 326-333.

† See above, pp. 17, 21, 23. Manu viii. 413-414. x. 121-123.

give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation for his sin. Surely he who declares the law to a servile man, and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin sinks with that very man into the hell named Asamvṛita."* A Bráhman is never to be the preceptor of a Shúdra.† While the first part of a Bráhman's compound name should indicate holiness; of a Kshatriyá's, power; and of a Vaishya's, wealth,—that of a Shúdra should indicate contempt‡. The Véda is never to be read in the presence of a Shúdra ;§ and for him no sacrifice is to be performed.¶ "He has no business with solemn rites."** "They who receive property from a Shúdra for the performance of rites to consecrated fire are contemned, as ministers of the base."†† His gifts, now so acceptable to the Bráhman, were received of old only in the most limited degree, when the Bráhman, who had no other means to live, might take from him raw grain enough for a single night.‡‡ In one law, it is thus written:—"Shúdras, engaged in religious duties, must perform each month the ceremony of shaving their heads; their food must be the orts of Bráhmans; and their mode of purification the

* Manu, iv. 80-81. Sir William Jones, partly on the authority of Kullúka Bhaṭṭa, a modern commentator on Manu, has here made some interpolations inconsistent with the passage as referring to Bráhmans, and with its context.

† Manu, iii. 156. ‡ Manu, ii. 31. § Manu, iv. 99.

¶ Manu, iii. 178. ** Manu, xi. 13. †† Manu, xi. 42.

‡‡ Manu, iv. 222. In Manu xi 24. it is said, "Let no Bráhman ever beg a gift from a Shúdra; for if he perform a sacrifice after such begging, he shall, in the next life, be born a Chánḍála."

same with that of a Vaishya ;"* but this legislation is not consistently regarded. "A Bráhman is purified by water that reaches his bosom; a Kshatriya, by water descending to his throat; a Vaishya, by water taken into his mouth; a Shúdra, by water touched by an extremity."† Graduation in Caste, indeed, is preserved in every act and in every ceremony. While, for example, the stick with which a Bráhman rinses his teeth, is to be twelve inches long; that of a Kshatriya is to be eleven; that of a Vaishya, ten; and that of a Shúdra, nine. When a Bráhman, to remove a natural defilement, is to make five applications of clay; a Kshatriya is to make four; a Vaishya, three; and a Shúdra, and a woman, two.‡ Much is to be found in the "sacred books" in the spirit of these injunctions. It is curious to notice that a Bráhman is represented as on a level with a Shúdra, in religious status, till his "new birth from revealed scripture;"§ and that he has to view the state of a Shúdra as the ultimatum of his own degradation in the case of the greatest offences.¶

In the greatest events of life and death, the privileges of a Shúdra are of a very restricted character. He must not marry in any Caste superior to his own.** He must

* Manu, v. 40.

† Manu, ii. 62.

‡ Shiva Puráṇa, adh. viii. In this and other chapters of a little known Puráṇa, there is very curious information respecting the worship of Shiva and the observances of his votaries.

§ Manu, ii. 172.

¶ See, for example, Manu iii. 17-19.

** Manu, iii. 15. "A Bráhman, if he take a Shúdra to his bed as a first wife, sinks to the regions of torment; if he beget a child by her he loses even his priestly rank." Ibid. iii. 17.

aid in carrying the body of a Bráhman, though even that of his master, to the burning or burying-ground, that the funeral rites may not be hindered and obstructions to enter heaven may not occur.* The southern gate of a town (the most remote from the holy north) is that only by which he can carry his own kinsmen to the grave.† His morals are not to be strictly looked after. Theft is less heinous in him than in those above him.‡ He may drink the spirit of rice, while it is interdicted to Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas.§ Probably because of his connexion with Bráhmanical households, he ranks higher than artizans, to whose occupations he may resort when tormented by hunger.‖ The cruelty with which he may be punished for the slightest offences against the Bráhmans, we have already brought to notice.¶ His murder by a Bráhman is equal only to the killing of a cat, an ichneumon, the bird *cháṣha* (the Indian Roller), a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow.** His bliss in a future world, or in a future birth, depends principally on his service. "Servile attendance on Bráhmans learned in the Véda, chiefly on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Shúdra, and leads him to future beatitude. Pure, humbly serving the higher classes, sweet in speech, never arrogant, ever seeking refuge in Bráhmans, he may attain the highest class" (in another birth). ††

By some intelligent writers, the position and condition of the Indian Shúdras, as brought to notice in the Hin-

* Manu, v. 104. † Manu, v. 92. ‡ Manu, viii. 337.
§ Manu, xi. 94. ‖ Manu, x. 99. ¶ See above pp. 19-20.
** Manu, xi. 131. †† Manu, ix. 334-335.

du Law Books, and exhibited in ancient (not the most ancient) India society, has been likened to that of the Helots of Sparta. As far as the deprivation of liberty, the social degradation, and the actual sufferings of both these classes of slaves were concerned, there was doubtless considerable similarity. It must be kept in mind, however, that while the Helots were slaves of the soil and usually employed in agricultural labour, the Shúdras were slaves of the household and commonly employed in domestic services. In religious status, the Shúdras were lower than the Helots. When a reference is made to their obvious usefulness in olden times, it is difficult to understand the peculiar hate with which, it would seem, they were regarded, unless on the supposition that they were prone,—as well they might be,—to discontent and rebellion, at any rate till a general agreement as to their depression was secured among their superiors.

Of the four classes of Hindus now treated of, it is held by the Bráhmans that the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas no longer exist. In explanation of their doctrine on this matter, they refer to the legend of Parashuráma, an alleged incarnation of the god Vishṇu, who is said to have killed all the Kshatriyas in twenty-one engagements;* to the destruction of the Yádavas by Kṛishṇa, considered also an incarnation of the same god;† and

* For a summary and review of the wild legends connected with Parashuráma, see Muir's Texts, pp. 151-174. The slaughter of the Kshatriyas is laid in remote ages, beyond those of the Law Books, and the narrations of it are not available for the purpose for which they are appealed to by the modern Bráhmans.

† The legends of this alleged destruction are given in the Mahábhárata and the Vaishnava Puráṇas. See Wilson's Vishnu Puráṇa, p. 610.

especially to certain passages in the Bhágavata and other Puránas, in which it is prophesied that after king Nanda, son of Mahánanda, all earthly power is to be administered by Shúdras.* To their allegations on these matters it will be afterwards necessary to refer. In the meantime, I would simply mention one or two historical facts which bear more distinctly on the position of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in India than do the legends adduced by the Bráhmans. As the conquests of the A'ryas,—from whom, as we shall immediately see, the first Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas sprung,—advanced in India, difficulties, arising from the prejudices of race, were felt in giving the status of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas to the rulers and cultivators and merchants of the subjugated tribes; while, compared with the general population of these tribes, the pure A'ryas must have appeared but few in number. Shákya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, who flourished in the first half of the sixth or latter half of the fifth century before Christ, was a Kshatriya ; and he, and his cause after him, received great patronage and support from the scions of the princely tribe, who became its great propagators, while they seceded from the organized Bráhmanical faith and were reckoned apostates by its up-

* See Bhágavata, Skanda xii. 1. In the Vishnu Puráṇa (Wilson's, p. 467) it is said of this Nanda, "Like another Parashuráma, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for after him the kings of the earth will be Shúdras." Except sometimes in bare lists of kings (requiring a critical consideration, and adjustment), the Puráṇas give no history. To preserve the air of antiquity, these writings, which were evidently manufactured in late centuries, give their chronology in a prophetical form.

holders. The merchants of India, too, clave to Buddhism in great multitudes, as is evident from the inscriptions on the Buddhist Excavations, and is still illustrated in the case of the Jainas of Western India. In the course of ages, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, mainly of Aryan blood, seeing the peculiar honours claimed by and accorded to Bráhmans, not unnaturally aspired, we may suppose, after promotion ; and in the miscellaneous society of India, gave themselves out for Bráhmans, though by the real priestly class they might not be altogether acknowledged to have this standing. In every province of India there are cultivating and labouring Bráhmans, so-called, who are not acknowledged by their brethren in general to be of the real stamp; and who claim as their privilege only three of the six constituted works of the Brahmans—those of reading the Védas, sacrificing for themselves, and giving alms. Examples of this class of Bráhmans may be found in the Bhátélá Bráhmans of Gujarát ;* in the Shenaví Bráhmans of the Maráthá country and Goa territories; in the Haiga Bráhmans of the Karnáṭika ; † and in the Mahástána, or Mastan Bráhmans of Odra, or Orissa—who are as likely to have been originally Aryas of the ruling and cultivating tribes seeking elevation in caste, as Bráhmans deteriorating themselves by their present employments.‡ It is notorious that in the Bengal Army,

* See Author's Journal of a Tour in Gujarát, in Oriental Christian Spectator 1835, p. 250

† Letter of Huddlestone Stokes Esq. to the author.

‡ Noticing the Mastan Bráhmans, Mr. A Stirling (Trans. of As. Soc. vol. xv., p. 198) says, " Besides cultivating with their own hands gardens of the Karbu (Arum Indicum) cocoanut, and Areca, and the p-

many of the parties who had professed to belong to the Bráhmanhood, have been known to declare themselves to be of a lower grade, to get admittance into regiments in which there was more than the desired supply of Brahmans. All this is said with the full admission of the fact that the Bráhmanical theory of the total extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is altogether inadmissible. The descent of *some* of the Rajput princes from the ancient Kshatriyas,—with a mixture of foreign and aboriginal blood,—seems undeniable, even without the rapturous advocacy of the modern Pauráṇika, the worthy and genial Colonel James Tod.

IV.—Orthodox View of the Mixed Castes.

According to Manu, the original developement of humanity was confined to the Four Castes now noticed. "Three Castes, the Bráhman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya," he says, "are twice-born; the fourth, the Shúdra, is once-born; and there is not a fifth."* These divisions of human society, however, it must be seen at once, are quite inadequate to the exigencies of its progress and history. Other classes of men, with other duties, must have appeared in India, as well as in other countries, soon after the first settlement in it of any considerable body of the

per beetles, or pán, they very frequently follow the plough, from which circumstance they are called Halia Bráhmans, and they are found everywhere in great numbers of Mukaddams and Sarbarakars, or hereditary renters of villages. Those who handle the plough glory in their occupation, and affect to despise the *Bed* or Véda Bráhmans, who live upon alms. . . . I have not been able to trace satisfactorily the origin and history of these Mastan Bráhmans, who I am informed resemble the cultivating Bráhmans of Tirhut and Behár."

* Manu, x. 4.

descendants of our first progenitor. Such classes Hinduism recognizes; but it views them, and certain degraded classes of the people, and other bodies of men not yet within the pale of Hinduism, as the issue of connubial intercourse and adultery, and of after-propagation by that issue, and treats them as mules and hybrids.* It calls them the Mixed Castes (*Varṇa Sankara*). The origin thus attributed to them is doubtless entirely of a fictional character. The "Mixed Castes," must have originated principally from the increase of occupations in the Hindu community, brought about by the growing demands and division of labour, and by the circumstance of the dominant people (the A'ryas, to be immediately noticed), coming in contact with aboriginal tribes, which, keeping in the main beyond the pale of Hinduism, have either been ultimately degraded, or have maintained for themselves in their own retreats a precarious independence. I introduce,—with a few explanations,—the information which is given respecting them by Manu. We are able to identify several of his designations as those of tribes distinct from that of the dominant class which established Bráhmanism, and the system of faith with which it is associated.

"Sons, begotten by the twice-born on the class immediately below them, wise legislators call similar in class [with their parents, but not the same] because they are degraded by the lowness of their mothers. Such is the primeval rule for the sons of women one degree lower

* Commenting on the passage last quoted from Manu, Kullúka Bhaṭṭa, as noticed by Mr. Muir (Original Sanskrit Texts, p. 175), says, "There is no fifth Caste; for Caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, seeing that like mules, they belong to another species distinct from that of their father and mother."

[than their husbands]: for the sons of women two or three degrees lower, let this rule of law be known:—

"From a Bráhman, on a Vaishya wife,* is born a son called *Ambashṭha*," who, as Manu in another law says, "should live by curing disorders," and whose class is recognizable as the *Ambastai*, a people mentioned by Ptolemy,† "and represented as a "*Vaidya*" or Physician;"‡ on a Shúdra wife, [is born] a *Nish// áda*, originally viewed as a "settled" inhabitant, one of the Aborigines, but afterwards appointed "to catch

* The Code, it will be observed, does not tell us what the offspring of a Bráhman and a *Kshatriya* woman, referred to in the preceding general law, is. Probably a verse has here disappeared from the manuscripts. In the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purána, we find it thus written:—क्षत्रियां विप्रेसंयोगा जातो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः। राजन्य क्षत्रधर्मेण भाधिक समकीर्तित :—The offspring of a Vipra (Bráhman on a Kshatriya woman is a *Murdhábhishikta* (anointed in the head), a *Rajanya* (of princely descent) reckoned higher in religion than, a Kshatriya. Kullúka Bhaṭṭa supplies *Murdhávasikta*, but adds to it, as apparently designations also given to this kind of offspring, *Máhishya*, *Karaṇa*, or *Káyastha*. Prefixed to these four designations, Sir W. Jones (Manu, x. 6) supplies the words, "*They are named in order.*" But the names are not in the order of four ranks, but expressive of four Castes, alleged to be of one origin and equal status. The *Murdhábhishikta*, or *Murdhávasikta*, Caste is held by the Bráhmans to be no longer in existence.

† Αμβαται, Pal. Α'μβάσται, Ptol. lib. vii, Ed. Bert. p. 204.

‡ As noticed by Professor Lassen, the appearance of the Vaidya here is puzzling; but probably the Code had it in view to give to a Vaidya more than the rank of a Vaishya, as each of these mixed classes partakes in the dignity of the father. Onwards the Code gives to the *Ambashṭha*, the cure of disorders, dropping the *Vaidya* out of view. It is probable that the country of the Ambashṭhas, like the Karnáṭika of the present day, furnished remarkable physicians or travelling quacks.

fish,"* named also *Párashava*, in the Játi-Viveka, and the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa—a *Sonár*, or goldsmith.†

"From a Kshatriya, on a Shúdra wife, springs a creature called *Ugra*,"—the patronymic of a people in the time of the Vedas, perhaps the original of the Hungarian nation,—"with a nature partly warlike and partly servile, ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts, and commanded,—with the Kshattri and Pukkasa to be afterwards mentioned,—"to live by killing animals that live in holes."‡

"The sons of a Bráhman by [women of] three [lower] classes, of a Kshatriya by [women of) two, and of a Vaishya, by one [lower] class, are called *Apasada*, or degraded.

"From a Kshatriya, by a Bráhman woman, is born a

* At the time of the Mahábhárata, (Rájádharmmánushâshana parva, vv. 2209-2218. Cal. Ed. vol. iii. p. 443) the *Nishádas and Mléchchas* dwelling in the Vindhyá mountains, and the reputed descendants of the wicked *Véna* are reckoned at a hundred thousand (classes?). The picture of the Nisháda there given seems to have had a party like the *Bhilla* for its type, a being spoken of as "deformed, dwarfish, of the colour of chared-wood, with red [furious?] eyes, and black hair." To this description of him we shall afterwards advert.

† The classing of a goldsmith with a *Nisháda* seems curious; but the *Nisháda* was not considered so alien from the ruling race as is commonly supposed. In the Rámáyaṇa i. 33, we find Ráma spoken of as meeting with Guha, "the pious, and beloved prince of the Nishádas" (गुहमासाद्य धर्मात्मा निषादाधिपतिं प्रियं.) The Bombay goldsmiths, however, don't like to be associated with the Nishádas, and plead for being considered a sort of sub-Bráhmans. The Sahyádri Khaṇḍa gives to the Sonár, viewed as a Párashava, more than the religious status of a Shúdra. It denominates him a Maháshúdra, or great Shúdra. That work, however, is but a late production.

‡ In the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Puráṇa, the Ugra gets the rank of a Rajput.

Súta" [the "sent"], to "live by managing horses and driving cars;" and who, of old, must have been the great traditional bard, or reciter, of the families in which he was found.*

"From a Vaishya, by a military or sacerdotal wife, springs a *Mághada*," "authorized to travel with merchandise,"—and probably an aboriginal inhabitant of the province of *Maghada*; "and a *Vaidéha*", of the country of *Vidêha*,—first mentioned in the Sanskrit writings as belonging to King Janaka,—"to live by waiting on women."

"From a Shúdra, on a Vaishya, Kshatriya, or Bráhman woman, are born sons of a mixed breed, called *A'yogava* (a monstrous junction); a Kshattri," "a degraded being, who must live by killing animals;" "and a *Chándála*, the lowest of mortals,"—† whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandali*, or *Gondali*, on the river Taptí,‡ (perhaps the *Gonds*,—adjoining the *Phyllitæ*, of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*,—or the *Gondhalís*, still a wandering tribe of the Maháráshtra.)

"From a Bráhman, by an Ugra female, is born an *A'vrita*; by one of the Ambashtha tribe, an *A'bhíra*,"—designated from *Abira*, of Ptolemy, on the banks of the Indus, and represented by *A'hir*, the name of a class of shepherds in Sindh, Kachh, and Káthiáwád; "by one of the *Ayogava tribe*, a *Dhigvana*,"§ "appointed to sell leather."

* The Mahábhárata professes to have been recited by Ugrasravas the son of the Súta Lomaharshana, who is said, however, to have received it from Vaishampáyana, a disciple of *Vyása*, the reputed "compiler," as his name bears, of the Védas and Shástras.

† Manu, x. 6-12. ‡ Manu, x. 15.

§ Ptol. Geo. Ed. Bertii. p. 204.

"The son of a Nishádа by a Shúdra woman is by tribe a *Pukkasa*," "to live by killing animals that live in holes;" "but the son of a Shúdra by a Nishádí woman, is named *Kukkutaka*.

"One born of a Kshattri by an *Ugra* is called *Svapáka* (dog-eater); and one begotten by a *Vaidéha* on an Ambashthí woman is called *Véna*," "who should strike musical instruments."*

"Those whom the twice-born beget on women of equal classes, but who perform not the proper ceremonies, people denominate *Vrátya*, or excluded from the Gáyatrí.

"From such an outcast Bráhman springs a son, of a sinful nature, named a *Bhúrjakantaka*, an *A'vantya*, *a Vátadhána*, a *Pushpadha*, and a *Shaikha*,"—who seem to have been inhabitants of the countries near the western part of the Vindhyá range.

"From such an outcast Kshatriya comes a son called *Jhalla* (Rajguru), a *Malla* (wrestler), a *Nichhavi*,† *Nata* (a dancer), a *Karana*, a *Khasa*" (of the Khásya tribe), and a *Dravida*,"—of the eastern coast of the peninsula.

"From such an outcast Vaishya is born a son called *Sudhanvá*, *Cháryya*, *Kárusha*, *Vijanma*, *Maitra*, and *Sátvata*,"—the last mentioned being near the Vindhyá.‡

"A *Dasyu*,"—originally a non-Aryan,—" or outcast of any pure class, begets, on an *Ayogaví* woman, a *Sairindhra*, who should know how to attend and dress his master.

* Véna comes from Víná, a lyre.

† This is supposed by Professor Lassen to be for *Lichavi*, a class of people, noted as warriors, in the East of India.

‡ Manu x. 17-23.

"A Vaidéha begets on her a sweet-voiced *Maitrêyaka,* who ringing a bell (or gong) at the appearance of dawn, continually praises great men.

"A *Nisháda* begets on her a *Màrgava*, or *Dàsha*, who subsists by his labour in boats, and is named *Kaivarta,* by those who dwell in *A'ryavarta.**

"From a Nisháda, by a Vaidéha woman, springs a *Kárávara,* who cuts leather, and from a Vaidéha by women of the Kárávara and Nisháda castes an *Andhra* (of the eastern part of the peninsula), and a *Méda,*† who must live without the town,"—perhaps of the degraded Meda ("Mair") tribe in Rajputáná.

"From a Chándála, by a Vaidéha woman, comes a *Pándusopákâ,* who works with cane and reeds; and from a *Nisháda,* an *Ahindika,*" said to be a "jailor."

"From a *Chándála,* by a Pukassí woman, is born a *Sopáka,* who lives by punishing criminals, a sinful wretch ever despised by the virtuous.

"A Nishádí woman, by a *Chándála,* produces a son called *Antyavasáyí* (performer of the lowest actions) employed in places for burning the dead, contemned even by the contemptible." ‡........

"The following races of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Bráhmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes [the *Shúdras*]:—*Paundrakas,* [of the east of India], *Odras* [of Orisa], and *Dravidas* [of the south east of India]; *Kámbojas, Yavanas* [Greeks], and *Shakas* [Sacæ]; *Pára-*

* Manu, x. 32-34. The region of the A'ryas.

† The Maráthá Bráhmans consider the *Méda* the equivalent of Gonda.

‡ Manu, x. 36-39.

das, *Pahlavas* [Persians], *Chínas* [Chinese],* *Kirátas*, *Daradas*, and *Khashas* [all identified as names of peoples and tribes]. All those tribes of men which are sprung from the classes produced from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahmá, became outcasts and are called Dasyus, whether they speak the language of the *Mléchchhas*, or that of the *A'ryas*."†

The Mixed Classes of the Hindus, even in their generic designations, are now far more numerous than those which are here indicated, though doubtless there has been a great indisposition on the part of the Bráhmans to extend them nominally beyond those found mentioned in the more ancient Law Books. This fact may be illustrated by any of the Tabular views of the Castes constructed by the natives in any of the provinces of India,—as in that of the Maháráshṭra, or Maráthá country, a transliteration and translation of which, in an abridged form, may, with its introductory matter, be here introduced, as the most distinct and precise document of the kind procurable.‡

1. "The *Bráhmans* have proceeded from the mouth of the god Brahmá. They have a right to the performance and use of the Sixteen Sacraments and the Six religious Works." The Sixteen Sacraments *(sanskáras)*, here alluded to, are the following :—*garbhádhána*, sacrifice to promote conception, or acknowledge it when it occurs;

* The occurence of the Chinas and Yavanas in this verse indicates this portion of Manu to be later than the time of the Greeks in India.

† Manu x. 43-45. See, on some of the tribes here mentioned, Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa, p. 177.

‡ This character I give it on comparing the Maráthí Tables with the similar documents of Bengal, the Gwálér State, Orisa, the Canarese country, the Támil country, Malayálim, etc.

punsavana, sacrifice on vitality in the fœtus; *anavalobhana*, sacrifice in the third month of pregnancy; *Vishnubali*, sacrifice to Vishnu in the seventh month of pregnancy; *simantonnayana*, sacrifice in the fourth, sixth, or eighth month; *jâtakarmma*, the birth ceremony, giving the infant clarified butter from a golden spoon before dividing the navel string; *námakarana*, naming the child on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or hundred-and-first day; *nishkramana*, carrying him out to be presented to the moon on the third lunar day of the third light fortnight; *sûryávalokana*, carrying him out to be presented to the sun in the third or fourth month; *annapráshana*, feeding him with rice in the sixth or eighth month, or when he has cut his teeth; *chudákáryya*, tonsure, in the second or third year; *upanayana*, investiture with the string in the fifth, eighth, or sixteenth year; *mahánámya* instruction in the gáyatrí-mantra, after the Munja, the ceremony of investment with the sacrificial cord; *samavarttana*, loosing the Munja from the loins; *viváha*, marriage, with its immediate antecedents and concomitants; *svargarohana*, funeral ceremonies and obsequies, to forward the entrance of the spirit into Svarga, or heaven.* The dispensation of such of the Sacraments here mentioned as precede birth, is attended with the injury of all delicate feeling in families. There is much ceremony, without any really moral import, in all the Hindu Sacraments. The Six Constituted works of the Bráhmans have been already mentioned.†

2. "The *Kshatriyas* have proceeded from the arm

* In this mention of the Sacraments, I have principally followed Molesworth (Dictionary, p. 836). But compare Steele's Summary of the Law and Customs of Hindu Caste, p. 30.

† See above, p. 17.

of the god. They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works.

3. "The *Vaishyas* have proceeded from the foot of the god. They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works.

4. "The *Shúdras* have proceeded from the foot of the god. They have a right to the use of Twelve Sacraments through the Náma-Mantras.* Their duty is to serve the other three Castes.

"Thus were created the Four Castes (*varṇas*). The god Brahmá also produced some Mind-born Sons. One of these was Kashyapa Ṛishi [the son of Maríchi one of the Mind-born Sons], who gave birth to the gods (*Dévas*) and Titans (*Daityas*), and so continued the progression of the world.† The Bráhmans had the

* The principal Sacraments not allowed to Shúdras are Upanayana, Mahánámya, and Samavarttana. The Náma-Mantras are the simple invocations of the names of the gods, as distinguished from Vedic texts.

† In the doctrine of the Mind-born sons of Brahma, here alluded to (designedly in an obscure form, for preventing the charge of inconsistency), there is, even in Manu (i. 32-et seq.), a theory of the origin of the human race quite inconsistent with the orthodox view of the origin of Caste. "Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord [Brahmá, the creator] became, with the half, a male, and with the half, a female; and in that female he created *Viráj*. Know, O most excellent of Bráhmans, [Manu is here represented as speaking to Bhṛigu, one of the Mind-born Sons, or Sons formed by Manu] that I am the person whom that male Viráj after performing devotion, created: I who am the creator of all this [world]. Being desirous to form creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis, (great Ṛishis) the lords of creatures: Maríchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachétas, Vashishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nárada. They, endued with great energy, created seven other Manus and Dévas, and the abodes of Dévas, and Maharshis of boundless power, Yakshas, Rákhasas, Pisháchas, Gan-

custom of receiving in marriage females of all the four Castes (the wife of his own Caste being the first.) The Kshatriyas married the females of three Castes, including their own. The Vaishyas were to exclude the females of the Bráhman and Kshatriya Castes, and to marry those of their own and the Shúdra Caste. The Shúdras were permitted to contract marriages only in their own Caste. Such was the custom of the former ages. The offspring of such marriages is called the *Anuloma.** The offspring of unlawful connexions between the higher Caste men and lower caste women is called the *Pratiloma.*† The period for the investiture with the sacred thread of the male issues of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya Castes is [properly] restricted to the age of nine years (to the commencement of the

dharvas, Apsarasas, Asuras, Nágas, Serpents, Suparṇas, and the different classes of Pitṛis,......... Kinnaras, apes, fishes, various birds, beasts, deer, MEN, and wild animals with two rows of teeth......Thus by my appointment [that of Manu, the son of the self-existent] and by the force of devotion, these great ones created all this movable and immovable world with separate actions allotted to each creature." To this passage, as opposed to the orthodox theory of Caste, I directed attention in my lectures to the youth of Bombay many years ago. Mr. Muir (whose translation I have adopted in giving it, O. S. T. p. 16), I am glad to notice, thus refers to it:—"It will be observed that among the creatures formed by the ten Maharshis are Men, who are not specified as being of any particular caste. How does this creation by the Maharshis consist with the four being created separately, and by the immediate act of Brahmá, as described in verse 31," [in which they are spoken of as brought from his head, hands, etc] ?

* From *Anu*, with, and *loma*, hair, grain, or line, meaning in the direct line of nature.

† The reverse of the preceding.

ninth year)* Those whose thread ceremony has not been solemnized within that period are called *Vrátya.* The children born to the Vrátyas by adultery with the women of their own caste are called the *Vrátya-Santati* (Vrátya-progeny). Again, those born of illegal connexion of the men of any one of the above-mentioned castes with the women of any other caste are called the Mixed Castes (*Sankara-Játi*). The authors of the Játi-Vivéka, the Brahajjáti-Vivéka, the Mádhava Kalpalita, and the Parashuráma Pratápa [works of authority among the Maráṭhá Bráhmans], say there are many Mixed-Castes in this last age (Kali-Yuga) which cannot be determined and described. Yet, with the help of Manu and the other Rishis, they enumerate 134 produced from the *Anulomas* and *Pratilomas*, and the mixture (by the *Sankara-Játi*) of the four original Castes. They describe their modes of subsistence, and notice the Castes which are referable to the Sankara-Játi and those which are not. The following is the sum of them :—

Directly from god—the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra	4
From the *Anuloma*—the Murdhá-Vasikta, the Ambashtha, the Párashava, the Mahishya, the Ugra, and the Vaitálika-Karaṇa Chárana	6
From the *Pratiloma*—the Súta, the Vaidéhika, the Chánḍála, the Mágadha, the Kshata-Nishádа, the Ayogava	6
From the *Vrátyas* and the *Sankaras* together, according to the preceding books	36
To which are to be added, from the Parashuráma Pratápa,	22
Total of Castes enumerated	134."

* See the injunction of Manu on this matter, above, pp. 15-16. But compare with it, for the application of the term *Vrátya*, the Mahábhárata, Anushásana Parva, 6. 2621 :—The three outcaste classes are the Chánḍála, the Vrátya, and the Vaidya, begotten by a Shúdra on females of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya classes respectively.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE CASTES ABOVE REFERRED TO.

From the Bráhman to the Shúdra, here the Kunbí or Cultivator.

Caste.	*Sanskrit denomination.*	*Maráthí denomination.*	*English denomination.*	*Male Parent.*	*Female Parent.*	*Procession.*
1	Bráhamaṇa	Bráhmaṇ	*Bráhman*	Bráhman	Bráhman	Regular.
2	Murddhábhiṣhikta *	....	*Anointed in the head*	Bráhman	Kshatriya	Anuloma.
3	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	*Kshatriya*	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Regular.
4	Ambaṣhṭha	Vaidya	*Ambaṣhṭha*	Bráhman	Vaishya	Anuloma.
5	Vaishya	Vaishya	*Vaishya*	Vaishya	Vaishya	Regular.
6	Mahiṣhya	Joshí	*Mahiṣhya or Joshí*	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Anuloma.
7	Kuṇḍa-Golaka	Kuṇḍa-Golaka	*Kuṇḍa-Golaka*	Bráhman.	Bráhman wife of another	Adultery.
8	Raṇḍa-Golaka	Raṇḍa-Golaka	*Raṇḍa-Golaka*	Bráhman	Bráhman-widow	Adultery.
9	Bhiṣhaka, or Ambaka †	Apar-Ambaṣhṭha	*Bhishaka, or Ambaka*	Bráhman.	Kshatriya	Adultery.
10	Súta	Sárathí	*Charioteer, or Bard*	Kshatriya	Bráhman	Pratiloma.
11	Párashava ‡	Sonár	*Goldsmith*	Bráhman	Shúdra	Anuloma.
12	Ugra	Rajput	*Ugra*	Kshatriya	Shúdra	Anuloma.
13	Kánsyakára	Kánsár	*Bell-metal-worker*	Shúraséna, Adhika-Kshatriya	Shúraséna, Adhika-Kshatriya	Degeneration.§
14	Bṛijjakanṭha	Prathama-Bairágí	1. *Bairágí*	Bráhman Vrátya, Anupanífta	Brahman	Vrátya-Santati.
15	A'vartaka	DwitíyaBairágí	2. *Do.*	Bṛijjakanṭha or Pratham Bairági	Bráhman	Do.
16	Kaṭadhána	Tritíya-Bairágí	3. *Do.*	A'vartaka, or Dwitíya Bairágí	Bráhman.	Do.
17	Puṣhpashékhara	Chaturtha-Bairágí	4. *Do.*	Kaṭadhána, or Tritíya Bairágí ‖	Bráhman.	Do.

* Or Murdhávisikhta. Now altogether extinct. † Now altogether extinct.

‡ Goldsmiths are important personages in the community. Many say they are here inserted by favour, as all the handicrafts, according to the Caste theory, should rank lower than Shúdras. They have, however, a Bráhman progenitor ascribed to them.

§ By a Kshatriya adopting a trade, as is said.

‖ The Bairágís,—or *Vairágis*,—are devotees of Vishṇu, and properly a sect, not a caste. The numeric distinctions in Maráthí (1, 2, 3, 4) are purely arbitrary.

Caste. Sanskrit denomination.	Maráthí denomination.	English denomination.	Male Parent.	Female Parent.	Procession.
18 Mágadha.	Súrya-Upásaka	*Mághada*	Bráhman	Pushpashékhara	
19 Shásvatika	Dévapújá-Karanár	*Idol-dresser*	Bráhman	Mágadha	
20 Sudhanváchárya, Bháruda, Vijanmá, Maitréya, Sávrita,	Jangam, etc., of five kinds of Vánís*		Vrátya-vansha Anupaníta	Vaishya	Vrátya S.
21 Shúdra.	Kunbí.	*Cultivator*	Shúdra	Shúdra	Regular.

Of the Status of the Cultivators.

22 Abhír	Gawalí	*Herdsman*†	Bráhman	Mahishya	
23 Mágadha-Bandi-jana	Bhatava Kavi	*Minstrel of the Mágadhas*	Vaishya	Kshatriya	Pratiloma.
24 Nápita	Nháví	*Barber*	Bráhman	Shúdra	
25 Apara-Nápita†	Nháví	*Barber*	Mágadha	Ugra	
26 Jhalla	Rájguru	*Jhalla*	Kshatriya-Vrátiya	Shúdra or Kshatriya	Vrátya S.
27 Malla	Jethí ‡	*Wrestler*	Jhalla	Kshatriya	
28 Vichuka	Chatradhar, or Wárí	*Umbrella-holder*	Bráhman	Vaidéhika	
29 Súda	Svayampákí	*Cook*	Súta	Vaidéhika	
30 Kánsyakára	Bogar-Kánsár	*Clumsy-Brazier*	Bráhman	Ambashtha	
31 Kínásava	Támbat	*Coppersmith*	Kshatriya	Párashava	
32 Rathakára	Sutár §	*Carpenter*	Mahíshya	Charaní-Vaitálaka	

Lower than Shúdras.

33 Vaitálika Karana, or Chárana	Dhadí (?)		Vaishya	Shúdra	Anuloma.
34 Káyastha.	Prabhu or Parbhu	*K. Parbhu*	Vaidéhika	Mahishya	
35 Apara-Káyastha.	Prabhu or Parbhu	*Parbhu*	Káyastha	Káyastha-widow	
36 Parabhá	Parabhá		Vrátya Prabhu-brother	Prabhu-sister	Incest. ‖
37 Andhasyaka	Bhadabhunjya	*Grain-parcher*	Vaidéhika	Shúdra	
38 Manikára	Vidhárí	*Jeweller*	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Adultery.
39 Shalikana (?)	Katárí	*Turner*	Málákára	Káyastha	

* This is a late interpolation, the Jangams being the priests of the Lingáyits, a modern sect.

† From the Sanskrit *Jyeshtha*, chief. ‡ Variety of the preceding. § Or Karana.

‖ Insinuation from Bráhmanical hatred, the Káyasthas, or Parbhus, being great rivals of the Bráhman in the matter of office-employment.

Caste. Sanskrit denomination,	*Maráthí denomination.*	*English denomination.*	*Male Parent.*	*Female Parent.*	*Procession.*
40 A'yogava	Pátharavaṭ	*Stone-dresser..*	Shúdra	Vaishya	Pratiloma.
41 Kumbhakára ..	Kumbhár.	*Potter*	Bráhman ..	Ugra	
42 Gandhaka	Gandhí	*Perfumer*	Ugra	Ambaṣhṭha..	
43 Vatsalá	Gorákhí	*Cowherd*	Shúdra	Kánsyakára.	
44 Silindhra Mardaní (?)	Ang-Mardaní ..	*Appliers of unguents*	Malla	Kshatriya ..	
45 Chhágalika	Shéḷaka.	*Goatherd*	Kaṭadhána..	Bandijana or Magadhí	
46 Sindolaka	Shímpí	*Tailor*	Shúdra	Bhanḍa	
47 Vastra-Vikṛayí..	Kapaḍá-Vikanár-Shimpí	*Clothier-Tailor*	Shúdra	Ayogava or Páthara-vaṭa......	
48 Shábala	Unknown*	....	Bráhman ..	Bandijana ..	
49 Shankarghna ..	Shankarghna ..	....	Káyastha Prabhu	A'yogava....	
50 Málákára	Málí	*Gardener*	Mahiṣhya ..	Niṣháda	
51 Phala-Vikrayí ..	Phal-Vikanár ...	*Flower-seller*	Bráhman ..	Kalavanta ..	
52 Kagalika.	Kavaḍí Kashí ..	*Fruit-seller* ..	Shúdra	Ugra	
53 Jáyika..........	Jásud	*Messenger* ..	Niṣháda	Ugra	
54 Shayápála	Phrás	*Bed-maker* ..	Sairandhra..	Dwára-rakshaka	
55 Niṣhada-Párashava	Nícha-Sonár	*Low-Sonár* ..	Bráhman ..	Shúdra	
56 Mahágurú, Uṣhṭrapála	Karhekar	*Camel-man* ..	Kshata-Níṣháda Kshémak	Avartaka ..	
57 Magutavallí (?)..	Chora-Rakshak	*Watchman* ..	Bráhman ..	Bandijana ..	
58 Bhasma-Sankara	Gurava	*Dresser of Idols*	Mahá-Tapasví Bráhman	Married-Shúdra	
59 Suchala and Kuchala	Gonḍhaḷí	*Musician*	A'ndhra	Vaidéhika ..	
60 Maitríya........	Gonḍhaḷí	*Rude-Musician*	Vaidéhika ..	A'yogava ..	
61 Chitrakára.......	Shankavati and Rájavalí	....	A'vartaka-Kumbhár	Dhigvaṇa ..	
62 Prasádika	Gaunḍí	*Mason*	A'yogava ..	Kaivartaka	
63 Aurabhra.	Dhangar	*Shepherd*	Bṛijjakanṭa..	Chhágalí....	
64 Sangara (?)	Sangar	*Shepherd*	Shúdra	A'bhír......	
65 Vaidéhika	Kunṭan	*Pimp*	Vaishya	Bráhman....	Pratiloma.
66 Kshémaka	Dwára-rakshak, Chobdár	*Doorkeeper*	Kshata-Niṣháda	Ugra	
67 Ulmuka	Lohár	*Blacksmith* ..	Kshatriya ..	Mágadha	
68 Iṣhukára Mandalík.	Tírgar and Kamángar	*Archer*	A'bhír	Bṛikunsha ..	

* The name, said to be Sanskrit, does not seem genuine.

Caste.	Sanskrit denomination.	Maráthí denomination.	English denomination.	Male Parent.	Female Parent.	Procession.
69	Ishukára	Tirgar	*Archer*	Abhír	Kaivartaka	
70	Mausalika (?)	Télí	*Oilman*	Párashava	Ugra	
71	Nágavallí Víkrayí.	Tambolí	*Betel-leaf seller*	Kánchárí	Kumbhakára	
72	Kánchakára	KánchKaranár	*Glassmaker*	Shálmalí	A'vartaka	
73	Shakilya	Nícha-Nháví	*Low-Barber*	Nápita	Márga	
74	Shámbara	Sálí	*Weaver*	A'vartaka	Véna	
75	Kuravinda	Koshtí	*Weaver and Spinner*	A'vartaka	Kukkuta	
76	Shaushira (?)	Tasarávakar-Koshtí	*Maker of coarse silk cloth, Low Weaver*	Kukkuta	A'bhír	
77	Nílíkára	Nirálí	*Indigodyer*	A'bhíra	Kukkuta	
78	Kaukika	Kit-Lonárí	*Charcoal-maker*	Malla	A'vartaka	
79	Yavásika and Shákilya	Kirád and Chábukswár	*Grass-cutter Horse-Trainer*	Pásulaka	Pulkasa	
80	Pátula	Pángul	*Pángul-beggars*	Pasulaka	Shúdra	
81	Dasyu	Bhámatya	*Thieves*	Kuravinda	Kaivartaka	
82	Véna	Bahurupí	*Mask-wearers Playmen*	Ambashtha	Vaidéhika	
83	Brikunsha	Jámbhaka and A'kat	*Fortune-tellers, etc.*	A'yogava	Mágadha-Bandijana	
84	Kalávanta	Kalávanta and Kavál	*Dancers*	Nata	Mahishya	
85	Paushtika	Bhuí	*Bearers*	Bráhman	Níshada	
86	Páshulpalya or Pashu-Vikarayí	Wanjárá	*Wanjárá or Banjára*	Paushsika	Nishháda	
87	Kaivartaka	Dhívar Kulí	*Fisherman*	Párashava	A'yogava	
88	Dhígvan	Jingar	*Saddler*	Bráhman	A'yogava	
89	Káramárí	Shikalgar	*Furbisher*	Descent not recorded		
90	Utáraka	Otárí	*Caster and Founder*	Káramára	Chitrakára	
91	Shuddha-Márgaka	Ghadashí or Wasantrí	*(Low) Musician*	Mágadha	Mahishya	
92	Krodhakukkuta	Taksáli	*Mintman*	Shúdra	Kshata-Nishháda	

Lower than the preceding but higher than Chândálas. They dont reside in villages.

Caste.	Sanskrit denomination.	Maráthí denomination.	English denomination.	Male Parent.	Female Parent.	Procession.
93	Bandhulaka	Jhárékarí	*Remelter of metallic dross*	Maitreya	Jádhika	
94	Káshtapátrí	Badhái	*Box-maker*	Kaivartaka	Ahí-tundika	
95	Dhusakára	Ghísádí	*Coarse-Blacksmith*	Káramára	Sutár	

Caste.* Sanskrit denomination.	Marathi denomination.	English denomination.	Male Parent.	Female Parent.	Procession.
96 Shailika	Nálband	*Shoer of animals*	Káshtapátrákára	Brahman ..	
97 Karma-Chánḍála.	Béldár	*Stone-digger*	Bráhman-Sannyásí	Bráhman-widow	
98 Mangushtha	Chuní-Lonárí ..	*Lime-burner*	Kaivartaka..	Jádhika	
99 Manjúsha	Paríṭ	*Washerman*	Vaidéhíka ..	Ugra	
100 Naṭa.	Kolhántí or Dobárí	*Tumbler or Dancer*	Shilíndhra Mardaní	Khatriya ..	
101 Sútradhára.	Chitra-kathí or Kalá-Sutrí	*Doll-Dancer*	A'yogava ..	Rathakára.	
102 Rajukára	Kánjárí	*Rope-twister*	Brijakantha	Avartaka ..	
103 Kshata-Nishá da	Phansé-Páradhí	*Snarer*	Shúdra	Kshatriya ..	Pratiloma.
104 Kinshuka.......	Buruḍ..........	*Basketmaker*	Kaivartaka..	Kuravinda..	
105 Apara-Kinshuka	Kaikáḍí........	*Basketmaker*	Níshádа	Dhigvana ..	
106 Khadirotpádaka	Kátkarí........	*Kátkarí*†	Ushtrapála..	Bráhman ..	
107 Angshuka Manḍalíka.	Kutéwán	*Dogman*	Pushpashékhar	Karma Chánḍála	
108 Ahi-tunḍaka....	Gáruḍí	*Player with serpents*	Vaidéhika ..	Níshada	
109 Gholíka	Vaḍárí	*Vaddár*†	Níshádа	Ahi-tunḍaka	
110 Charmaka or Kárávára	Chámbhár	*Shoemaker.* ..	Dhigvana ..	Nisháda....	
111 Vaishya-Gáyaka	Básphoḍ........	*Bambu-Splitter*	Avartaka ..	Kárávára ..	
112 Chuladhya	Nícha-Pariṭ	*Low Washerman*	Kaivartaka..	Karaṇa	
113 Saunika	Kháṭik	*Butcher*......	Karma-chánḍála	Kaivartaka..	
114 Saushkala	Kalál..........	*Distiller*.. ..	Véṇa	A'bhír......	
	The touch of the following requires ablution of dress. ‡				
115 Durbhara	Dhor	*Currier*..	A'yogava ..	Dhigvaṇa ..	
116 Méda	Gonḍa and Thákur	*Gonḍa, and Thákur*	Vaidéhika ..	Kárávára ..	
117 Bhilla	Bhilla..........	*Bhilla*	Kaivartaka..	Káravárí ..	
118 Bháruḍa	Rámushí and Béraḍ	*Beraḍ, Rámushi*	Antévasáyí.	Pulkasa	
119 Tavára.	Lakhárí or Nicha Otárí	*Varnishers, Dealers-in lac*	Hastaka	Méda	
	From the Chánḍála to the Cannibal.				
120 Chánḍála	Hindu Halálkhor	*Scavengers* ..	Shúdra	Bráhman ..	Pratiloma.
121 Pulkasa........	Dongarí-Kulí ...	*Hill-Kulí*	Nishádа	Shúdra	

* Jungle tribe, makers of catechu. † Wandering tribe: rat-catchers, stone-dressers, &c.

‡ सचैलस्नान, *Sachailasnána.*

Caste.	Sanskrit denomination.	Maráthí denomination.	English denomination.	Male Parent.	Female Parent.	Procession.
122	Turuṣhka	Goṇda, Turkaman, Mlechcha, etc.*	....	Niṣháda	Médada	
123	Shvapáka†	PrathamMahár	1 *Mahár*	Cháṇḍála ..	Pulkasa	
124	Antévasáyí	Dwitíya Mahár, Dom	2 *Mahár*	Cháṇḍála ..	Niṣháda	
125	Plava,	Tritíya Mahár	3 *Mahár*	Cháṇḍála ..	A'ndhra	
126	Kravyádhí......	Chaturtha Mahár	4 *Mahár*	Shvapáka ..	Plava	
127	Hastaka........	Pancham Mahár	5 *Mahár*	Cháṇḍála ..	Kraviádhí ..	
128	Káṭaka	Sáhava Mahár	6 *Mahár*	Shvapáka ..	Hastaka....	
129	Heṣhaka........	Nícha-Mahár ..	*Low Mahár*..	Doma, Antévasáyí	Mátangí	
130	Chéṣha.	Ati-níchaMahar	*Lowest Mahár*	Turuṣhka ..	Cháṇḍála ..	
131	Shvapacha......	Máng	*Máng*........	Cháṇḍála ..	Méda	
132	Mátanga........	Máng	*Low Máng* ..	Plava	Antévasáyí.	
133	Malyahárí, Yavana	Musalman-Halálkhor, Sojar‡	" *Soldier*"....	Turuṣhka ..	Súda	
134	Manuṣhya-Bhakshaka	Adam-Khor	*Cannibal*	Cháṇḍála ..	Méda	

" Besides the Castes above enumerated," it is added to the Tables, " there are other Castes,—in the city of Puṇá eleven,—the origin of which cannot be explained according to the Shástras. Altogether, the Recognized Castes in the Maráthá Country amount to 145. The rank popularly assigned to these Castes does not in each instance accord with that established by the Shástras."

The list, though comprehending but the families and genera of the local Castes, is indeed, far from being complete. But to this subject we must afterwards return in another connexion. Our object at present has been merely to illustrate the principle according to which, in the orthodox view, varieties in Caste have originated. The mode of their actual development will require special and distinct notice.

* This shows that the Bráhmans are but poor ethnographers.

† Dog-eaters: the Sanskrit denominations, it will be observed, are all attributed to the Mahárs, a degraded Aboriginal tribe, here arbitrarily set forth as of six degrees.

‡ Let the British warrior mark the place here assigned to him. The Bráhmans are afraid to put the "Sahebs" here: and they excuse themselves by saying that they have got a share of the *Rájádhikárá*, (authority of government) claimed by the ancient Kshatriyas. Some of the Bráhmans hold that the Yavanas and Europeans should take rank after the Turushkas: but this is of little consequence, as they are still left between the Cháṇdála and Cannibal.

To this it has to be added, that the view of the origin and position of the castes here given is that to which orthodox Hinduism adheres to the present day. This is obvious, not only from some of the authorities from which the preceding matter has been drawn, but from the representations constantly made by the Bráhmans in their intercourse with their pupils, and in their popular expositions of Hinduism, such as the Hindu Dharma Tatva of Gangádhar Shástrí Phaḍaké, long the Pandit of the Bombay Education Society and Elphinstone College in Bombay, published only in a few years ago.* This author tells us, for example, that the *Bráhman* has got intelligence *(buddhi)*, disposing him to his own six peculiar works; that the *Kshatriya* is directed by his nature to his appointed employments; that the Vaishya is urged by innate inclination to his prescribed work; and that the *Shúdra* is destined by his "coarse intellect" to his mean engagements. The four first castes, he says, have existed from the creation, and those of the *Sankar* (through the *Anuloma* and the *Pratiloma*) from early times. The number of castes, he holds, is on the increase to the present day, bringing them,—by differences and distinctions of country, of custom, of conduct, of food and livelihood, of works (good, indifferent, and low), of attachment to particular gods, and of sectarial opinion,—up to "thousands upon thousands." This increase, he adds, is doubtless "according to the will of God," and not without its advantages, which should be acknowledged by the powerful Government of this country, which would find it difficult to overthrow even the most modern of them. The advantages of caste, he begs the natives to observe, are undeniable, though he does not specify them; while there is nothing disgraceful in the meanest services prescribed by the caste system, the very Shúdras having Mahárs, and Mángs, and others, as much subordinated to them as they

* See Hindu Dharma Tatva, pp. 60-77.

themselves are subordinated to the Bráhmans. To persons of low-caste seeking learning, not called for by their original position, he expresses no good will, as he teaches that they will upset the order of things, to the production of general inconveniences and difficulties. In all this he is but a representative man of the orthodox, and still prevailing, school. Old India directs its uniform effort to the conservation of caste with all its peculiarities and pretensions. Everything adverse to caste it interprets as a sure sign or omen of the advance of the Kali Yuga, or iron age, preparatory to the destruction of the universe, as guessed at in the curious attempts at prophecy made in the Puráṇas, on the first threatenings or realization of Muhammadan conquest in the North of India.*

* The following very curious specimen of these prophecies is here worthy of attention:—

"Men of three tribes, but degraded, and A'bhíras and Shúdras, will occupy Shauráshtra, Avantí, Shúra, Arbuda, and Marubhumi: and Shúdras out-castes, and Barbarians will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Dárvika, the Chandrabhága and Kashmir. These will be contemporary monarchs, reigning over the earth; kings of churlish spirit, violent temper, and ever addicted to falsehood and wickedness. They will inflict death on women, children, and cows; they will seize upon the property of their subjects, they will be of limited power, and will for the most part rapidly rise and fall; their lives will be short, their desires insatiable, and they will display but little piety. The people of the various countries intermingling with them will follow their example, and the barbarians being powerful in the patronage of the princes, whilst purer tribes are neglected, the people will perish. ,Wealth and piety will decrease day by day, until the world will be wholly depraved. Then property alone will confer rank; wealth will be the only source of devotion; passion will be the sole bond of union between the sexes; falsehood will be the only means of success in litigation; and women will be objects merely of sensual gratification. Earth will be venerated but for its mineral treasures; the Brahmanical thread will constitute a Brahman; external types (as the staff and red garb) will be the only distinctions of the several orders of life; dishonesty will be the universal means of subsistence; weakness will be the cause of dependence; menace and presumption will be substituted for learning, liberality will be devotion; simple ablution will be purification; mutual assent will be marriage; fine clothes will be dignity; and water afar off will be esteemed a holy spring. Amidst all castes he who is the strongest will reign over a principality thus vitiated by many faults. The people unable to bear the heavy burdens imposed upon them by their avaricious sovereigns, will take refuge among the valleys of the mountains, and will be glad to feed upon wild honey, herbs, roots, flowers, and leaves; their only covering will be the bark of trees, and they will be exposed to the cold, and wind, and sun, and rain. No man's life will exceed three and twenty years. Thus in the Kali age shall decay constantly proceed, until the human race approches its annihilation." Wilson's Vishnu Purána, pp. 481-482. For more matter of the same kind, with curious variations and discrepancies see pp. 622-626 of the same work, the 12th Skanda of the Bhágava a, and the conclusion of most of the other Puránas.

V.—Origin and Development of Indian Caste.

The artificial system of Caste, to which the two preceding sections have been devoted, was not the growth of a single age, or even of a few centuries. The exhibition of its origin and development is the great desideratum in all researches into the history of the social life of India. It is to be regretted that the materials for such an exhibition are but of limited extent and of difficult interpretation. We arrange our notices of them, as far as practicable, in chronological order.

1. We begin with gleanings from the *Vêdas.*

The earliest sources of information on Indian society are, of course, the oldest portions of the vast and varied body of Indian literature, denominated the *Vêdas.* In referring to them for this information, which can be collected only with much labour, we must distinctly recognise their peculiar character as literary and religious works.

The word *Vêda,* as we have elsewhere said, may be rendered Fount-of-Knowledge or of Vision, its root appearing in the Greek ἐιδεω and ἐιδω, Latin *vido* and *video,* and English *wit.** The works to which this name is applied, however, have no comprehensive contents suitable to their designation,—which appears to have been given them merely because of their great age and estimated venerable character, as embodying the religious songs and hymns of the ancient Indians.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 15.

They are four in number, the *Ṛig*, *Sáma*, *Yajur*, and *Atharva*. The *Ṛig-Véda*, which contains their oldest material and in its oldest form, has, in its *Sanhitá* or collection, some 11,000 or 12,000 distichs or *Ṛichas* (from whence it receives its name), arranged in *Súktas*, or Hymns, principally according to their authors and the gods to whom they are addressed. The *Yajur* (literally sacrificial) Véda, occurs in two collections—the *Kṛishna*, or Black, the more ancient, bearing also the name of the *Taittiriya* (probably derived from the school or sect by whom it was formed)—and the *Shukla*, or White, bearing also the name of the *Vájasanéya*, of an origin similar to that now mentioned. A large portion of its materials in both forms is derived from the *Ṛig*, to about the half of which it is equal in the extent of matter in both of its forms united.* The *Sáma Véda*, which is said by the Bráhmans to have 7,000 verses,† draws almost the whole of its contents from the Ṛig, selecting them, however, in small portions from particular hymns, and arranging them principally for sacrificial chanting at the *soma* sacrifices by a particular class of priests.‡ The *Atharva Véda*, which is said

* In the Black Yajur Véda, there appear in the MS. before me to be about 1836 distichs.

† In Dr. Stevenson's edition it occupies only some 3,395 lines. In Benfey's, it has about 2735.

‡ Though most of the Hymns (Súktas, laudations,—from *sú* good and *ukta* spoken) of the Ṛig-Véda are intended for personal and family use, it is obvious from some of them, of later composition than their associates in the *Sanhitá* or collection, that a somewhat definite order had been adopted by the parties acting as priests when these later hymns were composed. Thus, e. g. in R. V. ii. 5. varga 17, we have

to have 6,015 verses, is posterior to the others in composition; and it is mostly filled with incantations and curses and blessings. It takes only a few of its pieces from the hymns of the Ṛig, and principally from those of latest composition.

The representation of what may be called the Védic period of time is to be sought for principally in the *Ṛig-Véda*, because the pieces which it contains are found individually, though not in chronological arrangement, in their original form, and because it is the great fount from which the contents of the other Védas have, in so far as they represent that period, been drawn; and to it the chief inquiries into that period have to be directed.

The chronological limits of the oldest Vedic period, properly called by Dr. Max Müller the *Chhandas*,—that in which the Chants or Songs of the Védas were first composed,—has been shown by that able scholar, in perfect consistency with the researches of other orientalists, to range from between the year 1200 to 1000 B. C.,* embracing the time, according to our received Hebrew chronology, intervening between Gideon the judge, and Solomon the king, of Israel.

The light which the Védas, viewed in connection with the language in which they are composed, throw on the ethnical relationship and geographical position, and social condition, of the Indians at that remote period,

this verse: "Thine, Agni, is the office of the *Hotṛ*, of the *Potṛi*, of the *Ṛitvij*, of the *Neshtṛi*; thou art the *Agnidhṛa* of the devout; thine is the function of the Prashástṛí; thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahmá*; and the householder in our dwelling."

* History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 572.

though of a limited, is still of an interesting and valuable, character.

The language of the Védas,—which after it enjoyed posterior culture, came to be denominated the *Sanskritá* (literally *concreata*) or cultivated,—has been found to be intimately connected, both in grammar and vocables, not only with the ancient languages of Persia, ultimately denominated the Zand and Pahlví, but with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, and other European languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family. Of these languages, it is not the parent, but the sister or cousin, as has been seen from their philological comparison, each of them throwing its own light on the peculiar forms and states in which their oldest words first became current, when established by conventional usage; and each of them containing proofs of subsequent invention and modification of words according to the cosmic and social experience, thought, feeling, and culture of the divergent and, in some instances, widely-separated tribes to which they belong. They are merely fragments of an older language spoken by the progenitors of these tribes, acknowledging a common origin, and long kept united by intercourse and common interests. On this matter a perfect consent of orientalists has been generated and expressed of late years. The case has been well put by Dr. Max Müller, who, after giving examples of the grammatical affinity and verbal accordance of the cognate languages now referred to, thus writes:—
"Hence all these dialects point to some more ancient language which was to them what Latin was to the Romance dialects,—only that at that early period there was no liter-

ature to preserve to us some remnants of that mother-tongue that died in giving birth to the modern Arian dialects, such as Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Windic, and Celtic. Yet, if there is any truth in inductive reasoning, that language was once a living language, spoken in Asia by a small tribe, nay originally by a small family living under one and the same roof, as the language of Camoens, Cervantes, Voltaire, and Dante, was once spoken by a few peasants who had built their huts on the Seven Hills near the Tibris. If we compare the two tables of paradigms, the coincidences between the language of the Véda and the dialect spoken at the present day by the Lithuanian recruit at Berlin are greater by far than between French and Italian; and, after Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* has been completed, it will be seen clearly that all the essential forms of grammar had been fully framed and established before the first separation of the Arian family took place."*

The Sanskrit is more closely allied to what has been called the Zand,† the language of the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian literature, than to any of its other cognate tongues. So much is this the case that some respectable orientalists, as the late General Vans Kennedy‡ and Mr. John Romer of the Bombay Civil Service,§ have

* Müller on Comparative Mythology (Oxford Essays, 1856) p. 13.

† This word is widely applied by the Pársís both to the text and comments of their ancient books; but, as suggested by Dr. Müller, it is probably connected with the Sanskrit Chhandas, poetical metre, or Chants.

‡ Researches into the Affinity of Languages, pp. 162-192.

§ Zend: is it a language? London, 1858.

held that the Zand is merely an artificial fabrication from the Sanskrit made by the Pársí priests of India. On this matter we made the following remarks in 1842:— "Whether or not the Pársí priests in India, from their traditional reminiscences of the ancient languages could have fabricated some of the Zand writings, I shall not positively assert. There is a poverty in the expression of some of these writings, particularly of the minor liturgical pieces, which shows that their authors had no ready command of the language in which they wrote. There is an approach to Gujarátí idiom, in some instances, and to a Gujarátí corruption of Sanskrit, which at one time awakened considerable suspicions in my mind. Viewing the matter of the Zand language, however, in its general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the exiled and depressed Pársí priests in India can be supposed to have had the ability to invent that language, with its extensive and minute grammatical forms, and with its abundant and regular analogies to the Sanskrit, Persian, Pahlví, Greek, Latin, and Germanic languages, as so distinctly evinced by Bopp and Burnouf, and evident to the general student, and to write of a state of society altogether different from that in which they themselves were placed, and in many respects dissimilar to that to which the legends of the Sháhnámah and other similar works, to which they attach some importance, refer."*

The judgment here expressed has been amply confirmed by the latest lingual researches both in Europe and India. It is now admitted by every competent

* Author's work on the Pársí Religion, pp. 406-7.

philologist that both the Sanskrit and the Zand have not only had a common parent; but that the people among whom they originally assumed their ultimate forms were longer united in social fellowship than the peoples, diverging from the same common stock, with whom the Latin, Greek, and other Indo-Teutonic languages received their peculiar expansion and culture. Most interesting has it been to observe that the predominant race mentioned in the Védas bears throughout these works the designation of *A'ryya,* (or *A'rya*) thus indicating the country from which it came to India—the *Airya* of the Pársí sacred writings, applied both generically to the land devoted to the doctrines and rites of the *Avastá* (the Zoroastrian liturgical course and code) as opposed to *Túirya*, and specially to *Airyana Vaêjó*, the pure or primitive *Airya*. This *Airya* is the *Ariya* of the Persian and the *Arriya* of the Scythian tablets of the Achæmenian Kings at Behistun* ; the *Ariana* of the Greeks, recognized in the designation of the *Arian* people as early as the times of Herodotus† ; and the eastern *Irán* of modern days. The value of this discovery, which belongs to European research, is enhanced and not diminished by the fact that the modern Brahmanical commentators on the Védas have interpreted the word *A'rya* merely as a designation, meaning

* See Rawlinson's Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in Journal of R. A. S. vol. X. ; Westergaard, in Transactions of R. S. N. A.; and Norris on the Scythic text of the Behistun Inscriptions, in J. R. A. S. vol. xv.

† See the passages of Herodotus, referring to this matter, extracted and illustrated in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. pp. 289, 290.

"respectable;" as it testifies to the success with which foreigners, so long debarred from the acquisition and perusal of the Védas, are now studying them. Though, as we have elsewhere said, "There are instances in the Védas in which the word *A'rya* seems to be used in the sense of high or respectable, this is perhaps a figurative use of the word, according to the well-known analogy of our adjective "*frank*," expressive of the qualities strikingly exhibited in the *Frank* people. In the event of *arya* or *árya*, in the sense of high or "respectable," being the origin of the name of the country, A'rya is probably equivalent to "Highlands."* This opinion is strengthened by the notice taken of *Airyana Vaêjo* in the first fargard of the Vandidád of the Pársís, which is there mentioned as the first of the countries created by Ahura-Mazdá or Hormazd, and as having had a change of climate produced in it by Anghro-Mainyu or Ahriman, giving, according to one form of tradition mentioned in the text, ten months of winter and only two of summer, and according to another seven of summer and five of winter,—thus indicating, when the legends are interpreted, both a high elevation and a northern latitude. Professor Lassen supposes that this district was on the western slopes of the Belurtag and Mustag, in the district in which the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes rise; and that it formed the original seat of both the Iranian and Indian nations.† Its connexion with the former is rendered probable not merely by geographical considerations, but by the fact that Persian is spoken in the district to the pre-

* Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 17.

† Lassen's Indische Altherthumskunde, i. 526-527.

sent day by the oldest tribes of Kashghar, Yarkand, Khoten, Aksu (the Oxus land), Turfan, and Khámil.*

On the course of the spread of the A'ryas from the quarter now mentioned, but little light can now be shed. Their locations as comprehended in the districts known to the early Iranians are thus enumerated in the Pársí Vandidád. We give their names in parallel columns, with the identifications which have been made of them by several distinguished literary authorities.

Vandidád.	*Pársis. (a)*	*Burnouf. (b)*	*Lassen. (c)*	*Haug. (d)*
Airyana Vaéjó.	Iran........	Ariana........	Ariana	Ariana.
2 Çughdhó	Shurik	Sogdiana......	Sogd..........	Gan of Sughdho.†
3 Móuru........	Marwa	Country of the two Marwas.	Maru, Marw	
4 Bákhdi........	Bokhárá ..	Bactra........	Bactra	Bactra.
5 Niçái	Nesapur ..	Nisaia........	Nisaia	Nisaia.
6 Haróy u......	Haleb (Aleppo)	Land of the Zarangæ and Drangæ.§	Herat	Aria (of the Greeks) Herat.
7 Vaékereta, the Duzhaka (Hell land)	Kábul......	Sejistán	Sejistán, with its capital Dushak.	Sejistán.
8 Urvá..........	Orwé		Unknown......	Kábul
9 Kheñta, with Behrkáná.	Gurgána or Jurgán.		Hyrcania......	Kandahár.
10 Haraqaiti	Hermand ..	Arachosia	Arachotus	Arachosia.
11 Haétumat	Sistan	Etymandros (near Hermand-river.	Etymandros ..	Hilmend (valley, near river of same name).
12 Raghá	Rei¶		'Ράγαι	Rhagæ of the classics, present Rei.
13 Chakhra	Chin		Chinrem of Ferdausi.	City in Khorásán.
14 Varena	Kirman or Padashkhirgar.		Varuna of the Indians.	Ghilán.
15 Hapta-Heñdu (Seven Rivers)	Hindustán..	The Seven Indies.	The Seven Indies.	Indus Country (seven rivers).
16 (Described) ..	Khorásán ..			Near "the circumambient ocean."

* See Lassen, ut supra.

† Of Ptolemy. ‡ Having for its dwelling-place Sughdo.

§ In Etymology corresponding with the Sanskrit *Sarayu*. ¶ Near Teherán.

(a) Author's Pársí Religion, p. 294. (b) Commentaire sur l' Yaçna.

(c) Indische Altherthumskunde i. p. 527-26.

(d) First Chapter of Vandidád in Bunsen's Egypt, vol. iii. pp. 473-506.

The Baron Bunsen* thinks that the districts above mentioned were the halting places of the A'ryas in their gradual march and progress, by extension, to the land of the Seven Rivers ; but without taking this easy view of what may be only a general geographical notice according to the notions of the ancient Zoroastrians, we may nevertheless refer to the first fargard of the Vandidád as throwing some light on the expansion of the A'ryas in the direction of India, into which they probably entered either by the western passes of the Hindu Kush, by the eastern road leading from Kabul to the Indus, or from Hirát, round the promontories of the Paropamisus through Arachosia to Ghazna, and thence by the Boland Pass to the Indus.†

On the position of the A'ryas in their original Indian seats, we have lately thus written :—

" At the time at which the earlier portions of the Védas were composed, the A'ryas were principally located on the banks of the various affluents of the Indus and the province now denominated the Panjáb. Though Sáyaṇa A'chárya, the great Bráhmanical commentator on the Védas, who flourished so late as the fourteenth century after Christ, interprets the rivers mentioned in the Védas as the great streams of modern India, the text of the Véda gives him no authority for so doing. The rivers of the Védas seem all to have been before the immediate observation of the writers of the Hymns (*Súktas*) of which the collection of the Rig Véda is com-

* Egypt iii p. 459-99.

† These are the routes indicated by Lassen. (Indische Altherthumskunde, i. p. 531). Dr. M. Müller (Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 15.) also joins with them the narrow passes of the Himâlaya.

posed. 'Thou Indra hast rescued the kine, thou hast won the Soma juice ; thou hast let loose the *seven rivers* to flow.'* 'Thou didst traverse *ninety and nine streams* like a hawk.' 'His exploits are most glorious, in that he has replenished the *four rivers* of sweet water, spread over the surface of the earth.'† "All (sacrificial) viands concentrate in Agni (the god of fire) as the *seven great rivers* [united] flow into the ocean."‡ In the Panjáb, we have four, or five, or seven, or more, great rivers, according as we cross it to the North or South. It is obviously this district which is denominated in the Vandidád of the Pársís, as above, the *Hapta Heñdu*§ or Seven Indies, the word Heñdu springing from *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit name of the Indus. Indeed, the Indus is specifically mentioned in the Véda as that river on the banks of which some of the composers of the Védas actually lived. Thus, we have, "May *Sindhu*, the renowned bestower of wealth hear us (fertilizing our) broad fields with water."¶ "I repeat with a (willing) mind the praises of Bhávya [a king] dwelling on the banks of the *Sindhu*."‖ In one of the hymns of the Rig-Véda, three specific streams are thus mentioned as connected with the worshippers of the Védas :—'Gloriously shine forth,

* Wilson's Rig-Véda, Vol. 1. p. 88. See also p. 99.

† Ibid. p. 168. ‡ Ibid. p. 189.

§ Vándidad, 1st fargard.

¶ Sáyaṇa Achárya, as hinted by Prof. Wilson, Rig-Veda, ii. p. 3, understands by the word Sindhu here, जलाभिमानी देवः, the god presiding over waters. Even in this sense, however, it is nothing but the personified Indus.

‖ सिधावधि. Ṛig-Véda, 2nd asht. 1st adh. 11th v.

O Agni, in the places in which the descendants of Manu, [the first or representative Aryan man] inhabit, on the banks of the *Drishadvati*, the *A'payá*, and the *Sarásvatí*.* These streams, I am of opinion, are connected with the south-western and not with the south-eastern system of Indian rivers. Two of them are thus noticed by Manu : ' The country between the divine rivers Sarasvatí and Drishadvatí formed by the gods, is called Brahmávarta."† The Sarasvatí is the Sarsuti north-west of Tháneshar (Stháneshvar), as noticed by Professor Wilson in his Vishnu Purána.‡ It seems, from the manner in which it is sometimes spoken of in the Védas, to have been a favourite with the A'ryas ;§ and this probably because of some resemblance,—such perhaps as that of losing itself in the sands, for it etymologically means a lake,—which it bore to the *Haraqaiti*, a river in the original Airya, of which it was the namesake.|| The Drishadvatí is supposed

* दृषद्वत्या मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि. Text of Rig-Veda by Müller, vol. ii. p. 747.

† Manu ii. 17. Sir William Jones says, " frequented by the gods," but the original is देवनिर्मित, formed by the gods.

‡ Wilson's Vishnu Purána, p. 180.

§ Vasishtha devotes to it alone two hymns in the 5th Ashtaka of the Rig-Véda.

|| For the identification of the name *Haraqaití* with *Sarasvatí*, we are indebted to Burnouf (Commentaire sur le Yaçna, Notes et E'claircissements, p. xcii.) From *Haraqaití*, the district of *Arachotia* of the Greeks (Arrian. Exped. Alex. iii. cap. 23 ; Strab. lib. xv. c. 2 ; Dionys. Perieg. v. 1096 ; Plin. lib. vi. cap. 25) derived its name. Burnouf, while ascribing a common origin to the names Haraqaití and Sarasvatí, felt unable to say whether Persia or India can claim the original. Noticing, however, the district of Harôyo,

to have been in the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatí. I am not aware that the A'payá has been identified, though it may be the Vipápá, mentioned in the Mahábhárata* along with the Drishadvati and Vipáshá. In another of the hymns of the Rig-Véda, the rivers *Vipát*,—the equivalent according to etymology and to the Brahmanical commentator on the Véda, of the *Vipáshá* of the Mahábhárata, and the origin of the present Beás,—the *Hyphasis* or *Bibasis* of the Greeks, and the *Chhutudrí*—in later times the *Shatudrí* or *Satlej*,—are mentioned as holding a conversation with the sage Vishvámitra, the author of many of the Védic hymns.† The *Vipáshí* and the dwellers on the *Vitastá*,—the *Hydaspes*, or Jhélum, —and the *Saryu*, (probably not that near Ayodhyá), are mentioned in a hymn of Vámdeva.‡ It is thus seen that the Panjáb and its neighbourhood formed the original habitat of the Indian A'ryas. The rivers of the south-

mentioned in the Vandidád of the Pársís, and identifying the word with *Sarayu* the name of an Indian river (now the *Sarju*,) he justly observes that the Zand Harôyo is the more ancient form of the word as far as the vowels are concerned (p. ciii. et seq.) Lassen concurs in the views of Burnouf. He notes also the agreement of the Zand *Haraqaití* with the *Harakhvatis* of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the people, too, of these inscriptions called *Hariwa* (in the plural), contracted for *Harayawa*, from *Harayu* the river, now named the *Herirud*. The name of *Harayu* (*Sarayu* in Sanskrit), he thinks was given in after times by the Indians to the river near Ayodhá, in commemoration of that of Arachosia.

* Bhishma Parva, ii. 342. Langlois, in his translation of the Rig-Veda, tom. ii p. 230, says," " Je ne sais quelle est la riviére qui portait la nomme d'Apaya.

† Rig-Veda, Müller's text, vol. ii. p. 828.

‡ Rig-Véda 3d Adh. 6th. Asht. 20th—22d. v.

eastern system are brought to notice in the more advanced portions of the Ṛig-Véda, The *Yamuná* and the *Gomatí* are first mentioned by Sháyaváshva, 'a descendant of Atri," in the fourth Ashṭaka.* The *Gangá* (Ganges) is only once mentioned, and that in the eighth or last Ashṭaka.† I have seen no allusion to the tiger in the Védas, though occasional mention is made in them of the lion. This is a presumption that the Ṛishis, at the time of their composition, had not yet reached the land of the tiger. The distinctive lake Sharyánávatí is sometimes

* Ṛig-Veda 4th ashtak, 3d adhy. (Müller, ii. 452.) The *Yamuná* is also mentioned by Vasiṣhtha, viewed by the Hindu legends as a contemporary of Vishvámitra, Ṛig-Véda 5th asht. 2d adh. In reference to the Gomatí, Professor Wilson 27th. Varga. (iii. p. 346) says: "It would be the Gomatí river in Oude," or it may be a river of the same appellation, more to the north-west "rising in Kulu, a feeder of the Beyah, or Vyása."

† This is in a hymn addressed to the personified Rivers, the 4th of the 3rd. adhy. In this hymn, the *Sindhu* (which is in the masculine gender, while all the others are in the feminine) is spoken of as the chief river. With it are invoked other rivers in the following order:—*Gangá*; *Yamuná*; *Sarasvatí*; *Shutudrí*, with the *Paruṣhní*, the Hydraotes from "Irávati"; the *Asikní*, the Chandrabhága, (identified from the "Akesines," as by Lassen), and the *Marudvṛidhá*, the *Vitastá* (Hydaspes for Vydaspes); the *Arjikiya*, with the *Suṣhoma*, the *Trishṭáma*, the *Rású*, the *Svétí*, and the *Kubhá* (associated with the Sindhu) [probably the Kophen]; and the *Gomatí*, and the *Krumu*. The *Rasá* several times alluded to in the Védas, the *Kubhá*, the *Anitabhá*, the *Krumu*, and the *Sarayu* are mentioned by Shyáváshva in the hymn following that in which he mentions the Yamuná. Ṛig-Véda, 4th asht. 3d adh. 12th v. These in all probability were connected with the same (the Sindhu) system of rivers. In Ṛ. V. 4th asht. 7th adh. 26th varga, the adjective *Gángya*, probably meaning "flowing, or swift, river," occurs.

mentioned as in the dominions of the pious Rijika It is supposed to have been in what was afterwards known as the country of Kurukshétra."*

The A'ryas in India, if we may judge from the Véda and other later works, take little or no notice of their entrance into the country from other regions of the world. Yet the intelligent reader of the Védas can easily infer that when the materials of these works were prepared, the A'ryas of whom they treat were not in their primitive country. They counted their years by "winters," indicating a country in which the cold season was peculiarly marked.† They laid great stress on the *ashvamédha*, or horse-sacrifice like the northern tribes. Compared with their neighbours they had a white or fair complexion. They were not fully or peaceably established in the territories in which they were then found. The facts to which I have now referred have not escaped the notice of the learned and cautious translator of the Rig-Véda, Professor H. H. Wilson. "That they (the ancient Indians), he says, had extended themselves from a more northern race is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used, on more than one occasion, in soliciting long life, when the worshipper asks for a hundred *winters (himas)*, a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair-complexioned people, at least comparatively, and foreign

* 7th asht. 2d Adh. 5th varga. India Three Thousand Years ago, p. 21-25.

† Dr. Stevenson was, I believe, the first person to direct attention to this fact. See his translation of the Sáma-Veda, p. 86. In addition to this first translation of the Sáma, we have that of Dr. Benfey, in German, accompanied by a critical apparatus.

invaders of India, as it is said that Indra (the god of the Ether or Firmament) divided the fields among his *white*-complexioned friends after destroying the indigenous barbarian races, for such there can be little doubt we are to understand by the expression *Dasyu*, which so often recurs, and which is often defined to signify one who not only does not perform religious rites but attempts to harass their performers."* The Dasyus, here mentioned, are doubtless the *Daqyus* of the Pársí sacred writings, and the *Dahyas* of the Behistun tablets, rendered by " countries" or " provinces," probably of an exterior position like the Goim or Gentiles of the Hebrews. They were not altogether barbarians; for they had distinctive cities and other establishments of at least a partial civilization, though the A'ryas, lately from more bracing climes than those which they inhabited, proved too strong for them.†

That the A'ryas of India had been most intimately connected with the Iranians, we have decided proof, not only in the relationships of their language, and their common designation now adverted to, but in much which (with certain antagonisms easily understood on the principle of posterior religious speculation and contest) was common in their early religious creed and observances. Many of the gods, or objects of worship, of the Véda and the Avastá are identical. Each of these works has its god of Fire in *Agni* and *A'tars*, which, however, are probably not etymo-

* Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. xlii.

† Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 19. In Rig-Véda, 3d asht. 1st adh. 12th varga, Indra and Agni are represented as overthrowing ninety cities of which *Dásas* were the lords (*dása patnih purah*).

logically connected with one another. *Váyu* or *Vátu*, the Vedic Wind, is the Zandic *Vayá* or *Váta*. The Indian designations of the Sun, *Asura*, *Mitra*, *Súr*, *Súrya* and *Svar*, find their equivalents in the Iranian *Ahura*, *Mithra*, *Hvare* (gen. *húró*), often given as *Hvare-Kshaēta*, the ruling or glorious sun. Corresponding with the Sanskrit *Uṣhas*, the Dawn, we have the Zandic *Usháongh*. The moon (Chandra)*mas* of the Veda, is recognized as the *Máongh* of the Avastá. The *A'pah* or Waters, personified in the Védas, and the *Aptyas* there represented as water gods, have as their correspondents, in the Avastá, *A'pó* and *A'thwya*. Among the personifications of the Véda is *Aghá*,* the goddess of evil, corresponding in some respects (though not with the dualistic notions of Zoroaster) with the Ahriman of the Pársís, or in Zend *Anghro-Mainyu*, the ugly-minded or evil-minded-one. In the Vedic *Varuṇa* (the ὀυρανός of the Greeks) we have, in the idea of boundless heavenly space, the correspondent of the *Varena* of the Avastá. The *Vishvé-Dévas*, spoken of in the Védas as the Collective gods, and sometimes as special gods, the Protectors of men, correspond, with numerical and other modifications, with the *Amshás-pands* and *Izads* of the Pársís.† The *Piṭris*, or typical

* See Note in India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 72.

† "The Zand word for *Izad* is *yazata*, which means an object of worship. It corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit यजत, *yajata*, which occurs in the Rig-Veda (Sanhita B. I. ch. iii. h. 84, st. 7) and which is explained by Sáyana the commentator, by यष्टव्य, *yashtavya*, and rendered by Rosen *sacris celebrandus*. M. Burnouf translates it by "digne qu'on lui offre le sacrifice." See Journal Asiatique, Octobre 1840. The Zand for Amsháspand is *amesha-speñta*. The words of which this name is composed, are correctly represented by Edal Dáru (Maujazát-i-Zarthusht, p. 20,)

ancestors often addressed in the Védas, correspond with the Pársí *Faruhars*.* The *Soma*, as a plant, and as the fermented juice of a plant, much used in sacrifice, and as a deified power delighting god and exhilirating man, even to inspiration, stands in the same relationship in the *Haoma* of the Avastá. In the ninth Há of the *Yaçna* of the Pársís, *Haoma*, as a god, is represented as teaching Zoroaster that the first person who consulted him was *Vivangháo*, the father of *Yimó*, or Jamshid; the second, *A'thwya*, the father of *Thrayĕtyaonó*, or Faridun; the third *Sám*, the father of *Urvákhsyo* and *Kereçáçpó*; and the fourth *Paourusaçpó*, the father of *Zarathustra*, or Zoroaster.† In the Véda, most of these concepts appear with their own peculiarities. The correspondent in the Véda of *Yimo*,—who with the Iranians was their first or ideal man, the great establisher of their colonization and agriculture and pecoriculture,—is *Yama*, the Subduer, or God of human Destiny, dealing with the human race, not in its earthly golden age, but in its ultimate state beyond the grave..‡ The father of *Yama*, in the Véda, is *Vivashvat*, the *Vivanghat* or *Vivanghâo* of the Yaçna. The wife of *Yama*, in the Véda, is *Yamí* the wife or sister of *Yimo*, and (to judge from the Pársi

by 'exalted immortals,' [or existences, or saints]." Author's work on Pársí Religion, p. 129.

* The nominative singular is in Zand, *Fravashis*. The noun is feminine. The Zand names, or rather denominations, of the Faruhars have a figurative meaning.

† Author's Pársí Religion, p. 400.

‡ See Westergaard on Ancient Iranian Mythology, in J. B. B. R. A. S. 1853.

Bundéshné) *Jeme* or *Jemaké*.* *Trita*, or, *Traitana* (the adjective form of the same name), is a mythological personage of the Véda associated with *Yama*, and, as pointed out by Dr. Roth, the correspondent of *Thrayét-aona*.† *Kereçáçpo*, as shown by the same scholar, has also a figurative position in the Véda. *Nabánazdista* and *Nábhánédishtha* the son of Manu (R. V. viii. 1.29 are also remarkable mythical accordances, both in the Avastá and Véda.‡ The form of the hymns of the Yaçna and the Yaçts of the Avastá, as noticed many years ago, has much resemblance to that of the Véda. The designations, both characteristic and technical, of the priests and worshippers of the Véda and of the Avastá often agree.¶ So do the words used in these works expressive of praise and sacrifice.‖ And so do some of the common instruments of worship, as the

* Dr. Roth, to whom we are greatly indebted for the illustration both of the Véda and Avastá, first brought this coincidence to notice in the Z. D. M. G. vol. iv. p. 417.

† See Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges. band ii. s. 216 ; and abstract of Roth's paper by Dr. J. Murray Mitchell in Journal of B. B. R. A. S. July, 1852. *A'thwya*, (in Persian *Atbin* or *Abtin*,) as mentioned in the passage from the Yaçna quoted above, is the father of Thraétyaono. The patronymic of *Trita*, in the Véda (R. V. i. 7. v. 21) is *A'ptya*, a water ruler. *Trita* in the Véda fights against the aerial serpent (*ahis*) or enemy, carrying off the cows (clouds) which would otherwise yield their nourishing milk ; and *Thraétaona* opposes the *ashi-dahak*, the destroying (earthly) serpent, the author of evil.

‡ See Lassen's Ind. Altherthumskunde, i. 516.

¶ See Pársí Religion by the Author, pp. 226-227. To the instances there given that of the Sanskrit *Atharva* and the Zand *A'thrava*, a priest, literally a Fireman (ut sup. p. 209), may be added.

‖ Pársí Religion, pp. 268-271.

Havni of the Bráhmans and the *Hávana* of the Pársís.* Even the divergency and antagonism of the religion of Zoroaster from that of the Ṛishis of the Védas, is in many particulars like that which in the course of speculation and reform might easily appear among a people originally associated together, but afterwards following a peculiar religious and social development. The word *Déva* (or *Devas*), as has often been shown, musthave been a designation in the original Iranian race of any Divinity before even the separation from one another of the peoples known as Greeks and Romans (in whose languages it appears as *θεός* and *Deus*) ; and it could only be the peculiar mythological and idolatrous application of the term by the progenitors of the Indians, or by the Indians themselves, which led the Zoroastrians to employ it as a designation of a Devil. In the Védas the word *Asura* is applied to the Sun and Fire, in the sense probably of Lord or Master; but the Bráhmans, as if retaliating against the Zoroastrians, who had applied it to their good God, in the form of *Ahura-Mazda*, or multiscient Lord, made it afterwards the designanation of a Devil.† Even in many of the hymns of the Védas, the terrestrial enemies of the A'ryas, as well as their unseen enemies, are denominated *Asuras*, as will immediately appear. In illustration of the connection of the Iranians, and A'ryas, other circumstances, bearing especially on physiognomy, could, if necessary, be brought forward. The great fact to be borne in mind is, that the A'ryas are first found in India as strangers

* Compare Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, vii. 4. 19, with Vandidad, farg. xiv.

† See Note in India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 78.

and foreigners not fully established in the land, as will still more appear from passages now immediately to be adduced from the Ṛig-Véda.

In the Ṛig-Véda, as might be expected from the fact that it consists of laudations and sacrificial songs of the Gods, no formal and direct information on the early social state of the A'ryan community is to be expected. It is only from poetical and historical allusions there occurring that anything can be learned respecting the society of their own day or of more ancient times. These allusions, however, are pretty numerous, and when compared together productive of curious and valuable results. In collecting the information to be found in the Véda bearing on the origin and growth of Caste, it is necessary to look to the A'ryan community in two distinct aspects, —that which respects its connection with the exterior, partly amalgamated, or hostile, tribes with which it came in contact, and that which respects its own social condition and development.

The A'ryas, we find from the Ṛig-Véda, though in some respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization,* had the pride of race in an extravagant degree. They were an aspiring, a domineering, and an intolerant people, with strong antipathies of race and religion, and showing great contempt and hatred of the other tribes with whom they came in contact. As this pride of race, violence, and intolerance were special features of Caste when formally established, it may be well for us to collect the principal notices which we have of their earliest manifestations in the Véda now mentioned.

" Discriminate O Indra between the *A'ryas*, and those who are

* See India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp. 29-34.

Dasyus: punishing those who perform no religious rites (avṛitán), compel them to submit to the sacrifices; be thou the powerful, the encourager of the sacrificer." (Ṛig-Véda, asht 1. adh. 4. varga 11.)

" Munificent hero (Indra), who easily conquerest thy foes, thou didst put to flight (under Kutsa) the *Dasyus* in battle." (Ib. i. 5. 4.)

" Indra, the invoked by many, attended by the moving Maruts, having attacked the *Dasyus* and the *Shimyús*, slew them with his thunderbolt: the thunderer then divided the fields with his white complexioned friends." (Ib. 1. 7. 11.)*

" (We invoke Indra) who is the lord of all moving and breathing creatures, who first recovered the kine for the *Brahman*, (the repeater of the Brahma or word†), and who slew the humbled *Dasyus*." (i. 7.12)

" Armed with the thunderbolt, and confident in his strength, he (Indra) has gone on destroying the cities of the *Dásas*. O Indra, the wise, the thunderer, cast thy shaft against the *Dasyu*, and augment the strength and glory of the *A'rya*." (i. 7. 16.)

" Sweeping away the *Dasyu* with the thunderbolt, you Ashwins have bestowed brilliant light upon the *A'rya*." (i. 8. 17.)

" Indra, who in a hundred ways is the protector in battles, in heaven conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing *A'rya*. Punishing the destitute of rites he subjected the black skin to Manu (the A'ryan or privileged man.) (ii. 1. 19.)

" Destroy, Indra, the tawny-coloured, fearfully roaring *Pishácchi*; annihilate all the *Rakshasas*." (ii. 1. 22.)‡

" Indra, lord of steeds, invigorated by our animating praise, thou hast slain those who make thee no offerings, and disturb thy worshippers." (ii. 4. 17.||)

" Consume, mighty one, the irreligious *Dasyu*, as a wooden vessel is burnt by fire." (ii. 4. 18.) "Thou hast disclosed light to the *A'rya*:

* The translation of this verse here given is that of Professor H. H. Wilson, which I think substantially correct, as *Shimyu* (which may be translated "destroyer", as alternatively in Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. ii. pp. 384), is evidently coupled in the Véda, with *Dasyus*, used in a personal sense.

† Sáyana A'chárya (Muller's Text of Ṛig-Véda, i. p. 807 applies *Brahmaṇa*, here used, to the " *Bráhmaṇajáti* or Bráhman Caste. But this is going too far, on modern Brahmanical principles.

‡ Here both *Pishdchis* and *Rakshasas* (soon viewed by the Hindus as devils) are seemingly spoken of as a people.

|| Wilson's R. V. ii. p. 168.

the *Dasyu* has been placed at thy left hand. Let us honour those who, through thy protection, surpass all their rivals, as the *Dasyus* are surpassed by the *A'ryas*." (ii. 6. 6.)

" Encountering the *(Asuras)*, carrying off Dabhíti, he burnt all their weapons in a kindled fire, and enriched (the prince) with their cattle, their horses, and their chariots." (ii. 6. 15.) " Thou hast slain the *Dasyus*, Chumuri and Dhuni, having cast them into sleep : thou hast protected Dabhíti." (ii. 6. 16.)

" He (Indra) slew the *Dasyus*, and destroyed their iron cities. (ii. 6. 26.)

" Pluck up the *Rakshas*, Indra, by the root ; cut asunder the middle, blight the summit : to whatever remote regions thou hast driven the sinner, cast upon the hater of the (ceremonial) word (*brahma*) thy consuming weapon. (iii. 2. 4.)

" Having slain the *Dasyus*, he protected the *A'rya* colour (or race, *varna*) (iii. 11. 17.)*

" What do the cattle for thee among the *Kíkaṭas* ; they yield no milk for the offerings to Soma ; and they heat no fire (for the sacrifice); bring (also) the wealth of Pramagandha (the usurer?) and subdue to us, Maghavat (Indra), the vile branch (or stock) of the people" *(naicháshákam)*.†

" Defending him (a poet, *kavi*,) with thy protection, the guileful, impious *(Máyávanbrahma*, (mad against the Brahma) *Dasyu* has been destroyed in the contest for the spoil. With a mind resolved on killing the *Dasyu* thou comest...... thou hast swiftly destroyed the *Dasyus*. (iii. 5. 18)

" Indra, O Soma, has slain the *Dasyus* in battle : Agni has consumed them before the noon." (iii. 6. 17.)

" Trasadasyu† has bestowed upon many the ancient (gifts) which were obtained by the liberal (prince) through your (favour Heaven

* See p. 13.

† On this important passage Prof. H. H. Wilson (R. V. iii., p. 86) has the following note :—The *Kíkaṭas* are said by Sáyana, following Yáska, Nir. vi. 32, to be countries inhabited by *Anáryas*, people who do not perform worship, who are infidels, *Nástikas* [rather non-Aryans] : *Kikata* is usually identified with South Behar, showing, apparently, that *Vaidik* Hinduism had not reached the province when this was said ; or as Kíkaṭa was the fountain head of *Buddhism*, it might be asserted that the *Buddhists* were here alluded to, if it were not wholly incompatible with all received notions of the earlier date of the Védas." *Kikaṭa* I think, must have been nearer to the earlier

and Earth); you too have given a horse, a son, a weapon, (for the destruction of the Dasyus, fierce, and foe-subduing." (iii. 7. 11.)

" Twofold is my empire [says the King Trasadasyu, so called from harassing the Dasyus] :—that of all the Kshatriya people, and all the immortals are ours; the gods associate me with the works of Varuṇa. I rule over those of the human form." (iii. 7.17.)

" With the thunderbolt thou hast confounded the voiceless (or noseless) *Dasyus*, thou hast bestowed in battle the speech-bereft foes. (iv. 1 24.)*

" Indra, the subduer of all, the Arya (or Lord) leads the *Dása* according to his wish." (iv. 2 4.)†

" Thou (Indra) art he who hast quickly subdued the *Dasyus*: thou art the chief one who hast given preservation to the *A'rya*." (iv. 6. 4.)

" Make hot the heavens, earth, and firmament, for the oppressive race: parent-of-showers, consume them everywhere with thy radiance, make the heaven and the firmament too hot for the haters-of-the-Brahma. Thou hast rendered human enemies whether *Dásas* or *A'ryas* easy to be overcome." (iv. 6. 4 ‡)

" Glorified by us, he (Indra) bows not down to the robust nor to the firm, nor to the persevering (worshipper) who is instigated by the *Dasyus*...... Overthrow, on the part of the A'rya, all the *Dása* races everywhere abiding." (iv. 6. 18-19.)

" Thou hast destroyed the hundred impregnable cities of the *Dasyu* Shambara." (iv. 7-3.)§

seats of the Aryas than South Behar. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin (Muir's Texts ii. xxii.) thinks that the country of the Kíkaṭas must probably have been in Koshala or Andh. In rendering the above verse, we have compared the versions of Prof. H. H. Wilson and Mr. Muir with the original.

* "*Anáso dasyun amriṇah. Anása*, Sáyana says, means *dsyarahitán*, devoid or deprived of words, *dsya*, face or mouth, being put by metonymy for *shabda*, the sound that comes from the mouth, articulate speech, alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes....Prof. Müller (Universal History of Man, i. 346) referring to this text proposes to separate *anasá* into *a*, non, *nasá*, the nose, noseless. Wilson's R. V. iii. p 276.

† इंद्रो विश्वस्य दमिता विभीषणो यथा वशं नयति दासमार्यः ॥

‡ आ जनाय द्रुह्वणे पार्थिवानि दिव्यानि दपियो अंतरिक्षा

तपा वृषन्विश्वतः शोचिषा तान्ब्रह्मद्विषे शोचय क्षामपश्च ॥

§ " Shambara is more usually styled an *Asura*, and hence it would appear that *Dasyu* and *Asura* are synonimous." Prof. H.H. Wilson R. V. iii. p. 444.

"Agni has dispersed the impious, the chattering, faithless, riteless, non-sacrificing Paṇís, the *Dasyus*." (v. 2. 9.)

"Thou hast, for the sake of Dabhíti, vanquished the *Dasyus* Chumuri and Dhuni." (v. 2. 29.)

"Put an end to the enmity which divides the *Dasyus* and the *A'ryas*." (v. 6.4.)

"Indra and Soma burn the Rakshas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkṇess. Hew down the mad men, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain, who hates the Brahman [or rather *brahma*, etc.], who eats flesh (raw), and whose look is abominable."* (v. 7. 5.)

"Favour the prayer (Brahma), favour the service; kill the *Rakshasas*; drive away the evil." (vi. 3. 16.)

"Thou, Indra, favourest our rites; thou satisfiest (by retribution) thy revilers; thou most excellent and powerful hero, hast smitten the *Dása* in the middle of his thigh. Let Parvata, our friend Parvata, with a powerful stroke, strike down from the height the riteless, inhuman, non-sacrificing, godless *Dasyu*." (vi. 5. 9-10.)

"Thou, Indra, art the friend of the offering, the Lord of heaven; thou overturnest the stable cities; thou destroyest the *Dasyu*, and givest increase to Manu, thou Lord of heaven." (vi. 7. 1.)

"O Indra, object of our praises, let the godless (*adéva*), whether he be an *A'rya*† or a *Dasyu*, who wages war against us, be vanquished by us." (vii. 8. 14.)

"Thou hast for the sake of the *A'ryas* vanquished the *Dasyus*. (viii. 2. 19.)

"I, Indra, come recognizing and marking the distinction of the *Dasyu* and the *A'rya*. (viii. 4. 4.)

"This person humbled and subdued the roaring *Dása* (here viewed as an aerial monster) with six eyes and three heads." (viii. 5. 14.)‡

* In this passage the spirited translation of Dr. Max Müller (Last Results of the Turanian Researches, p. 344) has been adopted. A closer translation of the same import is, with the original, given by Dr. John Muir (Sanskrit Texts, ii. 406)

† In the Ṛig-Véda, particularly the seventh and eight Ashtaks, A'ryas hostile to the Ṛishis are mentioned as above.

‡ Several other passages of this character occur. See Muir's Texts ii. 403.

The *A'rya* has been able to measure himself with the *Dasyu*. Indra, the ally of Ṛijishvan, has destroyed the villages of Pipra, the magical *(Mayina) Asura*, (viii. 7. 26.)

These passages, and others of a like nature which could be adduced, not only bring to notice, in the neighbourhood of the early Indian settlements of the A'ryas, the existence of races different in colour, creed, and customs from these A'ryas, but reveal the deep-seated hatred and contempt of these races by the A'ryas, who delighted to wage war against them on religious grounds, rejoiced in their conquest and overthrow, and even applied, in the progress of time, their names and designations to the imaginary aerial and spiritual beings which, in their superstitious imaginings, they believed to be in a constant state of hostility to their own persons and social and religious institutions. The violent antipathy and hate of race and religion, thus early manifested, have continued to be among the most potent and injurious elements of Caste to the present day. The A'ryas, and the tribes taken by them into alliance, have ever nourished and cherished them, particularly as applied to the lower tribes of the country, in the different provinces of India in which they have been established.

It will have been noticed that the prevailing epithet of the people, or peoples, to whom in the preceding extracts the A'ryas are represented as opposed, is that of *Dasyu*. We have already mentioned what we consider the original meaning of the denomination—*Gentes*, those of the country,* or Aborigines or *Natives*. The Iranian correspondents of the name warrant us to attach to it this meaning. With reference to its peculiar implica-

* See above, p. 88.

tions, however, Dr. Max Müller says, "*Dasyu* in the Véda is *enemy*."* The Bráhmans, to the present day, marking their traditional animus, make it the equivalent of *slave* and *robber*.

Raskhasa, it will also have been seen, is another denomination given to the tribes to whom the A'ryas placed themselves in hostility. Etymologically it means the "strong," the "powerful," the "protecting," the "gigantic." As applied to an aboriginal people, it is used in the Véda very much as the word *Rephaim* is used in the Hebrew scriptures. By the A'ryas it soon had a purely mythological meaning attached to it, characteristic of both terrestrial and aerial "monsters." In the Shatpatha Bráhmaṇa of the White Yajur Véda the *Rakshasas* are represented as "prohibiters," that is "prohibiters of sacrifice."†

Asura is another denomination given by the A'ryas to their enemies. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain its import. We have already found it used as a designation of the Sun, probably in the sense of Lord or Master, its root being possibly *as*, to be. Perhaps, like the word *Náyak* (dux) in modern times, it was in this sense applied to the aboriginal tribes on account of the number of their heads of clans.‡ With the A'ryas, how-

* Comparative Mythology in Oxford Essays, 1856 p. 24. Dr. M. with the Persian equivalents in his eye says, "It is hardly doubtful that the Greek δεσ-πότης represents a Sanskrit title *dása-pati*, lord of nations."

† See Weber in Z. D. M. G. iii. 289, sq.

‡ The word *Nák*, the contraction of *Náyak*, is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahárs of the Maráthá country. From the abundance of *Náks* connected with the Bhills of the Báriá jungles, east of Baroda, they are called *Nákaḍas*.

ever, the *Asuras* were soon viewed as wicked, malicious spirits, as opposed to the *Súras*, or deities.

From the references which are made in the Védas to the power, resources, appliances, and residences of the *Dasyus*, it is manifest that they were found in no contemptible position by the *A'ryas* when they entered India. The subjection of them by the *A'ryas* required time and strength for its accomplishment.

The state of society among the A'ryas themselves now requires our particular attention. In connexion with them such questions as the following occur :—Do the symptoms of Caste, or of tendencies to Caste, appear in the A'ryan community as it is first brought to notice in the Védas ? Were *Bráhmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas*, *Shúdras*, and *Sankaras* then found to exist ? Was a diverse creation,—from the head, arms, thighs, and feet of the godhead respectively,—then ascribed to the first four of these classes ? Had they a monopoly of their occupations and privileges, founded on creation, birth, or descent ? Could there be no interchange of classes among them ? Were their respective duties prescribed to them by alleged special divine regulations ? Did legislative impediments, with religious sanctions, exist as to their intercommunion and marriage ? Did ceremonial defilement follow the accidental or deliberate touch of any classes of people with whom they came in contact ? Were there any practices, or pretensions, of parties among them which had the tendency to originate Caste ?

The following observations, which are merely an expansion of what we have said on this subject in a late

small publication, will assist us in answering these inquiries.

(1.) The position and authority of the A'ryan priesthood as presented to our view in the Chhandas portions of the Védas have comparatively speaking, but a very limited advancement and development. The word *Bráhman* does not appear in the Hymns as a fully established generic designation of a priest, or of a party belonging to an established priesthood. It thus originated. The word *brahma* (from the root *brih* (or *vrih*) to utter, to speak, to make a noise,) means prayer; and it is applied,—as in several instances now quoted in connexion with the A'ryas and Dasyus,—to the ceremonial prayers of the A'ryas, neglected or opposed by the Dasyus.* In consequence, the word *Bráhman* or *Brahmá* in the masculine, came to mean the utterer, or conductor of prayer.† The Brahmans, it cannot be doubted, are represented in the Védas merely as a profession, and not as a caste. Not a word is said in these writings about their origin as diverse from that of other members of the human family. They ask no privileges on account of original dignity or status. They are in the Védas principally a class of priests, officiating at sacrifices and other religious services, along with other specified classes of priests. The following are instances of the ways in which they are there brought to notice. "The chanters chant thee, Shatakratu [a name of Indra], the reciters of the Richas

* Thus we have, above, the Bráhman (the repeater of the *brahma* or word), p. 94; the hater of the *brahma* (or word), p. 95; "mad against the *brahma*" (against the usage of the word), p. 95, etc.

† See article by Dr. R. Roth on Brahma and the Bráhmans in Z. D. M. G., vol. i. pp. 66-86, and the Abstract of that article published in the Benares Magazine (Oct. 1851), by Dr. J. Muir.

praise thee, who are worthy of praise; the BRAHMANAS raise thee aloft like a bamboo pole."* "Thine, Agni, is the office of the *Hotṛi*, of the *Potṛi*, of the *Ṛitvij*, of the *Néshṭṛi*; thou art the *Agnídhṛa* of the devout, thine is the function of the *Prashastṛi*; thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the BRAHMÁ; and the householder in our dwelling."† Here are eight kinds of priests mentioned, of whom the Brahmá or Bráhmaṇa is the last. Even in the highest sense of the Védas the word *Brahman* is used merely in a simple official sense, and applied to an active class in the community, as when the *Brahman* is mentioned along with the *Rájanya*, or prince.‡ It was in times later than those of the oldest portions of the Védas that the word Brahmá or Bráhmaṇa came to to be used in the exclusive sense of god-born priest. It is not difficult, indeed, as will be afterwards seen, to trace the progress of the Bráhman from his Védic profession to his subsequent position as maintained by Caste. From his peculiar position at sacrifices, he was often their conductor,—the *purohita*, or foreman,—for this is the literal meaning of the word. This honour he shared only with others in the first instance, many of whom, as Vishvámitra and his school, belonged to the royal race. Agni, the god of fire, the devourer, or re-

* See Text in Müller's Ṛig-Véda, vol. i. p. 127. Professor Wilson (Ṛig-Véda, vol. i, p. 24) reads Bráhmaṇas. In the original here, the word is Brahmáṇah, the plural of Brahmá.

† Wilson's Ṛig-Véda, vol. ii. p. 209, with the change of Brahmá for its equivalent Bráhmaṇ, as in the text (Müller, vol. ii. p. 416). According to some authorities, altogether sixteen kinds of priests shared in the offerings on great occasions. See note in Wilson, ut sup., where the authorities are quoted and illustrated.

‡ Ṛig-Véda, i. 7. 27.

ceiver of sacrifices, was the *purohita* of the gods in the sky* ; and it was meritorious for kings to have a *Brahmá* or *Brahmaṇa* as his correspondent on earth. The office of the Purohita and Brahmá gradually became hereditary ; and the Brahmá, as attached to the houses of the great, became of growing consequence, especially in connexion with the anointing of kings and their horse-sacrifices, on which they counted much for conquest and progeny. His study and learning gradually increased his influence ; and he was constituted an adviser and counsellor. His supposed peculiar access to the gods gave him a peculiar sanctity. He became a legislator ; and in this capacity he soon made himself a god-upon-earth. Such an exaltation of a human mediator has often, to a certain extent, been witnessed in other countries besides India.

(2.) The writers of the Védas, who are denominated *Ṛishis*, or seers or inditers, and who were doubtless in a religious point of view the highest parties in the A'ryan community,† call for support and countenance on account of their occupation and doings, without reference to any order in society enjoyed by them.‡ Though

* Ṛig-Véda i. 1. 1. et in mult. loc.

† The phrase, " As the Rishi among the Vipras" (rendered, in the genitive plural, by मेधाविनां " the intelligent," by the commentator Mádhavácharya) occurs in the Sáma Veda. Author's MS. of Mádhava's commentary, part 2nd. fol. 38. Vipra is now a synonym of Bráhman. It is rendered by मेधावी, " intelligent," in the commentary on the Ṛig by Sáyaṇa.

‡ " For the donors of (pious) gifts," they sung, " the suns shine in heaven" (Wilson's Ṛ. V. ii. 17) ; " the givers of pious donations attain immortality ; the givers of (pious) gifts prolong their (worldly) existence." They blamed some chiefs for annoying them, without claiming any established status (ib. ii. 6).

these occupations may have been in some cases hereditary, in consequence of the establishment of schools or classes for committing the A'ryan Hymns to memory, they were not confined to one class of the Indian people. They were at least from both the kingly and the priestly classes of the population. Vishvámitra, to whom many of the Hymns of the Védas are ascribed,* and who in the Vishnu Purána,—one of the most important legendary and traditional treatises of the Hindus,—is represented as one of the seven original Rishis of the present system of things,† was, as is admitted by all kinds of Hindu authorities, originally a *Rajarshi*, or a rishi from the rájás, though said to be elevated to the *Brahmarshi*, or Bráhman grade of rishis, for his talents, acquirements, and observances. Jamadagni, who is mentioned also in the Véda as a Rishí,‡—and who, in the later Hindu legends, is

* E. g., Rig-Veda, Müller, ii. p. 932, et. seq.

† Vasishtha, Kashyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama, Vishvámitra, and Bharadvája are the seven Rishis, according to Wilson's Vishnu Purána, p. 264. Other lists of the great rishis, are given with variations in Manu, and the Puránas, etc. For the age of the Puránas,—which are all posterior to the revival of Bráhmanism after the destruction of Buddhism,—see Appendix to the Notes of Colonel Sykes on Ancient India.

‡ " Vishvámitra is a remarkable person in the traditions of the Hindu religion : according to the historical and *Pauránik* authorities, he was originally a member of the *Kshatriya*, or royal and military caste, and himself for some time a monarch : he was descended from *Kusha*, of the lunar race, and was the ancestor of many royal and saintly personages, who, with himself were called after their common ancestor, *Kushikas* or *Kaushikas* : by the force of his austerities [sic scribunt Brachmanes], he compelled Brahmá to admit him into

the father of the reputed Avatára Parashuráma, is represented as the nephew of Vishvámitra. From both Vishvámitra and Jamadagni, numerous tribes of Bráhmans of mixed blood, according to the legends, claim descent. Many of the Védic hymns are by authors said to be either of the princely class, or to have been raised from it to the priestly class.*

the *Brahmanical* order, into which he sought admission in order to be placed upon a level with Vasiṣhṭha, with whom he had quarelled: his descent, and the circumstances of his dispute with Vasiṣhṭha, are told, with some variation, in the *Rámáyaṇa*, (ch. li.—lxv. Schlegel's edition,) in the *Máhábhárata*, *Váyu*, *Vishnu*, and *Bhágavata* and other Puráṇas: the details of the Rámáyaṇa are most ample: the texts of the *Ṛig-Véda* intimate a general conformity with those of the *Puráṇas* as to the family designation of *Vishvámitra*, and to occasional disagreements from Vasiṣhṭha, originating, apparently, in their respective patronage of hostile princes: according, however, to the heroic poems, the Puráṇas, and various poems, and plays, these two saints were on very amicable terms in their relations to the royal family of *Ayodhyá*, or to king *Dasharatha*, and his son *Ráma*." Wilson's Ṛig-Véda, ii, pp. 318-319. Neither the chronology nor the geography of the authorities last mentioned is of much consequence in reference to the Ṛishis, who are handed about by the traditionists ad libitum, both in reference to time and place.

* Mr. Colebrooke, (As. Trans. vol. viii. p. 393,) long ago, noticed the authorship of certain hymns of the Ṛig-Véda as belonging to royal authors, such as Mándhátṛí, son of Yuvanáshva; Shivi, son of Ushínara; Vasumanas, son of Rohidáshva; and Pratardana, son of Divodása. Other hymns of the same Véda are attributed to several of the sons of Vishvámitra as Madhuchhanda, Rishabha, and Réṇu; to Ambaríṣha; to Bharata, the father of Devashrava; to Medhátithi; to Nábhága; to Rahugaṇa; to Vatsapriya, the son of Bhálandana; to Paurúruva, of the Lunar race of kings; to Véna; to Sudása; to Gṛitsamada, the son of Shunahotra, but who afterwards became the son of Shunaka; to Devápí and Shantanu; and to other princely authors. Several of the hymns of the last Aṣhtak of the Ṛig-Véda are by

(3.) The Rishis and priests received in marriage the daughters of other classes of the community. The Bráhmans of the present day are well aware of this fact; but, in deference to their later Shástras, they maintain that such marriages were mere indulgences, and confined to the assumption of one wife of each of the higher classes, in addition to those of Bráhmanical rank. But what will they make of the following story, related in the Níti-Manjarí, of Kakshívat, the author of several Súktas in the Rig-Veda, whose mother, Ushik,—it is to be noted,—was the reputed daughter of king Anga's slave? "Kakshívat having finished his course of study, and taken leave of his preceptor, was journeying homeward, when night came on, and he fell asleep by the road-side: early in the morning Rájá Svanaya, the son of Bhávayavya, attended by his retinue, came to

Kavasha Ailusha, said to be the son of a *Dása*, as noticed by Dr. Müller (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 58). A few of the hymns of the Rig-Véda are even ascribed to females, real or imaginary, as Shachí, the daughter of Pulomana; Shraddhá, the daughter of Káma; Gorivítí, the daughter of Sakti; and Vák, the daughter of Abhrina.

On various *gottras*, or families, of Bráhmans mixed with, or derived from, the regal blood, see legendary notices in Wilson's Vishnu Purána, pp. 369, 405, 448, 457, 454, etc.

Dr. John Muir, in his "Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. i. pp. 44-56, has given a series of "passages sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India, (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions,) Bráhmans and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock." Some of the cases referred to by Dr. Muir are the same as those of the parties mentioned in the first paragraph of this note. The historical inference ought not to be pressed beyond the bounds indicated by Dr. M.

the spot, and disturbed the Bráhman's slumbers : upon his starting up the Rájá accosted him with great cordiality, and being struck by his personal appearance, determined, if he was of suitable rank and birth, to give him his daughters in marriage. After ascertaining his fitness, he took Kakshívat home with him, and there married him to his ten daughters, presenting him at the same time with a hundred nishkas of gold, a hundred horses, a hundred bulls, one thousand and sixty cows, and eleven chariots, one for each of his wives and one for himself, each drawn by four horses." Kakshívat himself, in the Véda, thus celebrates the liberality of his father-in-law :—"From which generous prince soliciting (my acceptance) I, Kakshívat, unhesitatingly accepted a hundred nishkas, a hundred vigorous steeds, and a hundred bulls, whereby he has spread his imperishable fame through heaven. Ten chariots drawn by bay steeds, and carrying my wives, stood near me given by Svanaya; and a thousand and sixty cows followed. Forty bay horses (harnessed) to the chariots, lead the procession in front of a thousand followers. The Pajras, the kinsmen of Kakshívat, rub down the high-spirited steeds, decorated with golden trappings."* It does not appear that Kakshívat had any wives of his own class. The supply which he had from the chief was more than sufficient. Other instances of Ṛishis and priests marrying the daughters of kings are often alluded to.†

* Wilson's Ṛig-Véda, vol. ii. p. 14, 17-18.

† As those of Chyavana with Sukanya, the daughter of Sharyáti, (Wilson's R. V. 1. 139, etc.) and Jamadagni with Renuká, the daughter of Renu.

(4.) The term *Kshatriya*, applied by the Shástras, or Law Books, to the second or warrior class in the Hindu community, is used in the Védas only as a denominative of a party possessed of *kshatra*, or power. In this sense it is applied to the gods, as to Indra and Varuṇa, and Mitra and Varuṇa.* In the Védas, the word *Kshetrapati*, the "owner of a field," is the name of a person possessed of landed property; and the name *Kshatrapati*, "the possessor of power," seems to have been applicable to any party exercising authority of any kind or extent. *Kshatriya* is the equivalent of of *Kshatrapati*. *Kshatra* corresponds, as noticed by Lassen, with the Zend *kshatra*, which also means imperium, agreeing with the Greek κράτος and etymologically referring to the attribute of bodily strength. Synonyms of Kshatriya were *Vishaspati* or *Vishámpati*, a master of the people or village community; *Raj*, the equivalent of the Latin *Rex*, a king; and *Rájanya*, a prince, the derivative of *Raj*. The kings and chiefs of the A'ryas are often praised by the Ṛishis in the Védas; but not a word is there uttered about their emanation by birth from the arms of the Godhead. It is a great fact, as noticed by Professor Wilson and others, that "There are [in the Védas] indications of *Rájás* hostile to

* Even Sáyaṇa (Müller's Ṛ. V. iii. p. 498) views it, as applied to the last mentioned gods, as the equivalent of *dhana*, wealth, and *bala*, power. In the Ṛ. V. iii. 7. 17, Trasadasya, a royal sage who identifies himself with the gods in the fanaticism of his devotion, says, मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोर्विश्वे अमृता यथा नः "I have a twofold sovereignty, that of all the *kshatriya* (power), and all the immortals are ours." Prof. Wilson gives "race" as the supplied word, but this seemingly on the authority of Sáyaṇa.

the ritual who would not therefore have belonged to the recognized military order."* The *Rájanyas,* as we have just seen, were sometimes Ṛishis or seers. Even in the times of the ritual Bráhmaṇas, to be afterwards noticed, they had the privilege of conducting sacrifices

(5.) In the time of the Védas, *visha* (related to *vésha,* a house or district †) generally meant people in general‡; and *Vaishya,* its adjective, was afterwards applied to a householder or to what belonged to an individual of the common people. The Latin *vicus* and the Greek οἶκος are the correspondents of *vésha.*‖ *Visha,* if applied, sometimes, to the pastoral, the agricultural, and the other industrial classes of the community, had reference only to their immediate occupations, without giving them any monopoly of these occupations. In an address to the Ashvins in the Rig-Véda from which we have already quoted a text, we find the general interests of the community, of the worshipper, or of the institutor of the sacrifice, thus referred to—" Favour the prayer *(brahma),* favour the service; kill the Rakshasas, drive away the

* Preface to vol. ii. of Ṛig-Véda, p. xv.

† It has this meaning in Zand also.

‡ In Ṛig-Véda, iii. 1. 9, Agni is spoken of as the preceder of *vishám manushinám,* human beings. In iii. 8. 18, he is called *vishám vishpatí,* the lord of men.

‖ *Visha* was pointed out by Kuhn and Lassen as having this relationship. It occurs in the names of many of our own towns, as Green*wich,* Wool*wich,* etc., as indicated by Dr. Müller. As noticed by the antiquarian historians now mentioned, it has been preserved in the Lithuanish *wiêszpatis,* lord of the manor. *Pati* is recognizable in the Greek δεσπότης. *Dama,* corresponding with the Latin *domus,* is used in Sanskrit for a single house or home.

evil;......favour the power *(khatra)* and favour the manly-strength;......favour the cow *(dhenu,* the representative of property) ; and favour the people (or house, *visha*)."*

* This passage, which occurs in the Rig-Véda, 6th. asht. 3rd. adh. 16th. varg., is a very important one. The text, omitting repetitive clauses, runs thus:—ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं धियो हतं रक्षांसि सेधतममीवाः.. क्षत्रं जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं नॄन्हतं.... धेनूर्जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं विशोह. (M. S. Rig-Véda, of B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.) In the Pada, the words are separated thus ब्रह्म। जिन्वतं। उत। जिन्वतं। धियः। हतं। रक्षांसि। सेधतं। अमीवाः। . .. नॄन्० धेनूः। विशः।, the word जिन्वतं being to be supplied after each of the last three words, according to the system of notation used. (Author's MS. of Pada of R̥. V.) Sáyaṇa Achárya, the commentator, under the caste feeling of later times, identifies *brahma* (prayer) with *Bráhmaṇa* (the man-that-prays, and *kshatra* (power) with *Kshatriya*, the party-exercising-power, and *dhenú*, the cow, and *visha*, the people, with the *Vaishya*, the party-belonging-to-the-people. This interpretation is not to be wondered at; but it is without early sanction. The *mantra* referred to is a favourite one with the Bráhmans; and, both as in the R̥ig-Véda and as in an expanded form, it is much used in their more solemn and secret services, and this in such a way as to show that originally it dealt with interests and not with castes. It occurs in this enlarged form at the commencement of the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda:—ब्रह्म सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं। क्षत्रँ सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं। इषँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं। ऊर्जँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं। रयिँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं। पुष्टिँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं। प्रजाँ सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं। पशून् सन्धत्तं तान्मे जिन्वतं. (Author's MS.) This may be thus translated:—"Maintain the *prayer*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *power*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *food*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *milk*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *wealth*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *offspring*, make-it-prosperous to me; maintain the *herd*, make-it-prosperous to me." Sáyaṇa, in his commentary on this passage, identifies *brahma* with the Bráhman caste, engaged for the institutor-of-the-sacrifice. *Khatra*, he makes the authority-of-the-head-of-a-district. But the other terms used he

Interests here occupy the ground which in later times belonged to particular castes. The unity of the whole immigrant race continued marked by the patronymic name A'rya, to which we have often referred. The Vaishyas, in the times of the Pándavas of the great War, according to the Mahábhárata, had considerable influence in affairs of state, as exemplified in the cases of the wise Vidur and Yuyutsu. It was only by degrees, and after the A'ryas had been settled in the great plains of India, that the Vaishyas got *special* charge of flocks and herds, and agriculture, and merchandise assigned to them, as in the days of Manu; for the time was, when a cowkeeper (*gopa*, *gopála*, *gosvámi**) was a chieftain in their community.

(6.) The Shúdras, though treated by Manu and Hindu legislation in general, as a component (though enslaved) part of the Indian community, not entitled to the second or sacramental birth, are not even once mentioned in the olden parts of the Védas. They are first locally brought to notice, in the Mahábhárata, along with the *Abhíras*, dwelling on the banks of the Indus.† The *Abhíras*, are recognized as in that position by Ptolemy, who denominates the district in which they were found *Abiria*;‡

does not venture to apply to any other alleged castes. In the third mantra of the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, the vital-breath, sight, hearing, mind, speech, etc., are coupled with the supplicatory verbs, in the same way as *brahma*, and *kshatra*, evidently showing that matters pertaining to the institution of the sacrifice are referred to throughout.

* This last word is still used as the equivalent of Master. It is particularly applied to classes of religionists.

† Mahábhárata, Bhiṣhma Parva, 305 (Cal. ed. ii. p. 344.)

‡ Ptol. Geo. lib. vii. p. 102. edit. Bert.

and their representatives are still seen in the *A'hirs*, a class of shepherds and cultivators in Sindh, Kachh, and Káthiáwád. There are distinct classical notices of the Shúdras in this very locality and its neighbourhood. "In historical times," says Lassen, "their name reappears in that of the town Συδρος on the lower Indus, and, what is especially worthy of notice, in that of the people Συδροι among the northern Arachosians.* Thus their existence as a distinct nation is established in the neighbourhood of the Indus, that is to say, in the region in which, in the oldest time, the Aryan Indians dwelt. They [the Aryans] probably conquered these earlier inhabitants; and it becomes manifest from this circumstance, that it was from the conquest of the other Aborigines in the interior part of the country, that afterwards, the name [Shúdra] was extended to the whole servile caste. This name cannot be derived from the Sanskrit; and it is to be presumed that the right spelling should be *Súdra*†. If this be correct, it must be sounded *Húdra* in old Persian; and this is confirmed by the statement of Megasthenes, that the Indian nations of the Ὑδράκαι sent auxiliaries to the Persians before the time of Alexander.‡

* Ptol. vii. 1. 61. vi. 20. 3. They are also mentioned by Dionys. Perieg. v. 1142, under the name Σκύδροι, in which passage other mistakes occur, as, e. g., for τῶν δε μέσοι ναιουσι Σάβαι καὶ Τοξιλοι ἄνδρες, Σκόδροι δ' ἐξείης. ἐπὶ δ' ἕσπεται ἄγρια φῦλα Πευκανίων. μετὰ τοὺς δε Διωνύσου θεράποντες Ταργαρίδαι ναιουσιν. κ. τ. λ. must be read, Σίβαι, Ταξιλοι, or, according to the variant reading, Σκύδροι, Σύδροι, and Γανδαρίδαι.

† [Yet, the Bráhmans connect the word *Shúdra*, with *Shushrushá*, service, though they get no real etymological help from this coincidence.]

‡ Strabo xv. 1 6. p. 687. By Steph. Byz. Ὑδάρκαι. They are distinct from the Οξυδράκαι, called in Sanskrit *Kshudraka*. Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. p. 799-800.

The extension of the name Shúdra to the enslaved and servile classes of the country conquered by the A'ryas, in contradistinction to the more independent and more cordially hated tribes, such as the Chándálas, Ambaṣhṭhas, etc., etc., must have occurred gradually. Some of the Shúdras, and some of the more independent tribes in the interior land, I am inclined, with others, to think, may have spoken a dialect not very dissimilar to that of the A'ryas, and may have been the descendants of a prior Aryan immigration.* There seems to have been some hesitation in the Aryan community about the actual religious position to be given to the Shúdras. In the time of the liturgical Bráhmaṇas of the Védas to be afterwards noticed, they were sometimes admitted to take part in the Aryan sacrifices.† Not long afterwards, when the conquests of the Aryans were greatly

* Many of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the A'ryas seem to have an Aryan meaning. There are many words current in the northern family of Indian languages which appear to be more cognate with the Sanskrit than immediately derived from it. This remark is not intended to oppose the belief, also confirmed by the state of the Indian languages, that most of the tribes which entered India before the A'ryas must have been of Scythian or Turanian origin. Of the Scythian immigrations, two at least, of extensive character, are marked by the differences in the Scythian words of the northern and southern families of languages.

† Roth, in Zeitschrift of the Germ. Or. Soc. vol. i. p. 83, and Weber's translation of the First Adhyáya of the Shatapatha-Bráhmaṇa, also in that Journal. In this Bráhmaṇa there occurs a remarkable passage respecting the call of the sacrificers, to this effect :—" If the sacrificer be a Bráhman, it is said, *Ehi* Come! if he is a Vaishya, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither! with a Rajabandhu [a transposition of the Vaishya and Rajanya having occurred] it is *Adrava*, Run hither! with a Shúdra it is *Adrava*, Run hither!"

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extended, and they formed a settled state of society among the affluents of the Yamuná and Ganges, they were degraded to the humiliating and painful position which they occupy in Manu.* There is no mention of any *Sankara*, or Mixed, Castes in the Védas.

(7.) In the time of the Chhandas of the Védas, the idea of the god Brahmá, from whose head and arms and thighs and feet the four original castes of the Hindus are held to have been derived, was neither developed nor formed. *Brahmá*, as a member of the Hindu Triad, and as the parent of the races of man, is no god whatever of the Védas. Brahma, in the neuter gender, in the Vedic language, as already mentioned, means prayer; and Brahmá, in the masculine, means "he-of-prayer." *Agni*, the god of fire and sacrifice, is the *Brahmá*, the god of prayer, and the *Vṛihaspati*, *Bṛihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspati*, the lord of prayer, throughout the Ṛig-Véda.† Though he is called *Vishpati*, *Vishámpati*, and *Manasaspati*, the lord of men; *Vaishvánara*, the sovereign of all beings; and *Játavedhas* and *Vedhas Sháshvata*, the inspector of men and the constant inspector, as practically useful to man in his person and social life, and as the constant consumer of sacrifice and offerings, he is also spoken of as "the Son of Heaven and Earth," as well as their parent, and was both a derivative god and a Creator, when the early Súktas were composed.‡ A desire to have a separate god for prayer, besides the gods of material nature and energy the ancient deities of the Védas, begins

* See above, pp. 46-50.

† Dr. Roth thinks that all the *pati* gods are the result of reflection and of later invention.

‡ Ṛig-Véda, 3rd. Asht. 1st. adh. s. 19.

to be apparent in these writings as they advance; and for this god, Agni, in his function of Brahmá, was selected. The Bráhmáns ultimately recognized Brahmá as a distinctive metaphysical god, and introduced him to public notice; but, however much they themselves contemplated him, they did not succeed in thoroughly establishing his worship among the Indian people. It is well known that there is only a single temple dedicated to his honour in the whole of India.* To account for his unpopularity, it is feigned, in the later Shástras, that he is labouring under a curse from the god Shiva, who even went so far as to cut off one of his heads for his immorality !† *Brahma* (the divine thing *Brahma* or Soul) is an invention of the ideal Vedánta, a system of Pantheism long posterior to the Védas, and really designed to supersede them under the assumed name of the "Aim" or "End" of the Védas.‡

(8.) The doctrine, or incident, or system, of ceremonial defilement by touch, or by eating or drinking,—by which the existence of Caste is particularly marked in the present social and religious life of the Hindus,—is not recognized in the Védas in a single instance. It is impossible that it

* This is at the Pokhar *(Pushkara)* lake near Ajmér. Tod's Rájásthán, vol. i. p. 774. Even this temple, I found when visiting it, to be under the care of devotees, and not that of the regular priesthood.

† Author's First Exposure of Hinduism, p. 42. In the 3rd asht. 8th adh. and 10th varg. of the Ṛig-Véda, Agni is spoken of as having चत्वारि शृंगा four horns. These Sáyaṇa erroneously makes the four Védas, the collection of which did not exist when the Súktas were composed, and Mahidhara, the four officiating priests (the Hotṛi, Udgátṛi, Adhvaryu, and Brahmá); but M. Langlois, with much probability, makes them the four sides of Agni's eastern fire-pit, in which the myth of Brahmá's four faces may have originated.

‡ This is the etymological meaning of *Vedánta*, from *Veda* and *anta*.

should not, in some form or other, have been alluded to in these productions, had it existed when they were formed.

Caste, in the sense in which it exists in the present day, we are more and more persuaded, was altogether unknown among the ancient A'ryas, though doubtless, like other consociated peoples, they had varieties of rank and order and occupation in their community. A *Panchakshiti*, and *panchajana* (pentad) are occasionally mentioned in the Védas*. Sáyana A'chárya says these expressions refer to the four *varṇas* (colours or castes) and the Nishádas treated as outcasts, or to the Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Dévas, Asuras, and Rákshasas, as explained in the Nirukta. But Professor Lassen properly observes that neither of these explanations is admissible.† *Kshiti*, as he remarks, is applied in the Véda to men in general and *charṣhani*, its synonym, is derived from *riṣh* to plow. The *Niṣhádas* (etymologically the "settled" Aborigines, but applied to races distinct from the Aryan) were then unknown. Even when they came into notice, they remained exterior to the Aryan state. *Jana* signifies a person ; *panchajani*, in times later than the Véda, an assembly of five men; and *panchajanína*, a chief of five men. "It is probable," Lassen adds, "that the oldest social communities consisted only of five families." That *Panchakshiti* and *panchajana* signify an aggregate of five men, is evident ; but what the members of the aggregation were, it is now almost impossible to declare with certainty. Megasthenes speaks of various municipal and military Pentads as existing among the Indians in his day.‡ Many aggregations of five per-

* Ṛ. V. iv. 2. 5.

† Indische Altherthumskunde, vol. i. p. 796.

‡ Megasthenes in Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 220, et. seq.

sons or parties are at present recognized by the Hindus.*

In virtue of the remarks which we have now made, and proofs and illustrations which we have now brought forward, we hold that Caste in the ancient Védic times was no systematic institution of the A'ryas. The opinion of Dr. Max Müller, the editor of the *Ṛig-Véda* and the most competent judge in the case, is entirely in accordance with that which we have ventured to express. In a Review of Muir's Texts in the London *Times*, he has the following passage:—"Does Caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Védas? We answer with a decided 'No.' There is no authority whatever in the Véda for the complicated system of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Bráhmans; no authority for the degraded position of the Shúdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together; from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Véda, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes, the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the serf, sprung all alike from Brahmá. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns."†

* See Molesworth's Maráthí Dictionary under the compound, of पंच. The *A'rya varṇa* (or colour) is spoken of as a unity in Ṛig-Véda, 3rd asht. 2. 5. 9.

† The Times, 10th April 1858.

The verse here referred to by Dr. Müller was first brought to notice by Colebrooke. It occurs in the *Purusha Súkta,* or Hymn of the Primeval Male, translated by him in his Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus.* It has been quoted and translated by Burnouf, in his introduction to his translation of the Bhágavata Puráṇa† ; and lately it has been literally and correctly rendered by Dr. John Muir, whose version we here introduce, with the text subjoined, that a proper estimate of its bearings on the subject immediately before us may be formed.

"Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. Everywhere pervading the earth, he overpassed a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha alone is this whole [universe], which has been, and is to be. He is the lord of immortality, that which expands by nutriment. (?) 3. So great is his glory; and Purusha is greater than this. All creatures make a fourth of him; three-fourths of him (are) immortality in the sky. 4. Purusha with these three parts mounted upwards; a fourth of him was again produced here. He then diffused himself everywhere among things animate and inanimate. 5. From him sprang Viráj; over Viráj was Purusha: being born he extended himself, and (produced) the earth and corporeal forms. 6. When the gods offered up Purusha in sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, summer its wood, and autumn the offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born primevally, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him as their oblation the gods, Sádhyas, and Ṛishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified butter. He produced the animals of which Váyu is the deity, both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice were produced hymns called *rich* and *sáman*, the metres and *yajus*. 10. From that were produced horses and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep. 11. When they formed (or offered up) Purusha into how many parts did they divide him? What was his mouth?

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 251 and Mis. Essays 1 p. 167-8.

† Burnouf's B. P. i. cxxiii.

What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? 12. The *Bráhman* was his mouth; the *Rájanya* was made his arms; that which was the *Vaishya* was his thighs; the *Shúdra* sprang from his feet. 13. The moon was produced from his mind (*Manas*); the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Váyu from his breath. 14. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head the sky; from his feet the earth, from his ear the four quarters: so they formed the worlds. 15. When the gods in performing their sacrifice bound Purusha as their victim, there were seven trenches (round the altar), and there were made thrice seven pieces of fuel. 16. With sacrifice the Gods worshipped the sacrifice: these were the first rites. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient Sádhyas, reside."*

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् । स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वा ऽत्यतिष्ठद्दशांगुलं॥ ॥१॥ पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भव्यं । उतामृतत्व स्येशानो यदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥२॥ एतावान् अस्यमहिमा ऽतो ज्यायांश्चपुरुषः । पादोस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि॥ ॥ ३ ॥ त्रिपाद् ऊर्ध्व उदैत् पुरुषः पादोस्येहा भवत्पुनः ततोविश्वङ्व्यक्रामत् साशनान-शने अभि ॥ ४ ॥ तस्माद् विराळजायत विराजो अधि पूरुषः । सजातो अत्यरिच्यत पश्चात्भूमि मथो पुरः ॥ ५ ॥ यत् पुरुषेण हविषा देवायज्ञमतन्वत । वसंतो अस्यासीद् आज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद् हविः॥६॥ तंयज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन् पुरुषं जात मग्रतः। तेन देवा अयजंत साध्या ऋषयश्चये ॥ ७ ॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः संभृतं पृषदाज्यं । पशूं स्तांश्चक्रे वायव्यान् आरण्यान् ग्राम्याश्चये ॥ ८ ॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे । छंदांसि जज्ञिरे तस्मात् यजुस्तस्मादजायत ॥ ९ ॥ तस्मादश्वा अजायंत येके चो भयादतः । गावोह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज्जाता अजावयः ॥ १०॥ यत्पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन । मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू काऊरू पादा उच्येते ॥ ११ ॥ ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥१२॥ चंद्रमामनसो जातश्चक्षोःसूर्यो अजायत । मुखाद् इंद्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत॥१३॥ नाभ्या मासीद् अंतरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौःसमवर्तत । पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशश्श्रोत्रात् तथालोकानक-ल्पयन् ॥ १४ ॥ सप्तास्यासन् परिधयः स्त्रिः सप्त समिधः कृताः । देवायद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन् पुरुषं पशुं ॥ १५ ॥ यज्ञेन यज्ञ मजयंत देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमा-न्यासन । तेहिनाकं महिमानः सचंत यत्रपूर्वे साध्याः संतिदेवाः ॥ १६ ॥

* The text we take from the MS. of the B. B. R. A. S., which on comparison we find, except in two letters, agrees with that of Burnouf, which was made from the same original copy, that of Colonel Shortrede.

Dr. Müller has lately well illustrated his own remark, that European critics are able to show that this passage of the Védas is of "later origin than the great mass of the hymns." In his History of Sanskrit Literature he thus writes respecting it:—"There can be little doubt that it is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring, Gríshma, summer, and Sharad, autumn, it contains the only passage in the Ṛig-Véda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Gríshma, for instance, the name of the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Ṛig-Véda; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Védic poets. It occurs but once more in the Ṛig-Véda (mand. 161. 4.") Dr. Müller brings down this hymn to the time of making the final collection of the Ṛig-Véda Sanhitá, "the work of the Mantra period," to which he gives the date of 1000-800 before Christ. He does not carry it lower, because of allusions to it in the Bráhmaṇas, and because it has found a place in the collections of the Vajaséyins and Atharvans.* That it cannot be carried higher than this is obvious, not only from the considerations above referred to, but from the distinction (recognized by it) in the Védic "hymns called the *Rich*, and *Sáman*, the metres *(Chhandas)*, and the *Yajus*," which seems to indicate the existence of an artificial division at the time it originated of the Védic material, at least for conventional sacrificial purposes.

* Müller's Hist. Sans. Lit. p. 572.

In regard to the meaning of the Puruṣha Súkta we adhere to the judgment which we have elsewhere expressed upon it. "The support which even it gives to the system of caste is of a very limited character. The passage in it which approximates the subject is the following:—'When they produced Puruṣha [perhaps equivalent to 'when Puruṣha was produced'] into how many portions did they separate him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were pronounced his thighs and feet? The Bráhman was his mouth; the Rájanya (prince) was made his arms; the Vaishya was his thighs; and the Shúdra sprang from his feet.' This occurs in a composition which is both metaphysical and figurative; and it probably expresses an idea originally of this character:—The Bráhman, as the expositor of the will of God, conceived of as an enormous male, and the recipient of the gifts and offerings made to the divinities, was the mouth of this male; the *Rájanya,* the prince or warrior, the instrument of offence and defence, was the arms of this male; the *Vaishya,* as the cultivator of the soil, and the original possessor of its wealth, was the thighs of this male; and the Shúdra, or slave, as the lowest member of the body social, was the feet of this male. All this is clearly metaphysical and metaphorical, though afterwards it was viewed as historical and dogmatic."* For the system of caste, it is now obvious, there is no legitimate warrant in the great hymn collection of the Ṛig-Véda.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp. 44-45.

Dr. Muir, illustrating the Purusha Súkta, properly says: "It is only the Shúdra who is here said to have sprung from the feet of Puruṣha. In a hymn of this allegorical and mystical character, it cannot be assumed that the writer intended to represent it as a

Nor is such countenance of Caste to be found in any of the *olden* portions of the other Védas, which are all taken from what is properly denominated by Dr. Müller the "one genuine collection, the so-called Ṛig-Véda, or the Véda of praise."*

The first of these derivative Vėdas is the *Sáma*, the whole of whose texts, with few exceptions, as already hinted, have been actually found in the Ṛik, especially in the eighth and ninth mandals.† It is not to be expected, consequently, that much light should be cast by it individually on the social state of the ancient A'ryas, even though it should be admitted, as thought by Dr. Müller, that the time of its construction falls within that of the Bráhmaṇas,—between 800—600 years before Christ. We notice a few things which have struck our attention when going over it in connexion with the subject before us.

The god Brahmá is distinguished in one place both from Agni, the god of fire, and Vṛihaspati, the lord of prayer.‡ A pre-eminence among the gods is in one other place at least

historical fact, that the four different classes sprang from different parts of Purusha's body ; any more than that he desired to assert, as literally true, what he has stated in verses 13 and 14 ; that 'the moon was produced from his *mind*, the sun from his *eye*, Indra and Agni from his *mouth*, and Váyu from his *breath*,' &c. &c. &c. In fact the Yajur Véda alleges that Váyu came forth from his *ear;* and so contradicts the Ṛig-Véda." Texts i. 10.

* Review in Times, 10th April, 1858.

† As the Sáma does not make quotations from the last hymns of the Ṛik, it has been inferred by Weber and others that its pieces had been arranged before the completion of the Ṛig-Véda collection ; but Dr. Müller (Anc. Sans. Lit. p. 427.) attributes both its collection and that of the Ṛig-Véda to the Bráhmaṇa period. See Muir's Texts, ii. 203.

‡ Benfey's Text of Sáma Véda, p. 10.

ascribed to him, no doubt because he is viewed as the lord of sacrifice* In the passage last referred to, the *Ṛishi* is mentioned as the marked one among the *Vipras*, or intelligent; while in another the *Vipra* is denominated the instrumentality, or agent, of the sacrifice,† thus intimating that the designation was being applied distinctively to an officiating priest. Several passages in the Sáma in which the word Brahmá, used as a human conductor of prayer or sacrifice, are taken from the Ṛik, need not be here noticed. The human Brahmá is spoken of, in one place, as the master of (holy) seasons, and the Bráhmans as praising Indra in hymns.‡ The designation *Brahmá* seems from this to have been about this time coming into use as a generic

* This is in a curious address to the sacred *Soma*, the genius of ardent spirits :—

सोमः पवते जनिता मतीनां जनिता दिवो जनिता पृथिव्याः ।
जनिताग्नेर्जनिता सूर्यस्य जनितेंद्रस्य जनितोत विष्णोः ॥
ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणां ।
श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् ॥

Sáma Véda, 2nd part, iii. 3, Stevenson's Text p. 77, Benfey's, 84.

Soma is pure, the generator of intellect, the generator of the heavens, the generator of fire, the generator of the sun, the generator of Indra, and the generator of the earth, the generator of Vishnu—Soma, when sounding it goes to its holy place, (is) Brahmá among the gods, the high-one among the poets, the Ṛishi among the Vipras, the hawk among the raptores, the buffaloe among horned animals, and the sword among cleavers.

† विप्रो यज्ञस्य साधन : Sáma, ii. 6. (Benfey, p. 126.)

‡ एष ब्रह्मा य ऋत्विय इंद्रो नाम श्रुतो गृणे ॥
ब्रह्माण इंद्रं महयंतो अर्कैरवर्धयन्नहये हंतवा उ ॥

Sáma Véda, part 1st, v. 6. 2. Stevenson's Text p. 38, Benfey's, P. 46. Compare Mádhava's Comment. sub. loc.

term for a priest. Nothing of a peculiar character occurs in the Sáma applying either to the *Rájá* or the *Visha.*

The second of the derivative Védas, the *Yajus* or *Yajur*, as already mentioned, exists in two forms, the Black and the White.* They are partly in prose and partly in verse, the poetical portion being generally that which is taken from the Ṛik. Exclusive of their texts from the Ṛik, they appear, in their liturgical directions especially, very like the Bráhmaṇas, to the era of which, as collections, they belong. They indicate the assumption of Bráhmanical pre-eminence, but in the face of opposition from certain portions of the Indian community.

In the Black Yajur Véda, the *Brahma,* and *Kshatra* are, (with the *Suprajá* (the good population), and *Ráyaspoṣha* supporting wealth), recognized as distinct interests, in prayers several times used.† The predominance of the Bráhman in sacrifice is set forth throughout this collection, at least of the portions of it which have been printed. Social distinctions are recognized in it, as those of the *Brahma;* the *Rájanya,* prince; the *Mahiṣhí,* the wife of an anointed king; the *Parivṛiktí,* according to the commentator Mádhava "the unloved wife of a king" (concubine?); the *Sénáni,* general; the *Súta,* charioteer; the *Grámani,* villager; the *Kshatta,* the "guardian of the females; the *Sangrahítá,* the treasurer; the *Bhágadugha,*

* See above, p. 74. In the text of the White Yajur Véda, ably edited by Dr. Weber of Berlin, there are 4045 lines. Dr. W. gives us also the text of the commentary of Mahídhara, the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa, and the Shrauta Sútras of Kátyáyan, and Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yajnikadéva.

† Taittiríya Sanhitá of Y. V. i. 3. 1 ; 1. 9. 6. (Roer and Cowell's ed. vol. i. pp. 445, 492.)

the collector (of the king's portion, said by the commentator to be the sixth part); the *Akshávápa*, the player at dice.* But these are probably principally designations of parties in public office. The commentator speaks of them as the recognized supporters of the kingdom.† An appropriation of the gods is thus made in recognition of certain orders of the community. "Bṛihaspati is the god of speech; Indra, of chiefs; Mitra, of the truthful; Varuṇa of the religious"; and "Soma of us the Bráhmans."‡ Bráhmans and Kshatriyas are viewed as distinct, in connexion with the colour of the beasts used in a certain sacrifice.§

In the White Yajur Véda the information bearing on our subject is such as the following:—

In this Véda the *Brahma* and *Kshatra* are coupled together in the worship of Agni, and in other connexions as in the Black Yajur Véda.‖ The Bráhman is mentioned as an object of reverence with ancestors and ṛishis,¶ Indra (the thunderer) is declared to be the hold and support of the *Kshatra*,** while he is also set forth as the god of the *Kshatra* and the princedom. Soma (so often addressed in sacrifice) is declared to be the god of the *Bráhmans*,†† as in a passage from the Sáma Véda already referred to. The different functions in the community of the Bráhman and Kshatra are thus indirectly recognized. Salutations are given to the *Kshétrapati*, proprietor of fields; to the *Súta*, bard or chario-

* Taittaríya Sanhitá, i. 8. 9.

† Roer & Cowell's Ed. vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ Taitt. S. of Y. V.; 8. 10.

§ Taittiríya Sanhitá of Y. V. ii. 1. 2.

‖ Shukla Yajur-Véda, i. 1. 18; i. 5. 26.

¶ S. Y. V. i. 6. 46.

** S. Y. V. 1. 9. 8.

†† Shukla Yajur Véda 1. 9. 19.

teer; to the *Taskarapati,* probably master of a subjugated tribe ;* to the *Kullunchapati,* "inhabiting mountainous regions" ; to the bearers of bows and arrows ; to the *Shvapati,* or master of hounds ; to the *Vrátapati,* "the master of a multitude ;" to the *Sená* and *Senáni,* to the army and the leader of the army ; to the *Sangṛihita,* treasurer ; to the *Takshá,* carpenter, and *Rathakára,* the coachmaker ; to the *Kulála,* the potter, and *Karmára,* the worker in the coarser metals ; to the *Nishády,* aboriginal settler;† and to other parties recognized as classes in the community.‡ The Bráhman is spoken of as endowed with the knowledge of Brahma (*brahmavarchasí*) and the Rájanya, as possessed of bravery (*shúra*).§

Even more distinctive notices than these of the varied and numerous classes of Indian society occur in this White Yajur Véda. They are found in connexion with the most mysterious rite of Hinduism, that of the *Purusha-médha,* or sacrifice of Purusha, nominally the god Prajápati. A whole Adháya, or section is devoted to them,‖ in which the parties are brought forward, or consecrated, as typical representatives of the multitudinous objects recognized in the Purushamédha. A few of these parties are mentioned, also, in the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa

* In Wilson's Sans. Dict. Taskara is rendered by "thief, robber." Mahídhara in his commentary on the Shukla Yajur Veda attaches a similar meaning to the word. Weber's ed. i. p. 497.

† Mahídhara views the Nishádas as mountain Bhillas, eaters of flesh. Weber's Text. i. p. 500. The word Nisháda, as shown by Lassen, means the settled.

‡ Shukla Yajur Véda, i. 16. 18-26.

§ Shukla Yajur-Véda, ii. 22. 20. (Weber's ed. p. 703.)

‖ Shukla Yajur-Véda, adh. 30. (Weber's ed. i. p. 841-848.)

of the Yajur Véda;* and with variations they all occur in the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Véda,† in a passage which, as far as I know, has not yet attracted the attention of Europeans.

The importance of the Adhyáya of the White Yajur-Véda, now mentioned, in the illustration of ancient Indian society requires its quotation in full.

1	‡*Brahmaṇé*	... *Brahmaṇam,*	... for the Brahma	... a *Bráhman.*
2	*Kshatráya*	... *Rájanyam,*	... for the Kshatra,	... a *Prince.*
3	*Marudbhyo*	... *Vaishyam,*	... for Tillage,	... a *Vaishya.*
4	*Tapasé*	... *Shúdram,*	... for Toil,	... a *Shúdra*
5	*Tamasé*	... *Taskaram,*	... for Darkness,	... a *Thief.*
6	*Nárakáya*	... *Vírhanam,*	... for Hellishness,	... a *Murderer.*
7	*Papmané*	... *Klibam,*	... for Sin,	... a *Eunuch.*
8	*A'krayáya*	... *Ayogúm,*	... for Distress (?)	... an *Ayogava.*
9	*Kámáya,*	... *Pushchalúm,*	... for Lust,	... a *Whore.*
10	*Atikrushtáya*	... *Mágadham,*	... for great-Mourning	a *Mágadha.*
11	*Nṛittaya*	... *Sútam,*	... for Dancing,	... a *Súta.*
12	*Gitáya*	... *Shailúsham,*	... for Singing,	... an *Actor.*
13	*Dharmáya*	... *Sabhácharam,*	... for Duty (or Religion)	an *Attendant-on-the-Synagogue.*
14	*Narishtháyai*	... *Bhimalam,*	... for Bad-luck,	... a *Frightful-person.*
15	*Narmáya*	... *Rébham,*	... for Amusement,	... an *Orator.*
16	*Hasáya*	... *Kárim,*	... for Laughter,	... an *Artificer.*
17	*Anandáya*	... *Strishakham,*	... for Joy,	... a *Lover-of-women.*
18	*Pramadé*	... *Kumáriputram,*	... for Pleasure,	... a *Son-of-an-unmarried-girl*
19	*Médháyai*	... *Rathakáram,*	... for Intelligence,	... a *Chariot-maker.*
20	*Dháiryáya*	... *Takshánam,*	... for Firmness,	... a *Carpenter.*
21	*Tapasé*§	... *Kaulálam,*	... for Labour,	... a *Potter.*
22	*Mayáyai*	... *Karmáram,*	... for Jugglery,	... a *Blacksmith.*
23	*Rupáya*	... *Manikáram,*	... for Beauty,	... a *Jeweller.*
24	*Shubhé*	... *Vapam,*	... for Auspiciousness,	a *Sower.*
25	*Sharavyáya*	... *Ishukáram,*	... for Shooting,	... a *Maker-of-arrows*
26	*Hétyai*	... *Dhanushkáram,*	... for Armour,	... a *Maker-of-bows.*

* Adháya, xiii.

† Taittriíya Bráhmaṇa of the Krishna Yajur-Véda, iii. fol. 40-42 of Author's MS.

‡ The numbers here given are not in the Véda.

§ We have had *tapasé* already (in No. 4). The Taittiríya Bráhmana has here *Shramáya* meaning also "for labour."

27 *Karmaṇé*	... *Jyákáram,*	... for Activity,	... a *Maker-of-bow-strings.*
28 *Dishtáya*	... *Rajusarjam,*	... for Fortune,	... a *Ropemaker.*
29 *Mrityavé*	... *Mṛigayum,*	... for Death,	... a *Huntsman.*
30 *Antakáya*	... *Svaninam,*	... for the Agent-of-death,	a *Dogman.*
31 *Nadíbhyah*	... *Paunjishtam,*	... for Rivers,	... a *Punjishta.**
32 *Rikshikábhyo*†	*Naishádam,*	... for a Watchman,	... a *Descendant-of-a-Nishada.*
33 *Purushavyághráya*	*Durmadam,*	... for Haughtiness,	... a *Drunkard.*
34 *Gandharvápsarobhyo*	*Vrátyam,*	... for the Gandharvas and Apsaras,	a *Vrátya.*
35 *Prayugbhyah* ...	*Unmattam,*	... for the Abstracted,	a *Madman.*
36 *Sarpadévajanébhyo*	*Apratipadam,*	... for Serpents and Devajanas	an *Ignorant.*
37 *Ayébhyah*	... *Kitavam,*	... for Luck,	... a *Dice-player.*
38 *Iryatáya*	... *Akitavam,*	... for the Departed,	... a *Non-player-at-dice.*
39 *Pishachébhyah*..	*Bidalakárim,*	... for Pisháchas,	... a *female-Basket-maker.*
40 *Yátudhánébhyah*	*Kantakikárim*	... for the Yátudhánas,‡	a *Pinmaker.*
41 *Sandhayé*	... *Járam,*	... for Junction,	... a *Paramour.*
42 *Géhaya*	... *Upapatim,*	... for the House,	... a *Concubine.*
43 *Artyai*	... *Farivittam,*	... for Affliction,	... an *Unmarried-elder-brother.*§
44 *Nirrityai*	... *Parivividánam,*	... for Misfortune,	... a *Married-elder-brother.*
45 *Nishkrityai*	... *Péshaskárim,*	... for Craft,	... an *Actress.*
46 *Samjnánáya*	... *Smarakárim,*	... for Gesture,	... an *Amorous-woman.*
47 *Prakámodyáya* .	*Upasadam,*	... for Love,	... a *Companion.*
48 *Baláya*	... *Upadám,*	... for Strength,	... an *Observer.*
49 *Varṇáya*	... *Anurudham,*	... for Varṇa (Descent)	a *Follower (or Page).*
50 *Utsádebhyah*	... *Kubjam,*	... for the Applying-of Unguents,	a *Hunchback.*
51 *Pramudé*	... *Vámanam,*	... for Amusement.	... a *Dwarf.*
52 *Dwárbhyah*	... *Srámam,*	... for Doors,	... a *Blear-eyed-person.*
53 *Svapnáya*	... *Andham,*	... for Dreaming,	... a *Blind-person.*
54 *Adharmáya*	... *Badhiram,*	... for Irreligion,	... a *Deaf-person.*
55 *Pavitráya*	... *Bhishajam,*	... for Purification,	... a *Physician.*
56 *Prajnánáya*	... *Nakshatradarsham*	for Philosophy,	... an *Astronomer.*

* Mahídhara, the Commentator, makes this a *Slayer-of-birds*, and the *Lowest-born*, the *Pulkasa*.

† The coupling of the Watchman with the class of the Nisháda, suggests the idea that the word *Rakshasa* may have come into use from the aboriginal tribes having been employed as Watchmen. See above, p. 99.

‡ The name Yátudhána is applied to magicians, barbarians, and demons.

§ "The younger being unmarried." Mahídhara.

57	*Ashikshâyai* ...	*Prashninam,*	... for Non-instruction,	a *Catechizer.*
58	*Upashikshâyâ* ...	*Abhiprashninam,*...	for Elementary-instruction,	an *Interrogator.*
59	*Maryâdâyai* ...	*Prashnavivâkam,*...	for Boundaries, ...	a *Revealer-of-Omens.*
60	*Armébhyo* ...	*Hastipam,*	... for Conveyances, ...	an *Elephant-keeper.*
61	*Javâya* ...	*Ashvapam,*	... for Running, ...	a *Horse-keeper.*
62	*Pushtai* ...	*Gopâlam,*	... for Nourishment, ...	a *Cowkeeper.*
63	*Viryâya* ...	*Avipâlam,*	... for Heroism, ...	a *Shepherd.*
64	*Téjasé* ...	*Ajapâlam,*	... for Bravery, ...	a *Goatherd.*
65	*Irâyai* ...	*Kinâsham,*	... for the Earth, ...	a *Cultivator.*
66	*Kilâlâya* ...	*Surâkâram,*	... for Water, ...	a *Dealer-in-Spirits.*
67	*Bhadrâya* ...	*Grihapam,*	... for Wellbeing, ...	a *Housekeeper*
68	*Shréyasé* ...	*Vittadham,*	... for Prosperity, ...	a *Holder-of-Wealth.*
69	*A'dhyakshâya*...	*Anukshattâram,*	... for Oversight, ...	a *Footman.*
70	*Bhâyai* ...	*Dârvâhâram,*	... for Combustion, ...	a *Timber-bringer.*
71	*Prabhâya* ...	*Agnédham,*	... for Light, ...	a *Fire-kindler.*
72	*Bradhnasya-vishtapâya*	*Abhishéktâram,*	... for the Region of the Sun,	an *Anointer.*
73	*Varshishthâya-Nâkâya,*	*Parivéshtâram,*	... for Supreme Paradise,	a *Distributor-of-food-to-guests.*
74	*Dévalokâya* ...	*Peshitâram,*	... for the Abode-of-the Gods,	a *Maker-of-figures.*
75	*Manushyalokâya*	*Prakaritâram,*	... for the abode of Men	a *Moulder.*
76	*Sarvébhyolokébhyah*	*Upaséktâram,*	... for the Universe, ...	a *Sprinkler.*
77	*Avarityai badhâya*	*Upamanthitâram*...	for the Destruction-of-Adversity,	a *Churner.*
78	*Medhâya vâsah*	*Palpûlim,*	... for Sacrifice, ...	a *Washer-of-clothes.*
79	*Prakâmâya* ...	*Rajayitrim,*	... for Eagerness. ...	a *Dyer-of-clothes.*
80	*Ritayé* ...	*Sténahridayam*	... for Prosperity, ...	a *Thievish-hearted-person.*
81	*Vairhatyâya* ...	*Pishunam,*	... for Malicious-Murder,	a *Backbiter.*
82	*Viviktyai* ...	*Kshattâram.*	... for Loneliness, ...	a *Kshatta (Lictor)*
83	*Aupadristrâya*...	*Anukshattâram,*	... for Supervision, ...	a *Sub-Lictor.*
84	*Balâya* ...	*Anucharam,*	... for Strength, ...	a *Follower.*
85	*Bhûmné* ...	*Parishkandam,*	... for Water, ...	a *Climber.*
86	*Priyâya* ...	*Priyavâdinam,*	... for Love, ...	a *Sweet-speaker.*
87	*Arishtyâ* ...	*Asvasâdam,*	... for Fortune (or Misfortune),	a *Horseman.*
88	*Swargâyalokâya*	*Bhâgadugham,*	... for Heaven, ...	a *Bhâgadugha.**
89	*Manyavé* ...	*Ayastâpam,*	... for Anger, ...	a *Heater-of-iron* (a *Blacksmith?)*
90	*Krodhâya* ...	*Nisaram,*	... for Anger, ...	a *Ferryman.*
91	*Yogâya* ...	*Yoktâram,*	... for Junction, ...	a *Joiner.*
92	*Shokâya* ...	*Abhisartâram,*	... for Grief, ...	a *Waiter.*

* A Collector of the prince's revenue. See before, p. 124.

93	*Kshemáya* ...	*Vimoktáram*,	... for Hapiness,	... a *Liberator*.
94	*Utkúlanikúlébhyaḥ*	*Strishthinam*,	... for Arrival and Non-arrival,	a *Man-of-worth*.
95	*Vapushé* ...	*Mánuskṛitam*,	... for a Handsome Body,	a *Proved-man*.
96	*Shiláya* ...	*Anjanikárim*,	... for Beauty,	... an *Anointer-of-the-eyes*.
97	*Nirrityai* ...	*Koshakárim*,	... for Misfortune,	... a *Maker-of-sheaths for swords*.
98	*Yamáya* ...	*Asúm*,	... for Yama,*	... a *Barren-woman*.
99	*Yamáya* ...	*Yamasúm*,	... for Yama,	... a *Bearer-of-Twins*.†
100	*Atharvabhyo* ...	*Avatokám*,	... for a Priest,	... a *Woman-without-offspring*.
101	*Samvatsaráya*	*Paryáyinim*,	... for a complete-year,	a *Woman-skilled-in-counting*.
102	*Parivatsaráya*	*Avijátám*,	... for the Past-Year,	a *Woman-who-has-not-borne-a-child*.
103	*Idávatsaráya* ...	*Atitvarím*,	... for the Present-Year,	an *Unchaste-woman*.
104	*Idvatsaráya* ...	*Atishkadvarim*,	... for a Prosperous-Year,	a *Woman-in-her-courses*.
105	*Vatsaráya* ...	*Vijarjarám*,	... for the Year (un-defined.)	an *Old-woman*.
106	*Samvatsaráya*.	*Paliknim*,	... for Time,	... a *White-haired-Woman*.
107	*Ribhubhyo* ...	*Ajinsandham*,	... for the Ribhús,	... a *Skindresser*.
108	*Sádhyébhyaḥ* ...	*Charmamnam*,	... for the Sádhas,	... a *Dealer-in-skins*.
109	*Sarobhyo* ...	*Dhaivaram*,	... for Waters,	... a *Man-of-the-fisher-class*.
110	*Upasthávarábhyo*	*Dásham*,	... for Mountains,	... a *Dásha (Dasyu)*.
111	*Vaishantábhyo*	*Baindam*,	... for Pools,	... *One-of-the-Binda-class (a Hunter)*.‡
112	*Nadvalábhyaḥ*	*Shaushkalam*,	... for Fens,	... a *Fishdealer*.
113	*Páráya* ...	*Márgárám*,	... for the Opposite Bank of a River,	a *Deer-killer*.
114	*Avárayá* ...	*Kaivartam*,	... for the Near Bank of a River,	a *Kaivartta (Fisherman)*.
115	*Tirthébhyaḥ*§ ...	*A'ndam*,	... for Ferries,	... an *Anda*.

* The god of the other world.

† In the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, we have *Yamyai*, the dative feminine, for *Yamáya* of the Shukla Yajur-Véda text. This reading, which refers the personage represented to *Yami*, the sister, or wife of *Yama*, seems the more appropriate.

‡ The commentator couples the *Binda* or *Vinda* with the *Nisháda*, possibly with reference to the *Vindhya* mountains.

§ The word *tírtha*, here used as a ferry, seems to have got into use from the Brahmanic missionaries having chosen the ferries of rivers as their early stations.

116	*Vishamébhyo*	*Maindlam*,	... for Precipices,	... *One-of-the Minála-class.*
117	*Svanébhyaḥ* ...	*Parnakam*,	... for Echoes,	... a *Parnaka (Vender of leaves).*
118	*Guhábhyaḥ* ...	*Kirátam*,	... for Caves,	... a *Kiráta.*
119	*Sánubhyo* ...	*Jambhakam*,	... for Mountain Plateaus,	a *Jambhaka (Savage).*
120	*Parvatébhyaḥ*	*Kimpúrusham*,	... for (High) Mountains,	a *Kimpúrusha.*
121	*Bíbhatsáyai* ...	*Paulkasam*,	... for Disgust,	... a *Person of the Pulkasa tribe.*
122	*Varnáya* ...	*Hıranyakáram.*	... for the Precious Metal,	a *Goldsmith.*
123	*Tuláyai* ...	*Vánijam*,	... for Weighing,	... a *Person of the Váni class* (a *Vender).*
124	*Pashcháдо-sháya*	*Gláвinam*,	... for the "Posterior-fault,"	a *Mourner.*
125	*Vishvébhyobhútébhyaḥ*	*Sidhmalam*,	... for the Vishvé-Bhútas (all-the-Demons),	a *Leper.*
126	*Bhútyai* ...	*Jágaranam*,	... for Prosperity,	... a *Watcher.*
127	*Abhútyai* ...	*Svapanam*,	... for Adversity, (or Non-Existences),	a *Drowning man.*
128	*A'rtyai* ...	*Janavádinam*,	... for Sickness.	... a *Popular-Speaker.*
129	*Vridhyai* ...	*Apagalbham*,	... for Old-age,	... an *Infirm-person.*
130	*Shanshardya* ...	*Prachidam*,	... for the Commencement-of-a-Contest,	a *Foreslasher.*
131	*Aksharájáya* ...	*Kitavam*,	... for the Chief-of-the-Dice,	a *Gambler.*
132	*Kṛitáya* ...	*Adinavadarsham*,	for the Kṛita (the first Yuga, that of deeds),	an *Inspector-of-faults.*
133	*Trétáyai* ...	*Kalpinam*,	... for the Tréta (Yuga),	a *Trickster.*
134	*Dváparáya* ...	*Adhikalpinam*,	... for the Drápar Yuga,	an *Arch-trickster.*
135	*A'skandáya* ...	*Sabhásthánum*,	... for the A'skanda (the Evil Yuga,)	a *Lounger-in-meetings.**
136	*Mṛityavé* ...	*Govyachham*,	... for Death,	... an *Attendant-on-cows*
137	*Antakáya* ...	*Goghátam*,	... for the Agent-of-Death,	a *Cow-killer.*
138	*Dushkṛitáya* ...	*Charakáchāryam*,	for Wickedness,	... a *Charakáchárya.*†

* This is the first notice in the Indian literature of the "Four Ages" of the world. The last of them, here denominated the *Askanda*, is in the third Káṇḍa of the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Véda (Author's MS. fol. 41,) named the *Kali*, the designation which it now commonly bears.

† Mahídhara renders this a "Guru of the Charakas," who belonged to a Shákha of the Black-Yajur-Véda.

139	*Papmané* ...	*Sailagam*,	... for Depravity,	... a *Follower-of-his-own Inclinations.*
140	*Pratishrutkáya*	*Artanam*,	... for Silent-listening,	a *Sufferer.*
141	*Ghoshúya* ...	*Bhasham*,	... for Noise,	... a *Speaker.*
142	*Antáya* ...	*Bahúvádinam*,	... for the End-of-Life,	a *Much-speaker.*
143	*Anantáya* ...	*Múkam*,	... for Infinity,	... a *Dumb-person.*
144	*Shabdáya* ...	*Aḍambaraghdṭam*,	for Sound,	... a *Beater-of-drums.*
145	*Mahasé* ...	*Viṇávádam*,	... for a Festival (season of worship),	a *Player-on-the-Viṇá.*
146	*Kroshdya* ...	*Tuṇavadhmam*,	... for Weeping,	... a *Blower-of-the-Túṇa.*
147	*Avarasparáya*	*Shankhadhmam*,	... for Procession,	... a *Blower-of-the-Conch.*
148	*Vanáya* ...	*Vanapam*,	... for the Forest,	... a *Forester.*
149	*Anyatoranyáya.*	*Dávapam*,	... for an Unpassable-Forest,	a *Burner.*
150	*Agnayé* ...	*Pivánam*,	... for Fire,	... a *Waterman.*
151	*Prithivyai* ...	*Piṭhasarpinam*,	... for the Earth,	... a *Lame person ("one who creeps or moves along on a seat").*
152	*Váyavé* ...	*Cháṇḍálam*,	... for the Wind,	... a *Cháṇḍála.*
153	*Antarikshdya...*	*Vanshanartinam*, ...	for the Firmament (Middle-of-the Sky),	a *Pole-dancer.*
154	*Divé* ...	*Khalatim*,	... for the Heaven,	... a *Bald-headed man.*
155	*Súryáya* ...	*Haryaksham*,	... for the Sun,	... a *Man with greenish eyes.*
156	*Nakshatrébhyoḥ*	*Kirmiram*,	... for the Constellations,	a *Man-of-variegated colour.*
157	*Chandramasé*	*Kilásam*,	... for the Moon,	... a *Man-with-scabs.*
158	*Anhé* ...	*Shuklam Pingáksham*,	for the Day,	... a *Reddish-eyed-person.*
159	*Ratrayai* ...	*Krishnam Pingáksham*,	for Night,	... a *Dark-red-eyed-person.*

Such is the thirtieth *adhyáya* of the Yajur-Véda, in a complete form. Though found in the *Sanhitá* of that Véda, it clearly belongs to the period of the Bráhmaṇa,—from 800-600 B. C.,—when the liturgical arrangements of the A'ryas assumed their definite form. It throws much light on the state of Indian Society at the time to which it belongs. It mentions various distinctive classes in the community. Some of these are viewed in their moral aspects, as those of the thief, the murderer,

the drunkard, the paramour, the adulteress, the licentious-woman, the liberator, the thievish-hearted one, the backbiter, the virtuous-man, the slothful-man, and the man-that-follows-his-own inclinations. Some of them are noticed in connexion with natural deformities, deficiencies, infirmities, and diseases, as those of the madman, the blind-person, the hunchback, the dwarf, the deaf-person, the blear-eyed person, the leper, the infirm-person, the sufferer, the baldheaded-man, the person-with-scabs, the person-who-creeps (who is lame?) Some of them are mentioned in connexion with their personal and family peculiarities, as the eunuch, the son-of-an-unmarried-girl, the married-elder-brother, the barren-woman, the bearer-of-twins, the woman-without-offspring, the woman-who-has-not-born-a-child, the woman-in-her-courses, the old-woman, the man-with-greenish-eyes, the man-with-variegated-eyes, the man-with-reddish-eyes, and the man-with-red-eyes. Some of them are introduced in connexion with their employments and social relations, as the actor, the attendant-on-the-synagogue, the orator, the artist, the chariotmaker, the carpenter, the black-smith, the jeweller, the sower, the maker-of-arrows, the maker-of-bows, the maker-of-bowstrings, the ropemaker, the huntsman, the dogman, the player-at-dice, the non-player-at-dice, the female basketmaker, the woman-who-makes-pins (of thorns ?), the companion, the follower, the observer, the physician, the astronomer, the catechist, the interrogator, the elephant-keeper, the horse-keeper, the cowherd, the shepherd, the goatherd, the cultivator, the spirit-dealer, the house-keeper, the holder-of-wealth (money-lender ?), the runner-after-a-chariot, the wood-

man, the fire-kindler, the anointer, the server-of-meals, the figure-maker, the moulder, the sprinkler (with perfumes?), the washerwoman, the dyer-of-clothes, the lictor (or doorkeeper), the sub-lictor, the body-attendant, the tax-collector, the ferryman, the joiner, the waiter, the applier-of-unguents-to-the-eyes, the scabbard-maker, the female-knower-of-sequence (the soothsayer?), the skin-dresser, the dealer-in-skins, the fisherman, the hunter, the fishdealer, the deer-killer, the leaf-seller, the (boat)-binder, the goldsmith, the vender or merchant, the (hired) mourner, the watchman, the public-crier, the foreslasher (in battle), the gambler, the viewer-of-the-early-sun (in worship), the fabricator, the arch-fabricator, the attendant-on-cows, the cow-killer, the priest-of-the-Charakas, the speaker (of nonsense), the copious-speaker, the drum-beater, the player-on-the-Viṇa (lute), the blower-cf-the-túṇa (bagpipes), the blower of the conch, the forester, the forest-burner, the waterman, the pole-dancer. Some are noticed who, it may be supposed, had a definite status of office or rank in the community, as the Bráhman, the Rájanya, the Vaishya, the Shúdra, the Súta, the Vrátya. And some are mentioned as belonging to tribes receiving their denominations principally from the countries to which they belonged, as the Ayogava, the Magadha, the Taskara, the Naisháda, the Dásha (Dasyu), the Kaivarta, the Bainda (of Vind), the Mainál, the Kiráta, the Jambhaka, the Kimpúruṣha, the Paulkasa (or Pulkasa), and the Cháṇḍála. All this testifies to the multifariousness of rank and division of labour in the Indian community.

Many of the classes of men here mentioned were ulti-

mately recognized as forming distinctive Castes, as will appear from their designations when compared with the list of castes which we have already inserted.* In the passage, which, we have just quoted, however, there is no decided proof of anything like a complete establishment of the caste-system at the time to which it belongs. The *Bráhman*, doubtless, had his claims to superiority from his office of conversancy with the *Brahma*, now probably generally hereditary. The prince is the representative of the *Kshatra*, or power. Tillage is in the hands of the *Vaishya*, who, it is to be noticed, is distinct from the *Váni*, or merchant. The symbolical representative of toil is the *Shúdra*. The numerous parties engaged in distinctive occupations are certainly not mentioned in any order of rank or even of fixed profession. There is here no fabulous reference to any parties born of a conventional or adulterous mixture of Caste. If the Caste system did at this time exist to any extent, it was far from being matured. Most of the classes mentioned without such patronymics as we find in the case of the Mágadhas and Chaṇḍálas, we have reason to believe, were A'ryas, or related to the A'ryas. It is to be particularly observed that no exterior tribes are mentioned which have been recognized geographically as having their location south of the Vindhya mountains. This range, up to the period of the composition of this *Adhyaya*, had probably not been crossed by the A'ryas.

The Purusha Súkta, which we have already quoted from the Ṛig-Véda,† follows this Adhyáya in the White Yajur-Véda. Little light is cast on its mysterious sym-

* See above, pp. 65-70. † See above, pp. 118-119.

bolism by the commentator Mahídhara. Without compunction, and without any attention to the literal meaning of his text, he derives the Bráhman *from* the mouth of Prajápati, the Kshatriya *from* his arms, and the Vaishya *from* his thighs. The Indian mind had undergone a great deterioration when it turned poetical figures into literal facts; when it turned the simple and natural, though physiolatrous, poetry of the Védas into legendry; and when it multiplied and magnified the legends to enormities and absurdities of the most grotesque and monstrous character.

This deterioration of the Indian mind is particularly apparent in the *Atharva*, or fourth *Véda*, to which, in connexion with the subject before us, we now turn our attention. As already mentioned, the word *Atharva* corresponds with the Zand *A'thrava*, etymologically a fireman.* It occurs in the Ṛig-Véda as the name of a particular Ṛishi or sage, from the constituents of whose school, or course, in after times it probably received its designation. It differs very considerably in its authority and character from the other Védas, which, more than it, are particularly associated with sacrifice. "As there are three different branches of the ceremonial, the Véda is, for the better performance of the sacrifices, divided into three: the Ṛig-Véda, Yájur-Véda, and Sáma-Véda. The ceremonial of the Hotṛi priests is performed with the Ṛig-Véda; that of the Adhvaryu priests, with the Yájur-Véda; that of the Udgátṛi priests, with the Sáma-Véda. The duties of the Bráhman priests, and of him for whom the sacrifice is offered, are also contained in these three Védas. The Atharva-Véda is not used for solemn sacri-

* See above, p. 91.

fices, and is very different from the others, as it teaches only expiatory, preservative, or imprecatory rites." This sensible opinion of Madhusúdan Sarasvatí, quoted by Dr. Müller,* has been confirmed by the research of European and American orientalists. "The Atharvaṇa," says Professor Whitney (with Dr. R. Roth, the joint-editor of its Text,†) "is like the Ṛich, a historical general, and not a liturgical collection. Its first eighteen books, of which alone it was originally composed, are arranged upon a like system throughout: the length of the hymns, and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle: those of about the same number of verses are combined together into books, and the books made up of the shorter hymns stand first in order. A sixth of the mass, however, is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style to passages of the Bráhmaṇas. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Ṛich, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter: the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Véda (the Ṛig-Véda), and even than its tenth book, with which they stand nearly connected in import and origin." "The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharvaṇa is the multitude of incantations which it con-

* History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 122. For Madhusúdan's complete view of the Orthodox Bráhmanical Literature, see Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 1-20.

† In the work, as edited by them, there are 10,296 lines.

tains; these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited, or, more often, by the sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends; most frequently, perhaps, long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought: there a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given, or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of cure; further, the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate."* "The origin of the Atharva Sanhitá," says Professor Weber, "falls within the period when Bráhmanism had become dominant....Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-Sanhitá,† but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place, while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present. The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature; while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers: in the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity, while in the Atharva, we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and superstition."‡ The very

* Journ. of the American Or. Soc. iv. 254-5, 308.

† [Less proportionally of the material of the Atharva-Véda is from the Rig-Véda than that of the Sáma and Yajas.]

‡ Hist. of Ind. Lit. quoted in Muir's Texts, ii. p. 202.

name of the Atharva Véda, derived from a particular class of priests, shows that originally it had somewhat of a sectarial character. "According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests, the supervision of the whole sacrifice, and the remedying of any mistake that might have happened belonged to the Bráhman. He had to know the three Védas, to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice, and to advise the other priests on all doubtful points. If it was the office of the Bráhman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice, and if, for that purpose, the formulas of the Atharvangiras were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Bráhman who had to acquire a knowledge of these formulas. Now the office of the Bráhman was contested by the other classes of priests. The Bahvṛichas maintain that the office of Bráhman should be held by a Bahvṛicha (Hotṛi), the Adhvaryas maintain that it belongs to one of their own body, and the Chhandogas also preferred similar claims. It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances, though not always, it was held by the Purohita, the hereditary family priest. Certain families also claimed a peculiar fitness for the office of Bráhman, such as the Vasiṣhṭhas, and Vishvámitras...Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvangiras was most important to the Bráhman or Purohita; these songs themselves, when once admitted to the rank of a Véda, were called the Véda of the Bráhman, or the Bráhma-Véda."*

* Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 447-8.

Dr. M. adds, however, "It is a common mistake in later writers to place the Atharva Véda co-ordinate with the other Védas."

That the Atharva Véda should magnify the Indian priesthood, and especially the Bráhman, as distinguished from the Hotṛi, Adhvaryu, etc., is but natural on the ground here stated. We now refer to the general information bearing on our inquiries which it contains.

Both the Bráhmans and the Kshatra are represented in it as engaged in extolling Agni.* In behalf of a *Rájá* the prayer is offered up that he may be the only lord of his country, and that he may be praised by the *Visha* (here his subjects in general) throughout his realm.† The *Kshatra, Rathakára, Karmára,* and the *Grámaṇi* and *Súta* established in the service ‡ of a Rájá are mentioned as associated together. § A *Purohita* (family priest) prays that the bravery and power of the Kshatra whom he represents may be undecaying.‖ Of the Bráhman it is said, "The *Bráhman* was the first born with ten heads (and) ten faces (that is, probably with extraordinary capacities); he was the first that drank the Soma, he made poison a (harmless) juice."¶ The *Shúdra* is recognized as distinct from the *A'rya,*** and also the Dása from the A'rya, as in the Ṛig-Véda.†† Vishvámitra, originally of the *royal* race, and Jamadagni, are associated with the *Brahmanic* Vasiṣhṭha in the protection of Mitra and Varuṇa. The supremacy of the *Bráhman* is thus set forth :—" The *Bráhman* is lord, not the *Rájanya,* nor

* Atharva Véda, ii. 6. 2, 4.

† Atharva Véda, iii. 4. 1-2.

‡ *Rajakṛitaḥ.*

§ A. V. iii. 5. 1-7.

‖ A. V. iii. 19. 1-2.

¶ A. V. iv. 6. 1.

** तेनहं सर्वं पस्या म्युत शुद्रमतार्यंम. By it, (a particular medicine) I see everything, whether the Shúdra or the A'rya, A. V. iv. 20. 8.

†† A. V. iv. 32. 1.

the *Vaishya*."* "Let not the *Rájanya*," it is enjoined, desire to eat the inedible cow of a Bráhman",† a claim being thus put forth of a privilege for the Bráhman's pet, afterwards extended by degrees to the bovine race in general. The Bráhman's life, it is said, is not to be taken, and his body is to be loved like that of Agni.‡ A curious passage coaxing the departure of a certain disease called Takman (first brought to notice by Dr. Roth) throws some light on the boundaries of the Indo-Aryan community and its distant neighbours. "His (Takman's) abode are the *Mújavats*, his abode the *Mahávirshas*. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest (?) among the *Bahlikas*. Go, Takman, to the Mújavats, or far way to the Bahlikas. Choose the female Shúdra for food; and shake her. Passing by our friends (?), devour the Mahávṛishas and the Mújavats. We point out to Takman these or those foreign regions. Takman along with thy brother Balása, and with thy sister Kásiká (cough), and with thy nephew Páman, depart to that foreign people. We transfer Takman as a servant and as a treasure, to the *Gandhárins*, the *Mújavats*, the *Angas* and the *Magadhas*."‖ An extract is given from the hymn in the Rig-Véda in which *Vasiṣhṭha* complains of being called a *Yátudhána*

* ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्य : A. V. v. 17. 9.

† मा ब्राह्मणस्य राजन्य गां जिघत्सो अनाद्याम्. A. V. v. 18. 1.

‡ A. V. v. 18. 6.

‖ A. V. v. 22. 5-14. The translation of this passage is from Muir's Texts, ii. 364. Mantras like this are yet repeated for the banishment of disease from India.

by *Vishvámitra.** The word *Brahmachári* seems to be used as synonimous with Bráhman, and is set forth as the first born of the Bráhma or prayer, which he advances.† The Purusha Sukta is given with a few variations from the form in which it appears in the Rig-Véda. The text of it which applies to caste reads thus :—" The *Bráhman* was his mouth; the *Rájanya* became *(abhavat)* his arms; the *Vaishya* was his middle (*madhyam*); the *Shúdra* sprung from his feet."‡ Though, as we have already shown, little stress is to be laid on this passage, it is evident that the collection of the Atharva Véda was made when the caste system had made considerable progress.

2. We now leave the Védas, and proceed to the *Bráhmaṇas.*

The *Bráhmaṇas,* which are to be distinguished from the Mantras, or Vedic Texts, derived from the Sanhitás or collections of the Vedic Hymns, are essentially considered Liturgical and Rubrical Directories for the ceremonies to be performed by the *Bráhmaṇs,* from their connexion with whom, or as comprehending the Brahma technically understood, they derive their name. Their contents, however, are really of a varied character. " The difficulty," says Dr. Müller, of giving an exhaustive definition of what a Bráhmaṇa is, has been felt by the Bráhmaṇs themselves. The name given to this class of literature does not teach us more than that these works belonged to the Bráhmans. They are Brahmanic, i. e. theological tracts, comprising

* A. V. viii. 4. 14-16. Attention to this passage, as found in the R. V., was first drawn by Dr. Müller in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Un. Hist. i. p. 344.

† A. V. xi. 5. 4-7.

‡ A. V. 19. 6-6.

the knowledge most valued by the Bráhmans, bearing partly on the traditions and customs of the people. They profess to teach the performance of the sacrifice; but for the greater part they are occupied with additional matter; with explanations and illustrations of things more or less distantly connected with their original faith and their ancient ceremonial." "There was originally but one body of Bráhmaṇas for each of the three Vedas; for the Ṛig-Véda, the Bráhmáṇas of the Bahvṛichas, for the Sama-Véda the Bráhmaṇas of the Chhandogas, and for the Yajur-Véda in its two forms, the Bráhmaṇas of the Taittiríyas, and the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa. These works were not written in metre, like the Sanhitás, and were therefore more exposed to alteration in the course of a long continued oral tradition. We possess the Bráhmaṇa of the Bahvṛichas in the Shákhás [Memorial Stems, or Schools] of the Aitaréyins and the Kaushítakins." *

"The Bráhmaṇas," Dr. Müller continues, "represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves, as literary productions, they are more disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature, which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly

* History of Sanscrit Literature, pp. 342-346.

conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priest-craft and superstition. It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen. They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations. But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that human language and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes."* These writings, however, are still deserving of special attention. "Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical, mystical, and philosophical speculations than to the ceremonial itself. They appeal continually to older authorities."† "The Bráhmaṇas exhibit the accumulated thought of a long succession of early theologians and philosophers. But the very earliest of these sages follow a train of thought which gives clear evidence of a decaying religion."‡ "These books will always be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things; and, at the same time, sources from which we may draw the most varied information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship, as well as the social and hierarchical order of India are founded." §

* History of Sanscrit Literature, pp. 389-390.

† Ib. p. 328. ‡ Ib. pp. 429.

§ Dr. Roth's Introduction to the Nirukta, quoted in Muir's Texts, p. 193.

At the time of the composition of the Bráhmaṇas, which may be stated as extending from 800 to 600 B. C., the collection of the three olden Védas was doubtless formed. The following passage from the *Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa,* which is worthy of notice in several particulars, establishes this fact, as far as that work at least is concerned. "Prajápati desired that for the being of Prajá (offspring) there should be done (what was required). He, setting a toiling, performed *tapa* (toil). After performing *tapa,* he created these Worlds—the Earth, the Medial Expanse *(antarikhsha),* (and) Heaven *(Díva).* Having performed *tapa* for these worlds, he again performed *tapa,* and the three Lights were produced—Fire (Agni) from earth, Wind (Váyu) from the expanse, and the Sun (Aditya) from the heaven. Having performed *tapa* for these lights, he again performed *tapa,* and the three Védas were produced:—the Ṛig Véda sprung from fire ; the Yajur-Véda, from wind ; and the Sáma-Véda from the sun. Having performed *tapa* for these Védas, he again performed *tapa,* and the three *Shukras* were produced. *Bhu* was made from the Ṛig-Véda ; *Bhuva,* from the Yajur-Véda, and *Sva* from the Sáma Véda. Having performed *tapa* for these Shukras, he again performed *tapa,* (and) the three *Varṇas* were made—*a*kár, *u*kár, *ma*kár. From the combination of these (OM, quasi *Aum*) was produced."* The

* As this is one of the earliest accounts of Creation according to Hindu notions, we may give the Sanskṛit of this passage:— प्रजापतिरकामयत प्रजायेयभूयान्स्यामिति स तपोतप्यत सतपस्तप्त्वे मांल्लोकानसृजत पृथिवीमंतरिक्षं दिवंतान्लोकानभ्यतपत्तेभ्योभितप्तेभ्यस्त्रीणि ज्योतींष्यजायंताग्निरेवपृथिव्या अजायत वायुरंतरिक्षादादित्यो दिवस्तानि ज्योतींष्यभ्यतपत्तेभ्योभितप्तेभ्य स्त्रयोवेदा अजायंत ऋग्वेद एवाग्नेरजायत यजुर्वेदो वायोः सामवेद आदित्यात्तान्वेदानभ्यतपत्तेभ्यो

collections of the Védas are here distinctively mentioned, though a very different origin is attributed to these works from any mentioned by the Ṛishis themselves, the veritable composers of the Védic Hymns, who indite from their own mental impulse, or ask the assistance of the gods in their laudatory and supplicatory compositions. The triliteral, and afterwards mystical, syllable AUM, OM, seems here derived from the initial letters—*a* of *Agni*, *u* (the vocal representative of *v*) of *Váyu*, and *m* of *Mitra* (the midday sun, the equivalent of Aditya). Of the *Shukras*, with OM prefixed to the Gáyatrí verse of the Ṛig-Véda (3 asht. 10th varg) *bhu* means earth, *bhuva* sky, and *sva*, heaven. All this technical trifling (and it was afterwards greatly extended) betokens degeneration.

The Bráhmans, as a pre-eminent class, are particularly brought to notice, in the *Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa*, the principal notices of which bearing on Caste we shall now introduce.

In the first chapter of the first Panchiká of this work, the following passages occur in connexion with the *Díkhshá*, or sacrifice of the new birth, when a man is admitted for the first time to the use of sacrifice :—" He who wishes for beauty and for wisdom (*brahmavarchasa*), let him use

भितप्तेभ्य स्त्रीणो शुक्राण्यजायंत भूरित्येव ऋग्वेदात् अजायत भुवइति यजुर्वेदात् स्वरिति सामवेदात् तानिशुक्राण्यभ्यतपत्तेभ्योभितप्तेभ्य स्त्रयोवर्णा अजायंत अकार उकारो मकारइती तानेकधा समभरत्तदेतदोमिती. Ait. Brah. V. 5. Author's MS. No. 1. fol. 61 ; No. 2. fol. 148. The first of these MSS. is a trophy of peace, from a converted Bráhman ; the second a trophy of war, with other Vedic works part of the plunder of the Bombay troops at the late affairs of Béṭ and Dváraká, presented to me by my friend Dr. John Grant Nicolson.

the two Gáyatrí verses of the Svishṭakṛit. The Gáyatrí is beauty, full of wisdom. He who knowing this uses the two Gáyatrís becomes possessed of beauty and wisdom...... Let him who desires strength, use the two Trishṭubhs. Trishṭubh is strength, which is vigour and power. He who knowing this uses (the) two Trishṭubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful. Let him who desires cattle, use (the) two Jagatís, Cattle is Jagatí-like. He who knowing this uses the two Jagatís becomes rich in cattle."* In the fifth chapter of the same section, the *Bráhman* is commanded to use the Gáyatrí for wisdom and glory; the *Rájanya,* the Trishtubh, for splendour and bravery; and the *Vaishya,* the Jagatí, for the obtainment of cattle. The characteristics of the three classes of the A'ryas are here, for the first time, distinctively recognized. †

In the second section of the Bráhmaṇa now referred to,‡ a party denominated Kavasha Ailusha, is represented as expelled from the sacrifice as a *Dasyaputra,* and re-admitted only by the special favour of the gods, although certain hymns in the Ṛig-Véda are ascribed to him as their Ṛishi in the Anukramaṇiká (or Index) of that Véda. The name *Kavasha* appears to me to be Iranian, and is similar to one found among the Pársís of the present day.§

* This chapter of the Bráhmaṇa is translated by Dr. Max Müller (from whom I borrow these sentences) with his usual life and elegance, in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature pp. 390-405.

† Author's MS. No. 1 fol. 9, of Panchiká i. Several other similar passages occur in this Bráhmaṇa.

‡ Ait. Bráhmaṇa, ii. 19.

§ In Kavas (jí). The Zand name is *Kava uç.* This in Sanskrit (in the adjective form) as shown by Dr. Roth (Zeit. D. M. G. ii. p. 226-7) is *Kávya Ushaṣh.*

The probability is that when the Hymns of Kavasha were composed, no exception was taken against them because of his race, the caste-system having not been then fully developed, while in the age of the Bráhmaṇa, it was thought expedient to invent a legend, or fiction, to support that system.

In the third Panchiká, the Bráhman is spoken of as standing in the relationship of Bṛihaspati, the Purohita of the gods.*

In the seventh Panchiká, there is an important passage which is thus noticed by Dr. Müller.—"We find several instances where priests, if once employed by a royal family, claim to be employed always. When Janaméjaya Párikshita ventured to perform a sacrifice without the Kashyapas, he was forced by the Asitamṛigas, a family of the Kashyapas to employ them again. When Vishváutara Saushadmana drove away the Shyáparṇas from his sacrifice, he was prevailed upon by Ráma Márgavéya to call them back".† All this shows that the priestly office was of great importance in the ancient times of India.

In the seventh panchiká and seventh chapter of this Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, there is a remarkable legend connect-

* Aitareya Br. iii. 2. 17.

† Ait. Br. vii. 5. 27. "Márgavéya," says Dr. Müller, (Hist. of S. Lit. p. 487) "is a difficult name. It may be simply, as Sáyana says, the son of his mother Mṛigú; but Mṛigú may be a variety of Bhṛigu, and thus confirm Lassen's conjecture that this Ráma is Ráma, the son of Jamadagni, of the race of Bhrigu, commonly called Parashuráma. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 216." In this espousement of the cause of these Purohitas, we perhaps see the origin of the exaggerated legends of the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parashuráma.

ed with Harishchandra, the son of Védhas of the Royal family of Ikshvaku, which, although of a very wild character, throws a good deal of light on the state of ancient A'ryan society. It has been noticed of late years by several orientalists, and has long been effectively applied by myself in my intercourse with the Bráhmans in illustration of the gradual growth of caste feeling in India. While referring to it, both as found in the original and as quoted and translated by Dr. Max Müller, we would note what connected with it appears to bear on this development of caste. Harishchandra, though he had a hundred wives, had no son. On the advantages of a son having been propounded to him in ten verses by Nárada (a sage often brought to notice in Indian dialogues,)* he applied, as directed, to Varuṇa for one, promising if his wishes were realized to sacrifice him to that deity. A son was born to him called Rohita. With varying pretences, assented to by Varuṇa, he got repeated postponements of the engagement till the son was ten days old, till his first set of teeth came, till these teeth fell out, till he got new teeth, and till as a *Kshatriya* he was girt with armour. When the father at length consented to fulfill his promise, the son took his bow, went to the forest, and lived there for a year, when, on his father having been afflicted with dropsy by Varuṇa, he returned to the village. Indra, *in the form of a Bráhman,* having advised him again to wander about in the forest, he did this for a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth year on the repeated advice of this God,

* In stating the advantages of a son, a daughter is declared to be an-object-of-pity—कृपणं ह दुहिता.

following his annual visits to the village.* When he was travelling in the sixth year, "He met in the forest a starving Ṛishi, Ajígarta, the son of Suyavasa. He had three sons—Shunaḥpuccha, Shunaḥshépha, and Shunolángúla. Rohita said to him: "Ṛishi, I give you a hundred cows, I ransom myself with one of those thy sons." The Father embraced the elder, and said, "Not him." "Nor him," said the mother, embracing the youngest. And the parents bargained to give Shunaḥshépha, the middle son. Rohita gave a hundred, took him, and went from the forest to the village. And he came to his father, and said: "Father, Death! I ransom myself by him." The father went to Varuṇa, and said, "I shall sacrifice this man to you." Varuṇa said, "Yes, *for a Bráhman is better than a Kshatriyá.*" And he told him to perform a Rájasuya sacrifice.† Harishchandra took him to be the victim for the day, when the Soma is spent to the gods. Vishvámitra [a *Kshatriyá* who, it is said, by his knowledge and practice forced himself into the acknowledged profession of the Bráhmanhood‡] was his *Hotṛi*-priest; Jamadagni, his *Adhvaryu* priest; Vasiṣhtha [a *Bráhman* with whom Vishvamitra had oft contend-

* On the fifth occasion Indra uses this argument:—"A man who is asleep is like the *Kali* (age); a man who is awake is like the *Dvápara;* a man who is arisen is the *Trétá;* a man who is travelling is like the *Kṛita.* Travel! Travel!" Dr. Müller correctly says, "This is one of the earliest allusions to the four ages of the world." Two others we have already noticed. See above, p. 131.

† A great monarchical sacrifice, at which in addition to the religious services, the chieftains assembled to express their fealty.

‡ See before, p. 104.

ed], the *Brahmá* ;* Ayásya, the *Udgatṛi* priest. When Shunahshépha had been prepared, they found nobody to bind him to the sacrificial post. And Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said, 'Give me another hundred, and I shall bind him.' They gave him another hundred, and he bound him. And Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said: 'Give me another hundred, and I shall kill him.' They gave him another hundred, and he came whetting his sword. Then Shunahshépha thought. 'They will readily kill me, as if I was not a man. Death! I shall pray to the gods.' He addressed himself first to Prajápati, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to Savitṛi, who referred him to Varuṇa, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to the Vishvé-Deváḥ, who referred him to Indra, who referred him to the Ashvinau (two Ashvins,) who said to him, "Praise Uṣhas (the Dawn), and we set thee free." Thus he praised Uṣhas with three verses. "While each verse was delivered, his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra's belly grew smaller, and when the last verse was said his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra well again." With this result the priests were so well satisfied that they were content to act for the day under the direction of Shunahshépha. He invented the ceremony called the Aṇjaḥsava. "Afterwards he carried out all the things belonging to the Avabṛitha ceremony, employing two verses, and made Harishchandra go to the A'shavaníya fire with another hymn." What followed requires particular attention. "When the sacrifice had thus

* Dr. Müller renders this by the equivalent Bráhman, which word, unless when otherwise used in the Sanskrit authorities, it may be proper to reserve for the designation of the caste so called.

been performed Shunaḥshépha sat down on the lap of Vishvámitra [in furtherance of his adoption as his son]. Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa said : ' Ṛishi, give me back my son.' Vishvámitra said, 'No ; for the gods have given him to me.' He became Devaráta (Theodotus) the son of Vishvámitra ; and the members of the families of Kapila and Babhru became his relations. Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said : ' Come thou, O son, we, both and thy mother call thee away.' Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said : ' Thou art by birth an Angirasa, the son of Ajigarta, celebrated as a poet. O Ṛíshi, go not away from the line of thy grandfather, come back to me.' Shunaḥshépha replied, ' They have seen thee with a knife in thy hand, a thing that men have never found even amongst *Shúdras ;* thou hast taken three hundred cows for me, O Angiras.' Ajígartá, the son of Súyavasa, said : ' My old son it grieves me for the wrong that I have done ; I throw it away, may these hundred cows belong to thee.' Shunaḥshépha replied : ' Who once commits a sin will commit also another sin ; thou wilt not abstain from the ways of Shúdras; what thou hast committed cannot be redressed. " Cannot be redressed," Vishvámitra repeated. "Dreadful stood the son of Súyavasa when he went to kill with his knife. Be not his son, come and be my son." " Shúnahshépha said : ' Tell us thyself, *O son of a king, thus as thou art known to us, how I, who am an A'ngiraṣa, shall become thy son.'* Vishvámitra replied : ' Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, thy offspring shall be the first, thou shalt receive the heritage which the gods have given me, thus I address thee.' Shunahshépha replied : ' May the leader of the Bharatas say so, in the presence of his

agreeing sons, for friendship's and happiness's sake, that I shall become thy son.' Then Vishvámitra addressed his sons: 'Hear me, Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Réṇu, Ashtaka, and all ye brothers that you are, believe in seniority.' This Vishvámitra had a hundred sons, fifty older than Madhuchhandas, and fifty younger. The elder did not like this, and Vishvámitra pronounced a curse upon them, that they should become outcastes. They became *Andhras, Puṇdras, Shabaras, Pulindas, Mutibas* and many other outcaste tribes, so that the descendants of Vishvámitra became the worst of the *Dasyus.* But Madhuchhandas, together with the other-fifty sons, said: 'What our father tells us, in that we abide; we place thee before us and follow thee.' When Vishvámitra heard this, he praised his sons and said: 'You sons will have good children and cattle, because you have accepted my will, and have made me rich in brave sons. You, descendants of Gáthin,* are to be honoured by all, you brave sons, led by Devaráta; he will be to you good counsel. You, descendants of Kúsika, follow Devaráta, he is your hero, he will give you my riches, and whatever knowledge I possess. You are wise, all

* Purúravas.
Jahnu.
.... × Gáthin Kausika (Bhṛigus).
Vishvámitra | Satyavatí × Richíka (Ikshvákus).
Jamadagni × Reṇuká.
Parashuráma.

ye sons of Vishvámitra together; you are rich, you stood to uphold Devaráta, and to make him your eldest, descendants of Gáthin. Devaráta* (Shunaḥshépha) is mentioned as a Ṛishi of both families, in the chiefdom of the Jahnus, and in the divine Véda of the Gáthins.'"†

* "This last verse, which is also attributed to Vishvámitra, ought to be taken rather as a recapitulation of the whole story. Jahnu is one of the ancestors of Vishvámitra, belonging to the lunar Dynasty; Gáthin is considered as Vishvámitra's father. The commentator gives Jahnu as a Ṛishi of the family of Ajígarta, which seems better to agree with the Vedic story."

† Müller's History of S. L. p. 408-419.

The legend or story of Shunaḥshepha as here given in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa has been changed to a considerable extent in later Indian works, as has been summarily noticed by Professor H. H. Wilson. (Ṛig-Véda, i. pp. 59-60.) "The story of *Shunahshepas*, or as usually written, *Shunahshephas*, has been for some time known to Sanskrit students through the version of it presented in Rámáyana, b. i. ch. 61, Schlegel: 63, Gorresio. He is there called the son of the Ṛishi Ṛichíka, and is sold for a hundred cows by his father to *Ambarísha*, king of *Ayodhyá*, as a victim for a human sacrifice; on the road, he comes to the lake *Pushkara*, where he sees *Vishvámitra*, and implores his succour, and learns from him a prayer, by the repetition of which at the stake, *Indra* is induced to come and set him free. It is obvious that this story has been derived from the *Véda*, for *Vishvámitra* teaches him, according to Schlegel's text, two *Gáthás*, according to Gorresio's, a *mantra*; but the latter also states, that he propitiated *Indra* by *Ṛichas*; *mantras* of the *Ṛig-Véda (Ṛigbhis-tushtava devendram)*, vol. i. p. 249. *Manu* also alludes to the story (10, 105), where it is said that *Ajígartta* incurred no guilt by giving up his son to be sacrificed, as it was to preserve himself and family from perishing with hunger....The Bhágavat follows the *Aitareya* and *Manu*, in terming *Shunahshepas* the son of Ajígartta, and names the *Rájá* also *Haríschandra*. In the *Vishnu Puráṇa*, he is called the son of *Vishvámitra*, and is termed also *Devaráta*, or god-given; but this relates to subsequent occurrences, noticed in like manner by the other authorities, in which he becomes the

The pre-eminence of the Bráhman to the Kshatriya is here set forth by the alleged greater acceptability to the gods as a sacrifice of a *Bráhman* than a *Kshatriya* ; and by the adoption of the Bráhman, (said to have been set apart for sacrifice) by Vishvámitra. A Bráhmanical disparagement of Vishvámitra and his consociates is also intended by the absurd allegation that the aboriginal tribes of the *Andhras, Puṇdras, Shabaras, Pulindas,* and *Mutibas* were descended from them.* These tribes, belonging principally to the South of India, appear from the notice taken of them, to have been known to the A'ryas at the time of the composition of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, while they were not as yet gained over to Bráhmanism. The *Andhras* were the inhabitants of the province which was afterwards denominated Telingáná ;† the *Puṇdras* are supposed to have occupied the Western Provinces of Bengal ;‡ the *Shabaras* are placed by Ptolemy near the (mouths of the) Ganges;§ and the *Pulindas* are located by Ptolemy along the banks of the Narmadá to the frontiers of Larice, but in the Indian literature they occur in different positions from the Indus to the South.‖

adopted son of *Vishvámitra*, and the eldest of all his sons ; such of whom as refused to acknowledge his seniority being cursed to become the founders of various barbarian and outcaste races. *Vishvámitra's* share in the legend may possibly intimate his opposition, and that of some of his disciples, to human sacrifices."

* Compare this with Manu, pp. 43-45. See above pp. 59-60.

† Wilson's V. P. p. 190. ‡ Ib. p. 190.

§ Ptol. Geo. vii. Ed. Berth. p. 205.

‖ Ptol. Geo. vii. Ed. Berth. p. 203. See also Mahábhárata, Bhiṣhma Parva, adh. 6. Cal. Ed. ii. p. 342-344.

The relations of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra to sacrifice *(yajna)* and to one another in a religious point of view, are mentioned with particularity towards the conclusion of the seventh panchiká of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa. "Prajápati," it is there said, "created sacrifice. After the sacrifice was created, the ***Brahma*** and the *Kshatra* were created. To both the Brahma and the Kshatra offsprings were created—(called) ***hutád*** and ***ahutád.****[*] That which was from the Brahma was called ***hutád,*** and that which was from the Kshatra was called ***ahutád.*** The Bráhman was the *hutád* offspring; and the ***Rájanya,*** the ***Vaishya,*** and the *Shúdra* belonged to the *ahutád.* By them the sacrifice began to be conducted. The Brahma and Kshatra came with their instruments. The Bráhman came with the instruments of the Brahma; and the Kshatriya came with the sacrificial instruments of the Kshatra. The instruments of the Brahma were the instruments of the sacrifice, and the instruments of the Kshatra were the horse, a chariot, the coat of mail, the arrow and the bow. The Kshatriya was not permitted to enter, and seeing that he could not find entrance he returned. The Bráhmans stood to oppose the entrance of others. The Bráhmans came with their instruments. Therefore the sacrifice is established in the Bráhmans. Afterwards the Kshatriyas came, and asked to be called for the sacrifice. Then the Bráhmans said to them, 'If you wish to come to the sacrifice, you must put aside your own instruments, and become like Bráhmans, *(brahmanorupéṇa)* and then

* *Hutád,* (from *huta* and *ad)* means having the legal capacity of eating what is offered in sacrifice, and *ahutád,* not having this capacity.

come to the sacrifice. The Kshatriyas said, 'Be it so.' After putting aside their own instruments, and taking the instruments of the Brahma, they became like Bráhmans, and entered the sacrifice."* The progress of the professions and pretensions of the professional priesthood, and their ultimate establishment of their peculiar privileges are evident from this passage. The Bráhmans, it teaches, were acting in their own peculiar character when they conducted sacrifice, while the Kshtriyas when they sacrificed had to lay aside their own recognized character and its emblems, and assume that of the Bráhmans. The sacrifice is established in the Bráhmans;† and, with the enlargement and complication of its ritual, the Bráhman is more necessary than ever. Sacrifice is the highest interest (the first created object) of the community; and the Bráhman, the sacrificer, is the head of the community. He has merely to throw difficulties in the way of the Kshatriya's sacrificing, to secure for himself all that his heart can desire. Let a Kshatriya, when he becomes a *yajamána*, (the institutor of a sacrifice) employ a Bráhman Let the Bráhman give his blessing to the Kshatriya.‡

This is accompanied, in the Aitáreya Bráhmaṇa, with notices of the manner in which the Bráhman is to conduct the highest rites in behalf of a king at, and after, the ceremonies of his inauguration. But on this matter we may be content with some of the notices taken of it by

* Aitareya Bráhman of R. V. vii. 14. 19.

† यज्ञोब्रह्मण्येव ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिष्ठितो.

‡ In illustration of these two last remarks, see Ait. Bráh. vii. 53.4.

the learned and accurate Dr. Goldstücker. In connection with the *Punarabhishéka*, the King is made to say, " 'I firmly stand on heaven and earth, I firmly stand on exhaled and inhaled air, I firmly stand on food and drink; on what is Bráhman, on what is Kshatriya, on these three worlds stand I firmly.' He then descends, sits down on the ground with his face towards the East, utters thrice the words, Adoration to what is Bráhmaṇa, and offers a gift to a Bráhmaṇ; the object of this gift is the obtainment of victory in general, of victory everywhere, of victory over strong and weak enemies and of complete victory; and his threefold expression of adoration to what is a Bráhmaṇ implies that a kingdom prospers, and has valiant men when it is under the controul of the Bráhmans, and that a valiant son will be born to him." "A king for whom these (certain prescribed) libations are made to Indra in the indicated manner becomes free from disease, cannot be injured by enemies, is exempt from poverty, everywhere protected against danger, and thus becomes victorious in all quarters, and after death established in Indra's heaven." "Priests who understand well how to perform the whole rite will raise the king to an exalted position; those on the contrary who are ignorant of the manner in which it is to be performed, will bring him into perdition." In connexion with the simple *abhishéka*, Dr. Goldstücker says, "The ceremony having been completed, the king has to make a present to the inaugurating priest, viz. a thousand (Nishkas) of gold, a field and cattle; but this amount seems merely to constitute a minimum acknowledgment of the exertions of the

priest; for the text of the Aitaréya adds, that they say a king should give innumerable illimited presents, since a king is illimited (in wealth), and they will obtain illimited benefit to himself; and the author of the *Aitar. Br.* seems rather inclined to adopt the latter opinion, for amongst the instances he gives of royal inaugurations which have been performed in this fashion, he does not mention those at which the Bráhmans have received the 'limited' gifts, but tells e. g. that *Adamaya*, the son of Atri, promised to his priests ten thousand elephants and ten thousand female slaves, and gave each of the sons of that priest at the noon-oblation two thousand cows out of a thousand millions; that *Anga* gave his priest eighty-thousand young white horses fit for carrying burdens on their back, etc.; that Bharata distributed in Mashṇára a hundred and seven thousand millions of black elephants with white tusks, and decked with gold etc. etc."* In all this legendry of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa of the Ṛig-Véda, the Bráhman, it must be admitted, occupies a pretty high position.

The position of the Bráhman is not of an humbler character in the *Taittiríya Brahmaṇa*, of the Black Yajur Véda to which we now turn.

In this Bráhmaṇa, the three fundamental A′ryan castes are mentioned in connexion with certain distinctive privileges. Indra is there represented as assuming the form of a *Bráhman* to carry off an *iṣṭika*, or sacrificial brick for the purpose of preventing two sacrificing Rákshasas, *Kála* and *Kanj* (afterwards called the heavenly

* See Goldstücker's Dictionary, Sanskrit and English, under *Abhishéka*.

hounds *Urṇa* and *Nabha*), from succeeding in their service and getting to heaven *(suvarga)*. In connexion with the same legend or fable, it thus enjoined: "The *Bráhman* ought to commence his sacrifice in the *Vasanta Ṛitu* (or spring season). That season belongs to the Bráhman. Let him sacrifice in his own season, and he becomes a *Brahmavarchas,* endowed with the knowledge of Brahma, and that season is the chief......Let the *Rájanya* sacrifice in the *Griṣhma* (hot season). Griṣhma is the season of the *Rajanya*. Let him sacrifice in Griṣhma, and he will become an *Indrayaví* (one powerful like Indra). Let the *Vaishya* sacrifice in *Shara* (the autumn). Shara is the season of the *Vaishya*."* "Let the *Bráhman* perform the fire sacrifice in the Gáyatrí measure. The Gáyatrí measure is the Bráhman's. Each has his own measure for the acquisition. The Triṣhtup (measure) is that of the *Rájanya*......the Jagatí is that of the *Vaisya*."† A *Bráhman* householder returning home from a journey has to sacrifice in the nakshatra of Rohiṇí.‡ The *Bráhman* is spoken of as of the class of the gods, and the *Shúdra* as of that of the Asuras, while quarrelling about a skin;§ and the Bráhman gets the victory by means of a particular mantra. The Vajapéya‖ sacrifice belongs

* Taittaríya Bráhmana, i. 1-2 (author's MS.) See also edition of in Bib. Ind. p. 4.

† T. B. i. 1-9. Compare with this, p. 147, above.

‡ T. B. 1-1-10.

§ ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्म्मंकर्तं व्यच्छिते । दैव्यवै ब्राह्मणः असूर्य्यं शूद्रः Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa, 1. 2. 6.

‖ Fermentation of bread and water. Wilson's S. Dictionary.

both to the *Bráhman* and the *Rájanya*.* The *Bráhman*, endowed like the Ṛishi, has to stir up the sacrificial fire; "for the Bráhman is every divinity."† Higher elevation than this it is difficult to imagine.

Social distinctions are mentioned, as in a passage from the Taittiríya Sanhitá already noticed.‡

Some of the gods are viewed individually as the lords of particular interests and classes of men. Agni is the lord of food; Soma is the king of the king *(rájá rájápati)*; Varuṇa is the emperor of the emperor; Mitra is the *kshatrapati* of the *kshatra;* § Indra is the might of the mighty; Bṛihaspati is the *Brahmapati* of the *Brahma*; Savitá is the *Ráshtrapati* of the *Ráshtra*; Púṣha is the *Viṭpati* of the *Visha*; Sarasvatí is the *pushti-patní* (mistress) of the *pushti*; Tvaṣhṭá is the former of the pairs of beasts.||

In a remarkable chapter of this Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa (iii. 80), the parties of the Purusha Médha are mentioned, (with variants) as in the thirtieth chapter of the White Yajur Véda.¶

* T. B. i. 3. 3.

† ब्राह्मण आर्षेय उद्धरेत | ब्राह्मणोवै सर्वादेवताः | Taitt. Brah. i. 4. 4. Various other things are to be done by the Bráhman in virtue of this divine status. See the context.

‡ Taitt. Brah. 1. 7. 3. For the parties, see above, p. 124.

§ Mitra and Varuṇa are thus addressed a little onwards :— मित्रोऽसि वरुणोऽसि समहं विश्वैर्देवैः । क्षत्रस्य नाभिरसि क्षत्रस्य योनिरसि— " Thou art Mitra ; thou art Varuṇa, with the Vishvé-dévas ; thou art the navel of the Kshatra; thou art the vulva of the Kshatra." The Brahma is called the vulva of the Kshatra in T. B. iii. fol. 68.

|| Taitt. Brah. ii. 5-7.

¶ See before, pp. 127-132.

In religious services, the Bráhman has all the prominence he can desire. "If a goat be not found, then make the Homa at the right hand of the Bráhman. He is the Vaishvánara (of men the universal) Agni; if the Homa be made upon the Bráhman's hand, it is as if made by Agni himself."* How different is the position of the Shúdra! In the sacrifice of the Ashvamédha, "The Shúdra has to watch the property; so to a bastard (who is like a Shúdra) there is not the privilege of the abhishéka (or ritual sprinkling.")† If the Bráhman acknowledges the splendour of the prince, his own splendour is superior. Wealth and rule do not remain with the Bráhman; rule remains with the Kshatriya. The Bráhman is of the form of the day; the Kshatriya is of the form of the night. Let the Brahman perform the religious services (*ishṭápurtta*) of the Kshatriya. The Kshatriya should rule. His glory is in war and battle‡ Consider these demands, and yield this homage, and the Bráhman has all that he can desire.

In the *Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa* of the White Yajur Véda of the Madhyandina Shákha, or Recension, the development of the Caste System is apparent, much as in the two Bráhmaṇas which we have just now noticed.

This work attributes the Collection of the White Yajur Véda to the priest and teacher *Yájnavalkya*, whose alleged decision it holds to be authoritative.§ In a passage to which we have already referred, the *Rákshasas*

* Taitt. Br. iii. MS. fol. 59. † Taitt. Br. iii. MS. fol. 101.

‡ Tait Brah. MS. fol. 105.

§ Shatapatha Brahmaṇa, i. 1. 9 (Weber p. 2) et in al. loc.

are said to derive their designation from their being prohibitors of sacrifice.* *Vishṇu* (in the Rig-Véda, the god of the brilliant firmament, or space) is, probably on account of the ascent of the sacrificial flame, called "the sacrifice,"† from which circumstance, certainly, he afterwards received his pre-eminence among the gods, though *Savitá* (the Sun) is in the context called "the generator of the gods,"‡ and *Agni* is in the Védas the god of sacrifice. Ceremonial impurity proceeding, during the celebration of sacrificial rites, from (the touch of) a Carpenter *(Taksha)* or any other sacrificially impure person, is represented as removed by the sprinkling of the sacrificial water.§ Yet even at this time sacrifice seems, in some of its relations at least, to have been available for the *Shúdra*, as brought to notice in a passage which we have already quoted :—"If the sacrificer be a Bráhman, it is said *Ehi*, Come! If he is a *Vaishya*, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither! With a *Rájanyabandhu* [a transposition of the Vaishya and Rájanya having occurred], it is *Adrava*, Run hither! With a Shúdra it is *Adhava*, Run hither"!‖ While the sacri-

* Ib. i. 1. 16.

† यज्ञो वै विष्णु. Shat. Br. i. 1. 2. 13.

‡ सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता. Ib. i. 2. 17.

§ Shat. Br. i. 1. 3. 12. This passage forms a key to the Caste institution of *sparsha*, or defilement by contact. What occurred at sacrifices, at which parties were held to be ceremonially pure or impure, was afterwards extended to what may occur in any circumstances in social life, to the debasement of large classes of the community.

‖ Shat. Br. i. 1. 4. 11.

ficial stake *(yúpa)* and rice-stirring instrument *(sphya)* are appropriate to the *Bráhman*, the chariot and arrow are appropriate to the *Rájanya*.* The Bráhman stands forth as the arranger of sacrifice.† The spring is said to be the season of sacrifice, for the *Bráhman;* the summer for the *Kshatra;* and the rainy season (*varsha*) for the *Viṭa*.‡ Of the mystical words prefixed to the Gáyatrí, the *Bráhman* should pronounce the *bhuḥ;* the *Kshatra*, the *bhuvaḥ;* and the *Visha*, the *svaḥ*.§ Indra and Agni are gods of the *Kshatra*, and the Vishvédévas of the *Visha*.‖ Bṛihaspati is the god of the *Bráhmans*.¶ The power of the *Kshatra* is Varuṇa.** That of the *Visha* is the Maruta (company). In the Díkshá, or sacrifice of Initiation, the *Bráhman, Rájanya*, and *Vaishya*, but not the *Shúdra*, may sacrifice.†† The *Rájanya* and the *Vaishya* are after the Díkshá pronounced to be sacramentally the same as the *Bráhman*, sprung from sacrifice.‡‡ The Bráhman is encouraged to desire the work of the forestander, the representative of every Kshatriya.§§

In the Savakáṇḍa of this Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa, there is an important passage which, in connexion with the Araṇyoragni Samarohya (the sacrificial kindling of fire by friction) brings to notice various classes of the community

* Shat. Br. i. 2. 4. 2.

† यज्ञस्य प्राविताार : Shat. Br. i. 5. 1. 12.

‡ Shat. Br. ii. 1. 3. 5.

§ Shat. Br. ii. 1. 3. 4.

‖ Shat. Br. ii. 4. 3. 6.

¶ Shat. Br. ii. 5. 2. 36., et. in al. loc.

** Shat. Br. v. 1. 1. 11., et. in al. loc.

†† Shat. Br. iii. 1. 2. 10.

‡‡ Shat. Br. iii. 2. 1. 10.

§§ ब्राह्मण : सर्वस्येव क्षत्रियस्य पुरोधां कामयेत. Sh. Br. iv. 1. 4. 5.

much as is done in a portion of the Black Yajur Véda to which we have already referred.* The parties specified in it are the *Senání*, the general, whose representative god, in the offering of the prepared rice, is said to be Agni; the *Purohita*, or family priest, whose god is Bṛihaspati, the "Purohita of the gods;" the *Kshatra*, whose god is Indra; the *Mahishí*, "the chief wife of an anointed king" according to Sáyaṇa A'chárya, whose god is A'ditya; the *Súta*, or Charioteer, whose god is Varuṇa; the *Grámaṇi*, the equivalent of the *Visha*, whose god is the Maruta (wind); the *Kshatta*, or lictor, whose god is Savitá, "the generator of the gods"; the *Sangrahíta*, whom we have already supposed to be the treasurer, but whom Sáyaṇa makes a charioteer, whose deities are the two Ashvins; the *Bhágadugha*, or collector, whose deity is Púṣha, the nourishing sun; the *Akshávápa*, or superintendent of the dice, whose god is Rudra; and the *Pálágala*, (who has not yet occurred), said by A'pastamba to be the chief ambassador; and the *Parivṛittí*, or wife without a son.† These parties are obviously principally those in public offices, though they include the primitive sacrificial castes.

The sacrificial castes are, in the same section of the Bráhmaṇa, represented as performing their sprinklings with different trees. The *Bráhman* takes the Palásha (Butea frondosa); the *Rájanya*, the Nyagrodha (Ficus Indica); and the *Vaishya*, the Ashvattha (Ficus religiosa).‡ The

* See above, p. 124.

† Shat. Br. v. 2. 4. 12, et. seq. Weber, pp. 444-447; 487-8.

‡ Shat. Br. v. 3. 2. 11, et. seq. p. 455. Other class distinctions are mentioned in the context. See pp. 457, 460, 465, 503, 569, 723.

multiplication of distinctions in every religious act and ceremony seems to have been early an aim of the Indians. In the same section also, it is said, "There are four Castes (Varṇas), the *Bráhman, Rájanya, Vaishya,* and *Shúdra,* not one of whom there is that vomits the Soma."* The mention here of the Shúdra shows, as in a passage already quoted,† that, in a certain form at least, the Shúdra, though probably not a personal sacrificer, was a participant in the potable or edible material of sacrifice and its supposed spiritual fruits.

In the eighth section of this Bráhmaṇa, a *Rájanya,* who belonged to the province of Gandhára, to the south of the Kábul affluent of the Indus, is thus brought to notice. "Further Svarjit, son of Nagnajit said. Now Nagnajit was a Gándhára. ...This which he said, he spake as a mere Rájanya."‡ On this passage it is rightly remarked by Mr. Muir, that "although his (Svarjit's) view (respecting breath or life) was not regarded as authoritative, still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a Rájanya, proves his Arian origin."§

In the thirteenth Káṇda, in which the grand sacrifices and distribution of enormous dakshiṇá by several kings are alluded to, verses are quoted in which both "five classes of men" (*pancha mánava*) and "seven classes of men" *(sapta mánava)* are alluded to.|| These Pentads and Heptads naturally bring to notice what is said in the Véda of the *Panchakshiti.*¶ Weber thinks that the Pentad

* Shat. Br.

† See above, p. v. 5. 4. 9.

‡ Shat Br. viii. 1. 4. 10.

§ Muir's Texts, ii. p. 366.

|| Shat. Br. xiii. 3. 6. 14. and 23. Weber, p. 995-6.

¶ See above, pp. 116-17.

refers to the Panchálas, often mentioned (and supposed by Roth to be the five races of the Panjáb) and the Heptad to the Kurus and Panchálas.†

An important passage, in this Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa, corresponding with the Vṛihad A'raṇyaka Upanishad, will be noticed onwards. But before leaving this Bráhmaṇa we may, turning back, refer to two notices, somewhat of a historical character, which it contains, and which are quite consistent with statements made in the commencement of this section of our work.

In the first Káṇda there is an account of a Deluge, similar in some respects to that brought to notice in holy writ, which seems to indicate that the Hindus had a tradition of having crossed a great mountain chain on their originally coming to India. This remarkable passage, which has been translated by Weber,* Müller,† and Muir,‡ is as follows:—" They brought to Manu in the morning water for washing, as they are in the habit of bringing water to wash with the hands. As he was using the water, there came into his hands a fish which said to him, 'Preserve me and I will save thee.' [Manu inquired] 'From what will thou save me'? [The fish replied] 'A flood shall sweep away all these creatures; I will rescue thee from it.' [Manu asked] 'How is thy protection' [to be effected?] The fish answered, 'So long as we are small, we are in great peril, and even fish devours fish; preserve

† See Note in Muir's Texts i. pp. 135-6, and Weber's Indische Studien i. 200.

* Indische Studien, i. 163-164.

† History of A. S. Literature, p. 425, et. seq.

‡ Sanskrit Texts, ii. p. 325-7.

me first in a jar. When I grow too large for the jar, dig a trench, and preserve me in it. When I become too great for that, carry me to the ocean; I shall then be beyond the reach of danger.' Straightway it became a great fish; for it grew exceedingly. [The fish then said,] 'In so many years the flood will come, make a ship therefore, and worship me; and when the flood rises embark on the ship, and I shall deliver thee.' Accordingly Manu preserved the fish, and brought it to the ocean; and in the same year which the fish had declared, he built a ship and worshipped [the fish]. When the flood ascended, he entered the ship, and the fish swam near him: and he fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn. By this means he passed over this northern mountain. The fish then said, 'I have delivered thee, fasten the ship to a tree.' But lest the water should abandon thee when thou art upon the mountain, as fast as the water subsides, so fast shalt thou descend along with it. Accordingly he descended as the water subsided. Hence, this was 'Manu's descent' from the northern mountain. The flood had swept away all creatures; Manu alone was left. Being desirous of offspring he laboriously performed a religious rite. And there, too, he sacrificed with the páka sacrifice. He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey, and curds, as an oblation into the waters. After a year a female was produced, who rose unctuous from the waters, with clarified butter under her feet. Mitra and Varuṇa met her, and said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' she replied. They rejoined, 'Say that thou art our daughter.' She answered, 'No; I am the daughter of him who begot me.' Then they demanded a share in her. She promised, and she did not

promise; but passed on and came to Manu. Manu asked her 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'Now, thou divine one, art thou my daughter?' he inquired. She replied, 'Thou hast begotten me from these oblations which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Introduce me at the sacrifice. If thou shalt do so, thou shalt increase in offspring and cattle. Whatever boon thou shalt supplicate through me, shall accrue to thee.' He accordingly introduced her in the middle of the sacrifice; for that is the middle which stands between the introductory and concluding prayers. He lived with her worshipping and toiling, desirous of offspring. By her he begot this offspring, which is the offspring of Manu."* This legend appears here in a much more simple form than it does in the Mahábhárata, Matsya Puráṇa, or any of the other works of the later literature of the Hindus. Next to the references to the *Uttara* (northern) *Kurus*, it is the most important tradition known to the Indians respecting their acquaintance with the north. These Kurus, often referred to by the Bráhmans in conversation, are brought to notice both in a geographical and mythical form in the Indian literature. The oldest reference to them occurs in the following passage of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa: "Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat, the Uttara Kurus, and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to separate rule (vairájya)."† In another passage of the same work, they are spoken of as "the land of the gods (déva-kshétram)," of

* Muir's Texts, ii. pp. 325-7.

† Ait. Bráh. viii. 14. This passage was brought to notice by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 218.

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which it is added, "no mortal may conquer it."* Other allusions to them occur in the Rámáyaṇa,† Mahábhárata, etc. Ptolemy, too, speaks of a mountain and city called *Ottorokorra*,‡ which must be referred to them. The sanctity of this region in the eyes of the Hindus probably originated in the respect felt for it as an early seat of at least a branch of the A'ryan people.§

We find the following remarkable passage, also near the commencement of this Bráhmaṇa (first brought to notice by Dr. Weber),‖ referring to the advance of the A'ryas and the spread of their religious rites from the river Sarasvatí in an easterly direction :—"Máthava the Vidégha¶ bore Agni Vaishvánara in his mouth. The Ṛishi Gotama Rahúgaṇa** was his priest *(purohita)*. Though addressed by him he (Máthava) did not answer, 'lest (he said) Agni (Fire) should escape from my mouth.' The priest began to invoke Agni with verses of the Ṛik : 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, the sacrificer, the luminous, the mighty, O Vidégha.' (R. V. v. 26. 3.) He made no answer. (The priest then repeated,) 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni, O Vidégha.' (R. V. viii. 44. 16.) Still he made no

* Ait. Brah. viii. 23.

† Rám. iv. 44. 82. Mahábh. i. v. 4719-22. Vishṇu Puráṇa, p. 168.

‡ Ptol. Geo. vi. 16.

§ See on the Uttara Kurus, Lassen's Ind. Altherthumskunde, i. 511-12 ; Zeitschrift fur die K. D. M. ii. 62 ; and Muir's Texts, ii. 332-37.

‖ Indische Studien, i. 170.

¶ "Afterwards prakritized to Vidéha" ?

** See R. V. i. 78. 5.

reply. (The priest then recited ;) 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' &c. (R. V. v. 26. 2.) So far he uttered; when immediately on the mention of butter (ghṛita), Agni Vaishvánara flashed forth from his mouth ; he could not restrain him, so he issued from his mouth, and fell down to this earth. The Vidégha Máthava was then on (or in) the Sarasvatí. (Agni) then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Ráhúgaṇa and the Vidégha Máthava followed after him as he burned onward. He burnt across all these rivers ; but he did not burn across the Sadánira, which descends from the northern mountain (the Himálaya). The Bráhmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaishvánara. But now many Bráhmans (live) to the east of it. It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaishvánara. It is now, however, habitable ; for Bráhmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices. In the end of summer this river is, as it were, incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaishvánara. The Vidégha Máthava spake ; 'Where shall I abide'? (Agni) replied, 'Thy abode (shall be) to the east of this (river). This stream is even now the boundary of the Kosálas and Vidéhas ; for they are the descendants of Máthava.'"* The river Sadánírá here mentioned is not identified ; but the spread of the Aṛyan faith eastward from the Sarasvatí, one of its early seats in India, is certainly made obvious by this somewhat figurative narrative.†

* Shat. Br. i. 4. 1. 10, et. seq.

† See on its precise import, Weber in loc. cit. and Muir, ii. 419-422.

Notices somewhat similar to those now introduced from the Aitaréya, Taittiríya, and Shatapatha Bráhmaṇas, may possibly be found to some extent in the less important Bráhmaṇas. Dr. Weber considers the *Shaḍvinsha Bráhmana* as having a "distinctly formed Brahmanical character, indicating a not very early date." The following passage in it is referred to by Dr. Weber and Mr. Muir: "Indra declared the *uktha* (recited hymn) to Vishvámitra [the Rájanya said to have attained to Bráhmanhood], and the *Brahma* (sacrificial knowledge) to Vasiṣhṭha [originally a Bráhman];—the *uktha,* which is speech, to Vishvámitra, and the *Brahma,* which is mental, to Vasiṣhṭha." The object of this is evidently to qualify the effects of the acknowledged transition of Vishvámitra to the priesthood—an admission always felt to be awkward by the supporters of Caste; for it is added, "Hence this *brahma* belongs to the Vasiṣhṭhas. Moreover, let a descendant of Vasiṣhṭha, who is acquainted with it, be appointed *Brahmá*."* The *Gopatha Bráhmaṇa* deals with the ritual of the Atharvas of the fourth Véda, in which Bráhmanism, though in a sectarian form, is conspicuously dominant.† It even derives its ideal of the Creator from Atharvan.‡

3. From the Bráhmaṇas, we proceed to the *A'raṇyakas* (Discourses of the Forest) and *Upanishads,* (Discourses to

* See Weber's Indische Studien (i. 36-39) and Muir's Texts (i. 79) on the Shaḍvinsha.

† The MSS. of this Bráhmaṇa are extremely rare. I have just heard of one having fallen into the hands of Dr. Haug at Puná as this passes through the press.

‡ See Hist. of A. Sans. Lit. by Dr. Max Müller, p. 451.

Near-Sitters)* which are closely connected together. The oldest of these works, speaking generally, represent the speculative thought of India in the ages immediately posterior to those of the Bráhmaṇas, and in after times. Some of them, however, like the *Vṛihad* (or *Bṛihad) A'ranyaka Upanishad*, which is mostly written in the name of Yájnavalkya, and finds a place at the end of the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa (also attributed to that famous teacher) may be of the same age as that work. Their philosophical character confers a peculiar value on their brief references to the social state of the ancient Indians, although these references are often of a constrictive character, founded on the desire of their authors to uphold the doctrine of spiritual pantheism (that of the universality and identity of Brahma, viewed not as religious service but as its object and the

* The great commentator Shankara A'chárya views *Upanishad* as equivalent to *Annihilator*. In his introduction to the Bṛihad A'raṇyaka Upanishad, he writes thus: "'The dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse' [the name of this A'raṇyaka derived from its first words] is composed for the sake of those who wish to liberate themselves from the world, in order that they may acquire the knowledge that Brahma [here used not in the Védic sense of religious service but the Spirit to whom this brahma is directed] and the soul are the same, a knowledge by which the liberation from the cause of the world (ignorance) is accomplished. The world is accomplished. This knowledge of Brahma is called *Upanishad*, because it completely annihilates the [essential reality of] the world, together with its cause in such as possess this knowledge; for this is the meaning of the word *Sad*, (to destroy or to go) preceded by *Upaṇi* (quasi, *upa* near and *ni*, certainly). A work which treats of the same knowledge is called *Upanishad*." Röer's Trans. of Br. Ar. Up. p. 1. Dr. Max Müller, with more correct philological appreciation, shows that *up* + *sad* is used "in the sense of sitting and worshipping." Hist. of A. S. Lit. p. 318.

object of the contemplation of the wise), for the support of which they have evidently been composed.*

From the Bṛihad (or Vṛihad) Aranyaka Upanishad we take the following notices:—

"Brahma verily was this before, one alone. Being one, he did not extend. He with concentrated power created the Kshatra of elevated nature, viz., all those Kshatras who are protectors among the gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Death, and Ishána. Therefore none is greater than the Kshatra; therefore the Bráhman under the Kshatriya, worships at the Rájasúya ceremony. The Kshatra alone gives (him) his glory. Brahma is thus the birth-place of the Kshatra. Therefore although the king obtains the highest dignity, he at last takes refuge in the Brahma as in his birth-place. Whosoever despises him, he destroys his birth-place. He is a very great sinner, like a man who injures a superior. He did not extend. He created the Viṭ. He is all those gods who, according to their classes, are called Vasus, Rudras, A'dityas, Vishvédévas, and Maruts. He did not extend. He created the caste of the Shúdras as the nourisher. This (earth) is the nourisher; for it nourishes all this whatsoever. He did not extend; he created with concentrated power justice of eminent nature. This justice is the preserver (Kshatra)

* Shankara A'chárya says, "The knowledge of the identity of Brahma [in all forms] is the certain meaning of the Upanishads in all the Shákhas." Röer's Trans. of B. A. U., p. 107. Seeking a Vedic support, the Upanishads found much on a few expressions contained in some of the later Súktas, such as that attributed to the God Indra by Vámadeva, in which he says, "I was Manu, I am the Sun." See on this and similar expressions of the Véda, Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 76.

of the Kshatra. There is nought higher than justice. Even the weak is confident to defeat the more powerful by justice, as (a householder) by the king. Verily justice is true. Therefore they say of a person who speaks the truth, he speaks justice, or of a person who speaks justice, he speaks the truth. In this manner verily it is both. This is the creation of the Bramha, the Kshatra, the Viṭ, and the Shúdra. He was in the form of Agni (fire) among the Gods as Brahma, he was the Brámhan among men, in the form of Kshatriya Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya Vaishya, in the form of Shúdra Shúdra. Therefore among the gods the place (loka) is desired through Agni only; among men through the Bráhman, because in their forms Bramha became (manifest)."* The *Kshatra,* the *Brahma,* the *Viṭ,* and the *Shúdra* are here alike considered the positive creations of Brahma (now used in a new sense. Care, however, is taken that by this view of matters, the *Bráhman* shall not be disparaged, the *Kshatra* at last taking refuge in the *Brahma* as his birth-place. The Shúdra (a partial etymological reference being made to the first syllable of the name) is here viewed as the nourisher; but he is still the lowest in the scale: "He (Brahma) was in the form of Agni among the gods as Brahma; he was the Bráhman among men; in the form of Kshatriya, Kshatriya; in the form of Vaishya, Vaishya; in the form of Shúdra, Shúdra." This doctrine

* This is the accurate translation of Dr. Röer (p. 121-5). For "he did not extend," it might an improvement to say, "He did not separate, or multiply," the original being स न व्यभवत्. The passage occurs in the Vṛihad Ar. Up. i. 4 and in the Shatapatha Brah. xiv. 4. 2. 23. p. 1052 in Weber's edition.

Shankara A'chárya does not fail to turn to account: "Among men the place, the effect of works, is desired through the nature of the Bráhman alone, because Brahma,' the creator, 'in their forms,' of the Bráhman and Agni, the forms upon which the agents of work are dependent, 'became manifest.'"*

"It verily goes against the grain that a Bráhman should approach a Kshatriya for the purpose of learning Brahma from him." These words are doubtless put by a Bráhman into the mouth of Ajátshatru, "king of Káshí," when he is represented as instructing "Gárgya, the proud son of Balákå."†

"O Matréyí, said Yájnavalkya (to his wife), behold, I am desirous of raising myself from the order, therefore let me divide (my property) between thee and Katyáyaní there."‡ Here Yájnavalkya desires to leave his *áshrama* of Householder for that of a Sannyási. The orders, afterwards spoken of by Manu,§ are here recognized. They are also brought to notice in the following passage, which teaches that the mendicant and meditative life is preferable to that of parties following the course of the world. "Then asked him (Yájnavalkya) Kahola, the son of Kushítaka,—Yájnavalkya, do explain to me that Brahma, who is a witness and present that soul which is within every (being)." "It is thy soul which is within every being." "It is the soul which conquers hunger, thirst, grief, delusion, old age, (and) death. When Bráhmans know this soul, then elevating themselves from the desire of obtaining a son,

* Röer's Trans. of Vṛihad A'ran. Up. p. 125.

† Ib. p. 172. ‡ Ib. p. 177.

§ See above, p. 27-35.

from the desire of wealth, and from the desire of gaining the worlds (above), they lead the life of wandering mendicants; for the desire of a son is also the desire for wealth (to perform rites); the desire for wealth is also the desire for the worlds; for even both are desires. Therefore knowing wisdom let the Bráhman (the student of Bṛahma) arm himself with strength."* It is afterwards added, "Whoever knowing this indestructible [being] departs from this world, O Gargi, is a (true) Bráhman."†

In the fourth Káṇda of the work before us, it is said that Yájnavalkya was offered, at every illustrative story which he repeated, "a thousand cows big as elephants," by Janaka king of Vidéha. His uniform reply was, "My father admonished me, where one does not instruct, one should not take (gifts)."‡ The Bráhmans, in the time of the Law-Books, demanded gifts from Kshatryas and Vaishyas without service, and taught that their free bestowment on the priestly caste was meritorious.§ In the same Káṇda, (and of Purusha, or Soul, in a certain state of abstraction), it is said, "The murderer of a Bráhman is no Bráhman; the Cháṇḍála is no Cháṇḍála, the Paulkasa no Paulkasa, the religious mendicant (Sramaṇa) no religious mendicant; the ascetic, no ascetic; he is unconnected with all that is holy, he is unconnected with sin." This freedom from sin is afterwards attributed to the party possessed of

* Brihad Ar. Up. iii. 5. Roer's Trans. p. 196-197.

† Ib. p. 204.

‡ Ib. 213 et seq. On another occasion, Janaka is represented as saying to his teacher, "I bow to thee; let this kingdom of the Vidéhas and this myself be thine." Ib. p. 219.

§ See above, pp. 17, 26, etc.

the knowledge of Brahma.* The Paulkasa and Cháṇḍála have already occurred, in the Purusha Médha.† All offensiveness in them and all pre-eminence in others, it is insinuated, vanishes from the view of the knower of Brahma. The principle here involved, as the teaching goes, is of general application. "The Brahma should disown a person, who considers the Brahma (caste) as something different from his (self); the Kshatra should disown a person, who considers the Kshatra (caste) as something from (his) self; the world should disown a person who considers the world as something different from (his) self."‡ That there was some novelty in this pantheistic and anti-védic teaching was admitted: "That this knowledge in former times was not possessed by a Bráhman (thou knowest thyself), but I will explain it to thee."§ It was, generally speaking, not reduced to practice in society, the Indian speculatists preferring unnatural accommodations to the ancient literature and ritual of the country to the setting themselves forth as distinct and marked reformers.

In the *Chhándogya Upanishad*, associated with the Sáma Véda,—a portion of which agrees with the Bṛihad A'raṇyaka Upanishad,‖ and which may consequently b supposed to be somewhat connected with it in time,—we find a certain kind of scrupulosity as to food brought to notice. "Ushashti, son of Chakra who had forsaken Kuru

* Ib. pp. 228, 241.
† See above, pp. 131-2.
‡ Ib. p. 243-4.
§ Ib. p. 263.
‖ Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad, vi. 2 seq.=(with the modification of some words) Chhand. Up. v. 3-10. See Röer's Trans. of Br. Ar. Up. p. 261.

with his wife lived in great distress in Ibhyagráma (the village of an elephant driver). Of the elephant-keeper eating some *Kulmáṣha* (a coarse bean) he begged (food). He (the elephant-keeper) said, 'I have nothing but what you see before me.' 'Give me of it,' said he. He gave him of it, and offered him some drink. 'Were I (he said) to take that, I should swallow the remnant of another's drink.' 'Is not that also [the beans] a remnant?' 'I cannot live without eating that; but drink I can command at pleasure.' Having ate thereof, he presented the remainder to his wife. She had before partaken of the same, and [therefore] took it and laid it by. On the morning, rising from his bed, he exclaimed, 'Alas, if I could obtain a little food, I could earn some wealth. A king is sacrificing in the neighbourhood, he would surely employ me to perform all his functions.' His wife said to him, Here are the beans, (take them,) and eating of them go quickly to the sacrifice."* Hunger is here made the excuse for eating the coarse provisions of a man of lower grade, while the drinking of his water, for which an excuse was not readily forthcoming, is avoided. The scrupulosity indicated seems to have had principally in view the preservation of status, which was really the aim of many subsequent caste regulations. A microscopic view of gradations, and supposed degradations connected with them, was soon taken by the Indians. In this same Upaniṣhad, the birth of the Chaṇḍála follows that of dogs and swine, though it resolves them all into Brahma himself.†

* Chhánd. Up. (Bib. Ind.) i. 10, p. 80, et seq. and Rájéndralál's Trans. pp. 27-28.

† Chhánd. Up. v. 10. (p. 356).

Little is to be found bearing on our subject in the older Minor Upanishads.

In the *Taittaríya Upanishad,* which forms a portion of the Taittaríya A'ranyaka of the Black Yajur-Véda (chapters 7-9,) and which is also found in the collection of the Upanishads of the Atharva Véda*,—the following passage, which forms a key to the limited respect paid by the followers of the Upanishads to the gods, forefathers, relatives, teachers, Bráhmans, etc., occurs:—"Let there be no neglect of the duties towards the gods and the forefathers. Let the mother be a god (to thee). Let the father be a god (to thee). All unblameable works ought to be performed—not any other. All the praiseworthy doings of us (the teachers) ought to be respected by thee—not any others. The Bráhmans who are better than we, it ought to be thy effort to provide with a seat." "Then," "as there (in thy neighbourhood) all the Bráhmans, who are of sober judgment,—who are meek and desirous of performing their duties,—whether they act by themselves or be appointed by another,—as such Bráhmans act among them, so also act thou among them."† All this is by way of "accommodation." "The Upanishads," as Dr. Röer correctly says, "acknowledge the gods of the Védas in name [and the same remark is applicable to the distinctions among men], but not in reality; for their whole nature is altered, since from the state of divinity they are degraded to beings of an inferior order."‡ They are recognized only as

* See Translation of Taittiríya, etc. by Dr. Roth. 1 i.

† Tait. Up. Shikshá Vallí, An. xi. Röer, pp. 13-14.

‡ Introduction to Taitt. Up. p. 7.

manifestations in finity of the infinite—the Supreme Self. "The Vedánta (the more orthodox system of the Upaniṣhads)," Dr. Röer correctly adds, in another place, "also maintained that the acquisition of truth is independent of caste or any other distinction, and that the highest knowledge which is the chief end of man, cannot be imparted by the Védas; yet it insisted that a knowledge of the Védas was necessary to prepare the mind for the highest knowledge."* It was by this fictitious deference to the Védas that the supporters of the Vedánta, while in reality superseding these works, conciliated their orthodox friends. The less orthodox schools, as the Sánkhya, acted a more independent part, if we except, perhaps, the founder of that school. Dr. Max Müller thus writes:—"Kapila, an atheistic philosopher of the purest water, was tolerated by the Bráhmans, because, however he differed from their theology, he was ready to sign the most important article of their faith—the divine origin and infallibility of scripture."† But their tenets, as bearing on our subject, we may afterwards notice in connexion with the relations of Buddhism to Caste.

In the *Prashna Upanishad*, the Kshatra (as the power) and the Brahma (as the orderer of rites) are represented as founded on life, or Prajápati, of whom, it is said, "Thou art a *Vrátya*,"‡ (as a non-initiated Bráhman)—holy by nature, there having been none to perform the

* Introd. to Svétáshavatara Up. p. 36.

† Review of Muir's Text in *Times*, 10th April, 1858.

‡ Prash. Up. ii. 6. 11. Vrátya literally means one of the multitude.

rites in thy behalf. In this Upanishad, the Vedánta doctrine scarcely appears in a definite form.

4. We conclude this long section of our work by referring to the *Sútras*, the last class of the Védic works so-called,—which form a connecting link between the Bráhmaṇas and the Law-Books comprehended under the name of *Smṛiti*, or Remembering.

The *Sútras* are written generally in the form of brief Memorial Aphorisms, as indicated by their name of *Sútra* or Thread. Dr. Max Müller makes them range between the years 600—200 before Christ. They glean much from the Védas and the Bráhmaṇas; but it is only in so far as they give a legal form to incidental notices which occur in the older works, and make allusions to written laws and interpretations that they are of much use.

"They contain the quintessence," Dr. Müller says, "of all the knowledge which the Bráhmans had accumulated during many centuries of study and meditation."* They are based upon the *Shruti* (comprehending the Vedic hymns and the Bráhmaṇas)†; and, in some instances are on this account called the *Shrauta Sútras*. Those of them which teach the mode of performing the Védic

* Hist of A. Sans Lit. p. 74.

† Dr. Müller (ib. p. 76) ingeniously says, "The reason why the Bráhmaṇas, which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in the name of Shruti, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns, that a supposed divine authority could be derived from the greater number of the ambitious claims of the Bráhmans."

sacrifices are callled *Kalpa Sútras;* and even the Brahmans themselves, such as Kumarila, admit that, though authoritative, they are "composed, by human authors," "like Mashaka, Baudháyana, Apastamba, A'shvaláyana, Katyáyana and others."* They are to be distinguished from the *Smártta Sútras*, the *Sútras of the Smṛiti,* or the Sútras of Tradition, which form the Law Books. Varieties of them are the *Gṛihya Sútras,* which treat of rites to be performed by householders, principally for the benefit of their families; and the *Sámayácháriká Sútras*, which regulate rites to be performed by individuals on their own account, and the religious services of everyday life.†

The most important of the *Sútras* to which the public has access are "The *Shrautasútras* of Kátyáyana, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yájnikadéva," published by the learned and indefatigable Dr. Weber, as the third volume of the text of the White Yajur Véda and its adjuncts.

In the Sútras now referred to the *Shúdra* is plainly declared not to have the right *(adhikára)* of sacrifice enjoyed by the *Bráhman*, *Kshatriya*, and *Vaishya.* In support of this dictum, some quotations are made from the Bráhmaṇas which we have already introduced. It is then found that the Shúdra is not to be invested with the sacred string, and has not, like the higher Varṇas, the right of hearing, committing to memory, or reciting Védic texts. For listening to these texts he ought to have his ears shut up with lead or lac, by way of punishment; for pronouncing them, his tongue cut out; and for committing

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. pp. 97-8.

† See Müller, p. 200, etc.

them to memory, his body cut in two.* The *Rathakára* is somewhat more favoured, as far as his presence at the *ádhána*, or initial services of sacrifices, is concerned;† and this it is said is owing to the distinction of his employment for a livelihood, and because it is said, " A *Mahishya* is produced by a *Kshatriya* on a female-Vaishya; a *Karaṇí* is produced by a *Vaishya* on a female-*Shúdra;* and a *Rathakára* is produced by a *Mahishya* on a female. Karaṇí." This brings us to the fictional views of the Law-Books.‡ Chiefs of the *Nishádas* have the privilege of offering the boiled seeds of the Gávédhuka (coix barbata) on the occasion of hallowing a new house.§ Of the *Vaishya* and *Rájanya*, it is held that they are not entitled to keep burning the sacred fire gárhapatí, or that of a householder, which is the privilege of the *Bráhman.*‖ In selecting *Bráhmans* for services, as connected with the nuptial fire, reference must be made to the families which represent the respective Ṛishis to which the Védic texts are said to have been communicated. This the commentary couples with the recognitions of *shákhántara,* difference in the Branch or School of the ministrant.¶

* शूद्रस्य वेदाक्षर श्रवणे उच्चारणे धारणेच प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शनात्. श्रवणे त्रपुजतुभ्यां श्रोत्रपूरणम् उच्चारणे जिव्हाछेदः धारणे च शरीरभेद इति. Shrautasútra Kát. i. 1. 6. (p. 9).

† Ib. i. 1. 9. et seq.

‡ See above, pp. 53, 60, 65.

§ Shrautasútras of Kát. i. 1. 12. (p. 16).

‖ Ib. i. 6. 16, p. 110.

¶ Ib. v. 6. 1, p. 367. See also x. 9. 30, pp. 832-3.

In the *Baudháyana Sútras* of the Black Yajur Véda,* we have found several passages worthy of notice.

"The Bráhmans acting as Ṛitvijes," it is enjoined, "ought to be perfect in birth, associational lineage (*gotra*), instruction (*shruta*), and conduct, without fault of body, without scar, not addicted to going beyond the fences (of their town), not goers to the *Antyaja* (those of low birth, dwelling beyond the enclosures of towns), not pronouncers of *háléya-váléya* (that is, not of vulgarized speech), having sons and daughters only of regular birth, having no connection with strange women or women found with child at their marriage, not (themselves) posterior in birth, not adopted. The Adhvaryu ought to be of the Angiras (order); the Brahmá of the Vasiṣhṭha; the Hotá, of the Vishvámitra; and the Udgátá, of the Kushika.† It is also said by some that the Sadasya (superintending priest) should be of Vasiṣhtha, of Bhṛigu, or of Angiras, right in birth, learning, and conduct."‡

The institutor of a sacrifice is represented as connecting, in supplicatory transference, robbery with the *Vrátya* and *Shúdra*; labour, with the *Vaishya*; knowledge, with the *Rájanyabandhu*; Brahmácide, with the *Nisháda*;

* For the use of a MS. of these Sútras I am indebted to Sadáshiva Bhaṭṭa of Wái, next to Mahábaleshwar, the highest *tírtha* (sacred place of passage) of the Krishṇa river. These Sútras derive their name from Baudháyana, their collector and arranger.

† The classes of priests specified are those who take the different parts of the sacrificial rites. See before, p. 102.

‡ Baudháyana Sútras, Prashna ii. 2. (fol. 19 of MS.) The passage goes on to say that the officiating priests should have no imperfection of body, etc.

paradise *(rodas)*, with the Kimpurusha (dwellers in the N. E. mountains), barbarous speech *(mlêchha)*, with the residents in forests ; repose, with the *Vidêhas;* the takman (disease) with the *Mujavats ;** cough, with the *Dundubhas ;* bile, with the *Ikshvákus ;* preparation for sacrifice, with Kalinga (a country contiguous to the sources of the Ganges), and so forth.†

The Mantras to be used respectively by Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Rathakáras, at the *ádhâna* are expressly prescribed.‡ The Chandas, or Metres to be used by the three first of these classes are mentioned as in the Bráhmaṇas.§ The Munja or sacred string of the loins‖ of the *Bráhman* learning the Védas, it is said, should be of the Darbha grass ; and of the *Vaishya,* of the hair of the black antelope.¶

In the *Hiraṇyakéshí Sútras,*—with the use of an old manuscript of which I have been kindly favoured by Táthyá Shástrí Abhyankara of Wái,—we have found several curious passages, also bearing on the progress of Caste arrangements.

In one of them, after it is said that the Bráhman, Rájanya, and Vaishya have the *Védádhyana,* or liberty of repeating the Védas, it is added that their sacrifices are established in the Bráhman, because all the sacrifices are not forbidden to him, that is, he has a right to

* See before, p. 141. † Baudh. Sútras, ii. 2.

‡ Baudh. Sút. ii. 17. § Ib. vi. 13.

‖ The Munja is to be distinguished from the string worn over the right shoulder. The period for which the Munja is to be worn is mentioned onwards.

¶ Ib.

perform every *kind* of sacrifice, while the others have not this right. It is also added that the *Rájanya* and *Vaishya* have the privilege of the (daily) Agnihotra and of the ceremonies of the new and full moon, while the *Bráhmans* alone have the privilege of the Soma sacrifice; and that the *Nishàda* and the *Rathakára* have the privilege of the *ádhána* (initial ceremonies) of the Agnihotra of the new and full moon ceremonies.* In conformity with the dicta of the Bráhmaṇas, the Vasanta season is the ádhán time of the *Bráhman;* the Grishma and Hémanta, of the *Rájanya;* the Varshá of the *Rathakára;* and the Sharad, of the *Vaishya;* while the Shishira is common to them all.† Special mantras are prescribed, as in the Baudháyana Sútras for these four castes.‡ The horse for the *Ashvamédha* sacrifice, as found suitable, may be brought from the house of a Bráhman, a Rájanya, or a Vaishya, as the case may be.§ The portion in sacrifice which falls to the institutor of the sacrifice *(Yajamána)* is to be ate by the *Bráhman*, but not by the *Rájanya* or the *Vaishya*.‖ Silence is to be observed by partiesof the three sacrificial classes, when a Shúdra enters to remove their natural defilements (alluded to with disgusting particularity); and thus the servile position of the Shúdra is recognized.¶ The sun is addressed as the

* ब्राह्मण राजन्ययोर्वैश्यस्य च वेदाध्ययनं तन्नियतं तेषामेव ब्राह्मणविहितायज्ञा येषु यज्ञ कार्त्स्न्यमविप्रतिषिध्यं... तेषामग्निहोत्रं दर्श पूर्णमासौ च नियतौ सोमेज्या ब्राह्मणस्याधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियतौ निषादरथकारयोराधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्येते. Hiranyakéshí Sútras, iii. 1.

† Ib. iii. 2.

‡ Ib. iii. 3.

§ Ib. iii. 4.

‖ Hir. Sút. vi. 4.

¶ Hir. Sú. x. 1.

Cháraṇa (Bráhman association), as the Shúdra, and as the A'rya (probably here meaning the Rájanya and the Vaishya).* A Shúdra or A'rya desiring the skin of an animal slain in sacrifice is to receive it from the Agnídhra Bráhman, separating himself from the sacrificial party by a circle surrounding the sacrificial pit.† In the Agniṣhṭoma sacrifice, the Niṣháda, as well as the Vaishya, and Rájanya, may three times drink, from an earthen vessel, of the juice of the roots of the Udambara (Ficus glomerata), while a Bráhman has to drink of it only once.‡

The sections from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth inclusive are in the manuscript in our hands denominated the *Hiraṇyakéshí Smártta Sútras,*—a denomination in which their traditional character is recognized, the *Shrauta Sútras* being more directly founded on the Védic works comprehended under the name of *Shruti* ("what was heard") in ("regular Vedic recitation"). In their commencement, it is intimated that the *Upanayana* (or sacrificial endowment with the string) of a *Bráhman* should take place in his seventh year; that of a *Rájanya,* in his eleventh; and that of a *Vaíshya,* in his twelfth. The seasons for this sacrament, in the case of each of these classes, are mentioned as already noted by us on the authority of other works. The ceremonial, in its different particulars, is prescribed. It ought to be performed during the first part of the lunar mansion (nakshatra) Puna. A couple of Bráh-

* Hir. Sú. x. 4. † Hir. Sú. xvi. 1.

‡ Hir. Su. xvii. 1. It is because the roots of this fig yield a watery juice that it is called the "water-tree" by the natives of India, and not as "being found (as some of our botanists tell us) near springs or water courses."

mans are to be feasted; the Punyáha mantra is to be repeated; the youth is to be shaved (in the head) and decorated; the household fires have to be kindled in their respective positions; the Darbha grass (Poa cynosuroides) has to be scattered around them; and the articles required for use—the stone, the unwashed (new) clothing, the skin of a deer, etc., the *munja* (or temporary string) three times to circumvent the loins, the rod of the Belva (Ægle marmelos), or of the Palásha (Butea frondosa) for the Bráhman, of the Nagrodha (Ficus Indica) for the Rájanya, and the Udumbara (Ficus glomerata) for the Vaishya, the fuel of twenty-one kinds of wood, the frame of wood (to put on each side of the fire pits), the blowpipe, the Darví (clarified-butter spoon), the bunch of Darbha grass, and the cup for the clarified-butter, are to be put into their places. The sacred fire is to be kindled (for the consumption,) in the *homa* rite, of the fuel and the clarified butter. The sacred thread has to be put over the shoulder of the candidate for initiation; the *munja* has to be put round the loins; the mantras have to be repeated by the Bráhmans, and taught to the party now initiated by them; and the youth has to be blessed in varied forms. Clothing has to be given to him according to his caste:—the skin of a black antelope to the Bráhman; the *raurava* (skin of a common antelope) to the Rájanya; and the skin of a goat to the Vaishya. Specified mantras, varied according to caste, have to be repeated by the initiated. Dakshiṇá (douceurs with the right or lucky hand*) are

* On one occasion, when I happened to be walking round one of the *lingálayas* at Elephanta with my left hand towards the quondam object of worship, a Bráhman of the old school, interested in my safety, attempted to put me into the *right* position that I might escape injury!

to be given to Bráhmans.* No symbolical meaning seems associated with the complicated service.

In the *darvihoma* (burnt offering effected simply by casting butter, etc. into the flame with a ladle), the Bráhman's prepared dish (*mantha*) is to be of clarified butter; the Kshatriyá's, of milk; the Vaishya's, of whey; and the Shúdrá's, of water.†

The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sections of the Sútras of Hiranyakéshí are called *Sámayácharika* or *Dharma Sútras*, that is Sútras for regulating conventional practices and duties, viewed as incumbent on individuals, independently of the great ceremonial services.‡

This division of the work sets out with the mention of the four primitive castes, which it says are recognized by the Védas. The investiture with the string, the reading of the Védas, and the keeping of the sacred fire are "fruitless works" for the Shúdra, whose duty is service. Seasons of sacrifice are prescribed for the three first castes (but not for the fourth). The three first classes should, after initiation, spend at least twelve years as students (Brahmácháris), with their A'chárya, or religious instruc-

* Hiranyakéshí Sút. xix. 1 et seq.

† Ib. xxiii. 10.

‡ The commencement of the Hiranyakéshí Sámayachárika Sútras is the following: अथातः सामयाचारिकान् धर्मान् व्यख्यास्यामो धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाः:—Now-in-what-follows we unfold the conventional practices and duties, the authority (being) the intelligent in conventionalities (and) the Védas. "Sámayácharika" (says Haridatta, as quoted by Müller, Hist. of A. S. p. 101) is derived from *samaya (agreement)* and *áchára* (custom).......Rules founded upon *samaya* are called samayácháras, from which (is) the adjective *sámayachárika*......In our Sútra, *Dharma* means law."

tor.* The pronoun (of respect) is to be used when the wife of a Bráhman is addressed; while those of a Rájanya and Vaishya may be mentioned with their bare names.† The Bráhmachárí should not enter on the employment of the merchant, or shopkeeper. He should abstain from impure works, such as holding intercourse with Shúdras, forming connections with non-A'ryan women, eating forbidden flesh, drinking urine and fœces, touching the vessel rendered impure by the leavings of a Shúdra or of an A'rya.‡ The Bráhman who goes to a Kshatrya woman should give a thousand cows or bullocks for an atonement; to a Vaishya woman, a hundred; and to a Shúdra woman, ten. The offending woman is to be banished to the wilderness.§ The Bráhmá-chárí is not to carry arms; but if any person come upon him with intent to kill him, he may use a sword (or any other weapon) at hand.||

After marriage, when the Bráhman enters into the áshrama of a Householder, his first duty is performing the *sthálipáka*—the dressing rice for the homa, or domestic sacrifice, on the day previous to which he has to dine only once and to abstain from his couch, sleeping on the ground, and afterwards to conduct life in the most ceremonious manner. When he has erected an altar of clay and drawn upon it three lines from East to West and three from North to South, he has to sprinkle water upon it, and to throw away the remainder, partly to the North

* Hir. Sú xxvi. 1. (Prashna i. of Sam. Dh. Sút.)

† Ib. xxvi. 4.

‡ Ib. xxvi. 6.

§ क्षत्रियं गत्वा गवां सहस्रं वैरयातनार्थें दद्यात् शतं वैश्य दश शूद्र ऋषभ श्चात्राधिकः Ib.

|| Ib. xxvi. 7.

and partly to the East. Other rites are to be performed by him according to the principle, that great happiness is to be obtained by each Varṇa following its own established rites ;* while if the contrary is the case, misery will be the consequence, the *Bráhman* being born a Chánḍála, the *Rájanya* a Paulkasa, and the *Vaishya* a Véṇa. It is added, that the occurrence of *dosha* (or fault) follows the contact, and conversation with, or look at, a Chánḍála. The atonement for a Bráhman speaking with or touching such a low person is bathing, and for looking at him, the actual viewing of light (as of the sun). The A'ryas (the three higher Varṇas) have to make offerings to the Vishvédévas (all the gods); and the Shúdras have to do the same, day after day, making three sips. The hairs of the body (of three kinds) have to be shaved on the eighth and fifteenth days of the month, when water is to be touched. On the arrival of a learned Bráhman, he ought to be seated and fed ; while a Rájaṇya and Vaishya arriving should only be saluted. If a Shúdra come, he should be fed and set to household work, (the claim for his service being put in force).† The Bráhman, it is taught by tradition (*smartyé*), may read the Védas to Rájanyas and Vaishyas and even serve them when he is in circumstances of difficulty. In ordinary circumstances, he may occupy himself in all kinds of learning, as that of the Upaniṣhads, and interpretation of calamities. Learning and reciting (the Védas), sacrificing for himself and for others, receiving and giving gifts, are the (six) works of a *Bráhman*. These, with the exception of

* सर्वं वर्णानां स्वधर्मानुष्ठाने परमपरिमितं सुखं.

† Hir. Sú. (Sám.) xxvii. 1.

reciting the Védas, sacrificing for others, and receiving gifts, are the works of a *Kshatriya,* who has also those of waging war and ruling. The works of the *Vaishya,* with the exception of waging war and ruling, are those of the Kshatriya, with agriculture, keeping of cattle, and engaging in merchandise, added. It is enjoined that those who do not act according to the Institutes should be taken to the prince (rajánya), who should punish them according to the decision of learned Bráhmans, avoiding killing and enslaving *(dásya)* in the case of Bráhmans, though not in the case of the other Castes.* Eight kinds of marriage are sanctioned, as in the Law Books. The benefits of entering the four áshramas, of the Bramáchárí, Gṛihastha, Vánaprastha, and the Parivrája, and the conduct required in each of these orders, are mentioned much as in the Law Books. The Parivrája, in the most advanced áshrama, desiring liberation, should lose sight of the distinction between truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, beloved and unbeloved objects, and occupy himself in the desire to have spiritual knowledge and well-being. The Vánaprastha, going into the forests, should aim at the same objects. He should live on roots and fruits, and sleep on the grass. The party who does not desire to live habitually in this state may marry and discharge his household duties. He may still be esteemed a Vánaprastha if he live for a year gleaning in the fields, not using in this interval salt, honey, or flesh, or having more than two vessels, one for cooking and the other for eating.†

The work notices certain matters on the authority of

* Ib. xxvii. 9.

† Hir. Sám. Sú. xxvii. 15.

Ancient Shlokas, or Shlokas of the Puráṇas,* such as that there have been 88,000 descendants of the Ṛishis.

The duties of the prince are specified in the eighteenth section, much as in the Law Books. He ought to have at least two counsellors, pure and truthful, and acquainted with the duties of all classes. He ought to be regular in the discharge of his own duties, bearing arms, and having dancing, singing, and music in his own house. He should allow no fear of thieves to be in his country, town, or forest. By giving power *(kshatra)* and wealth to Bráhmans, he will be rewarded in the other world. He should not take the property of Bráhmans. The giving to them of large dakshiṇá is equivalent to sacrifice. He ought to appoint brave and good men for the protection of his

* The seventeenth *paṭala* of the twenty-seventh Prashna, commences with these words:— अथ पुराण श्लोका उदाहरंति. For पुराण, पुरांणे occurs in the index at the end. The Bhavishya Puráṇa is referred to as an authority in the same paṭala:—भविष्यत्पुराणे यापि प्रजापतेर्वचनं—In the Bhavishya Puráṇa, there is a saying of Prajapati, etc. Either this portion of the Sútras must be held to be an interpolation, or their modern origin must be admitted, notwithstanding the fact that they bear the name of Hiraṇyakéshí. In regard to the word *paṭala*, Dr. Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 524) thus writes:—"We find that several of the Sútras are divided into chapters called *paṭalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivisions of the Bráhmaṇas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane; it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with liber and βίβλος; and it would mean book, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees. If writing came in towards the latter half of the Sútra period, it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Bráhmaṇas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Bráhmaṇa literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only."

people, to keep a city free of the fear of thieves (*taskaras*) for the extent of a yojana, and a village for the extent of a krosha, and to call upon the people residing in these bounds to make-good the thefts which may occur in them. Taxes (*shulka*) should be raised as imposed, but not taken from parties learned in Védic works (*shrotriya*), females of any class, young people acquiring knowledge, devotees, Shúdras discharging their duties (they being the property of others?), the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the diseased, and beggars. The youth who without deliberate intention goes to the wife of another person or to a virgin, is to be punished. He who repeatedly does this has to have his member excised, or to be deprived of his property and banished. The A'rya having connection with a Shúdra woman is to be banished; a Shúdra having connection with an A'rya is to be killed. If a person goes to a woman of his own class being the wife of another, he shall have the fourth part of his tongue cut off for the first offence. If he repeat the offence, he shall have his whole tongue cut out. If a Shúdra reproach a dutiful A'rya, or put himself on equality with him on a road, on a couch, or on a seat, he is to be beaten with a stick. For murder, theft, seizing (another's) land, and going to the wife of another, a Shúdra is to be killed, and a Bráhman to have his eyes extracted.* All this elevates caste to its own summit, as in the Law Books.

* नाश्य भार्यः शूद्रायां वध्यः शूद्र आर्यायां दारं चास्य कर्षयेत् सवर्णाया-मन्यपूर्वायां सकृत्संनिपाते पादः पततो चतुर्थे सर्वजिव्हाच्छेदनं शूद्रस्यार्यं धार्मिकमाक्रोश-वतो वाचि पथि शय्यायामासनेच समीभवतो दंडताडनं पुरुषवधे स्तेये भूम्यादाने पर-दारानुप्रवेश इति स्वान्यादाप वध्यश्चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य· Hir. (Dh.) Sú. xxvii. 19.

The *A'pastamba Sámayáchárika Sútra* and *Dharma Sútra,* belong to the same Véda—the Black-Yajur, as those which we have now reviewed. They have been looked at by Dr. Müller, who thus writes of them. "A'pastamba, in his Sámayáchárika Sútras, declares distinctly that there are four Varṇas, the Bráhman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishaya, the Shúdra, but that the initiatory rites, the Upanayana in particular, are only intended for the three first classes. The same is implied, no doubt, in the other Sútras which give the rules as to the proper time when a young Bráhman, a young Kshatriya, or a young Vaishya should be apprenticed with their spiritual tutors, but never say at what age this or similar ceremonies should be performed for one not belonging to these three Varṇas. Yet they never exclude the Shúdra expressly, nor do they represent him as the born slave or client of the other castes. In the Dharma-sútras the social degradation of the Shúdra is as great as in the later Law Books, and the same crime, if committed by a Bráhman and a Shúdra, is visited with very different punishments. Thus if a member of the three Varṇas commits adultery with the wife of a Shúdra, he is to be banished ; if a Shúdra commits adultery with the wife of a member of the three Varṇas, he is to be executed. If a Shúdra abuses an honest member of the three Varṇas, his tongue is to be cut out. He is to be flogged for not keeping at a respectful distance. For murder, theft, and pillage the Shúdra is executed ; the Bráhman, if caught in the same offences, is only deprived of his eyesight. This is the same iniquitous law, which we find in the later Law Books. But although the distinction between the Shúdras and the other Varṇas is so

sharply drawn by A′pastamba, he admits that a Shúdra, if he obeys the law, may be born again as a Vaishya, the Vaishya as a Kshatriya, and the Kshatriya as a Bráhman; and that a Bráhman if he disregards the law, will be born again as a Kshatriya, the Kshatriya as a Vaishya, and the Vaishya as a Shúdra."* This passage contains evidence that the A′pastamba Sámayáchárika and Dharma Sútras of A′pastamba agree, in the matters mentioned, with those of Hiraṇyakéshí, to which we have above referred. They both exclude the Shúdra from the Upanayana and other rites to which the higher classes have access. Some of the other Sútras do the same thing, which is taught by implication, as noticed by Dr. Müller in all the Vedic Sútras.† The enslavement of the Shúdra, I rather think, is taken for granted by Hiraṇyakéshí, when he hints at the easy appropriation of him, in the terms we have above referred to.‡ The iniquitous degradation of the Shúdra,—corresponding with that of the Law Books,—is expressed in the same language both by Hiraṇyakéshí and A′pastamba. It is quite possible, however, from the reference made to the "Puráṇa Shlokas," which we have noticed in a portion of the Hiraṇyakéshí Sútras, that it is a posterior addition made to them, expressly to effect their agreement with the Law Books and other later authorities.§ A′pastamba's reference to a change of

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. p. 207.

† See reference to the Kátayána Shrauta-Sutras, p. 183, above.

‡ See p. 192.

§ Dr. Müller in a note thus draws attention to an instance of direct fraud in a matter of this kind in later times:—" Apast. i. 6. अशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपायनं वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेयं फलवंति च कर्माणि ॥ शुश्रूषा शूद्र-

places in future births,—the consequence of the full development of the doctrine of the metempsychosis—occurs, in the same words in Hiraṇyakéshí.*

In the *A'shvaláyana Shrauta Sútra*,† associated with the Ṛig-Véda, we have found no passages referring to Caste which are not anticipated by our extracts from the Bráhmaṇas, except in so far as the reputed *gotras*, (families) of the Bráhmans, and the progenitor Ṛishís recognized by them in the *pravara*, or initial invocation of the god Agni, with the names of ancient Ṛishis added, at the consecration of fire, are concerned. These *gotras* and *pravaras*, as found in this *Sútra* are tabulated by Dr. Müller.‡ We shall afterwards have to notice them

स्येतरेषां वर्णानां ॥ In later works, such as the Sanskára-gaṇapati this Sútra of A'pastamba, which excludes the Shúdras from initiation, has been so altered as to admit them. MS. E. I. H. 912, p. 16. अथ शूद्राणामुपनयनं । आपस्तंबः । शूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयनं । मद्यपानरहितानामिति कल्पतरुकारः" ॥—To effect this fraud (if a MS. of the Maháráshṭra was before its author), nothing more was necessary than to overlook the involved but unexpressed, short vowel (*a*) of the preceding word forming the negative. The passage in Hiraṇyakéshí stands thus:—चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य शूद्रास्तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयानशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयो वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेयं फलवंतिच कर्माणि. (xxvi. 1). All that was necessary for the fraud was to commence the quotation without picking up the negative *a* from *shréyana* preceding *shúdráṇám*. The Shúdra initiations, etc. effected by the fraud, notwithstanding, were not to be made by the Védic mantras (still confined to the higher Varṇas) but by what are called the Náma-mantras—mantras framed on the principle of the mere recognition of the names of the later gods.

* Hir. Sú. xxvii. 10.

† For the copy of these Sútras which we have used, we are indebted to Bhaṭṭambhaṭṭa Phaḍaké of Wái.

‡ Hist. of A. S. Lit. pp. 380-6.

in connexion with the still existing divisions in the Indian Bráhmanhood.

The *Gṛihya Sútra*,—or Sútra of Domestic Rites,—of A'shvaláyana, also furnishes us with little material connected with caste. The lowly Cháṇḍála is thus associated with other beings, in the distribution of rice at the Páka-yajna (the sacrifice of cooked meats*), resorted to on several domestic occasions:—"Let *anna* be thrown on the ground to dogs, Chaṇḍálas, demons, the fallen, and crows."† Of sacramental ceremonies to be used by the three Varṇas, up to the time of initiation, the following are mentioned on the authority of "Upanishads" not otherwise specified:—*Garbhálambhana, punsavana, anavalobhana,* which are to be performed in the third month of conception; *simantonnyana,* to be performed in the fourth month of conception; *játakarma,* to be performed at birth; *anna-práshana,* to be performed in the sixth month after birth; *chaula,* which ought to be performed in the third year after birth; and the *upanayana,*‡ to be performed in the eighth year after birth in the case of Bráhmans, in the eleventh in the case of Kshatriyas, and the twelfth in the case of Vaishyas, though they may be delayed for double these periods in the respective cases mentioned, at the expiry of which if they be not performed the parties will be reckoned apostates—*patita savitrika* (fallen from the savitrí or sacred gayatrí), and incapacitated for initiation, study, and social intercourse

* Dr. Müller (p. 203) takes *páka* in this word to signify *small* or *good*, as it sometimes does.

† श्व चांडाल भूत पतित वायसेभ्योऽन्नं भूमौ निक्षिपेत्. A'sh. Gṛihya Sú. i.

‡ For the meaning of these words, see before, pp. 60-1.

(*vyavaharéyuḥ*).* In connexion with the return of a youth to his family after the expiry of his pupilage, and the burnt-offering which is then to be made, Agni is to be addressed as having "the *Bráhman* for his mouth, the *Rájanya* for his arm, the *Vaishya* for his belly, and women for his ——."†

Allied in origin to the Sútra now referred to is the *Mánava Kalpa* (Ceremonial) *Sútra*, connected with the Black Yajur Véda, the first four books of which have been lately lithographed under the auspices of Dr. Goldstücker. In this curious and rare fragment we have found but little which bears on caste, while this little has, on other authorities, been mostly anticipated in the preceding pages. The leavings at the Homa, however, it tells us are to be ate and drunk by the Bráhman, and not by the Rájanya or Vaishya.‡ The second birth (*dvijatva*) is not to be reckoned as effected in the case of Shúdras, even when the Sanskáras of the Dvijas (the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya) are practised by them.§ Pious Rájanyas are recommended to have a continuous Agnihotra under the care of a Ritvija, for it is the Bráhman who has the (special) privilege of sacrifice. In connexion with this, the commentator (Kumárila) holds that no Bráhman engaged in the occupation of other castes should be employed in the Agnihotra (or other sacrificial rites), and quotes in support of this view a dictum (which also occurs in the

* Ash. Gr. Sú. i. 12-19. † Ib. iii. 8.

‡ Mánava Kalpa Sútra, fol. 55 (b). The transcript (nearly amounting to a fac-simile) was made by a Sanskrit student, Miss Amelia Rattenbury.

§ Mánava Kalpa Sútras, fol. 76 (6).

Manu Smṛiti) to the effect that "Bráhmans who take care of cattle, who trade, who practise mechanical and sportive arts, who are body-attendants, who are usurers, are to be treated as Shúdras."*

The Sútras very unequivocally bring us to the Law Books. The time of their respective authors, or rather collectors, we may afterwards notice.

Without enlarging at present on what has so evidently conducted us to what are, undoubtedly, the positive institutions of Caste, we would now make a brief recapitulation of this long section of our work, with a view to concentrating on the precise subject of our inquiries the scattered rays which it furnishes.

The ruling tribe of India for many ages past has been that of the A'ryas, whose language (the oldest specimens of which we have in the Védas, and which was ultimately called the Sanskrit), is admitted by all philologists to be cognate with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, Armenian, Persian, and other European and Asiatic languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family. It bears the closest analogy to the Zend, in which exist the ancient literary works of the followers of Zoroaster, or the Iranians, or Pársís. The *Iranians* derived their name from their supposed primitive seat as an organized community, *Airyana Vaējo* (the Aryan Vaéjo), on the slopes of the mountainous country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, the general name of the land over which they afterwards spread on their way to the south being *Airya*, the

* Mánava Kalpa Sútras, fol. 98 (b). The dictum quoted occurs in the Manu Smṛiti, viii. 102, where it is applied to the treatment of witnesses.

noun of the adjective *Airyana* now mentioned. The word *A'rya* in Sanskrit designates the people who had come from *Airya,* in the first instance, to the banks of the Indus, where, in consequence of social and religious changes, they became to a great extent separated from their congeners, who had failed to follow them to the limits of their wanderings. On the affluents and banks of the Indus, the A'ryas composed the hymns now found in the Védic collections, which are the only sources of our knowledge of their ancient state. The religious differences which occurred between them and the Iranians were of considerable magnitude; but nevertheless they left many traces, as we have seen, of a common faith and practice in the ages of antiquity. The A'ryas were in many respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization; but as they extended themselves in the land of the Indus and adjoining territories, and came in contact with other tribes who had preceded them in their immigrations into these regions of the earth, they manifested to them great pride of race and violence of religious antipathy and opposition, as is abundantly evident from numerous passages which we have produced from their ancient literary remains. This pride of race and violence of religious antipathy were the origin of the caste feeling everafterwards displayed by the A'ryas to the tribes whom they supposed to be inferior to themselves, and more especially to those who have not been able in whole or in part to resist their religious and civil dominion. So powerful were the effects of these evils that the A'ryas viewed the strange people, whose inheritances

they sought to possess, as scarcely human beings. Their very names they made the synonyms of fiends and devils.

But in connexion with Caste the community of the A'ryas themselves has to be looked at as well as their bearing to the tribes and races exterior to that community. Though religious and social distinctions were known among them from their entrance into India, Caste in the technical sense of the term did certainly not then exist among them. The *Brahmá* or *Bráhman* was at first merely the utterer or conductor of *brahma* or prayer; the *Rájanya*, the prince, and the *Kshatra*, or *Kshatriya*, were the possessors and dispensers of the *raj* or government, and *kshatra*, power or authority; and the *Visha*, *Viṭa*, or *Vaishya*, was an ordinary householder. Rank and profession were seen in these distinctions; but they were founded on fitness, conventional understanding, and arrangement; and not on an alleged diverse generation from the body or substance of deity. As far as any religious pre-eminence might be associated with them, they were not even hereditary. The Bráhmans asked no privileges on account of original status or dignity. As distinguished from other priests associated with themselves and belonging to the same class, they were only, on first obtaining distinction, conductors of the greater ceremonials, and the appointed *Purohitas*, or family-priests of kings and princes. The highest parties in a religious point of view in the A'ryan community were the Rishis, the poetical authors of their hymns; and these might belong either to kingly, priestly, common, or even Dásyu, families. Instances of their intermarriage in both kingly and priestly families are brought to notice. *Rájanyas* and

Vaishyas had the privilege of conducting sacrifice as well as *Bráhmans;* and no peculiar appropriation of duty to Vaishyas was for long made by religious legislation. The name *Shúdra* does not even occur in the early parts of the collection of the Védas. It belonged to a people first found (and enslaved) by the A'ryas on the banks of the Indus; and it was afterwards given to other bodies of men placed in a similar position with regard to the dominant tribe. The doctrine of Caste impurity and defilement is not found in the ancient Védic collections, though the Bráhmaṇas make allusions to sacramental defilement. The peculiar conception of the god Brahmá, in connexion with which the theory of Caste is associated, had been formed in the first of the Védic ages. The Hymn of the Primeval Male in which it is first found in an incipient form does not belong to the earlier portions of the Védas.

It is in the derivative Védas that the predominance of the Bráhman in sacrifice first begins authoritatively to appear. In these derivative Védas, too, various social distinctions and professional functions are first mentioned, though without any reference to an established religious foundation. Custom, it may be admitted, however, was at the time of the arrangement of these Védas preparing the way for the development of inter-A'ryan Caste. In one of the Khillas, or supplementary chapters, of the White Yajur Véda, that denominated the Purushamédha,—certainly not older than the period of the Bráhmaṇas,—numerous distinctive and curious classes in the Indian community are brought to notice. Many of these classes were afterwards recognized as forming discriminated castes; but a

reference to their specified associations and connexions shows that the Caste-system was not matured when the chapter of the Purushamédha was composed.

A great deterioration of the Indian mind, bearing on the development of Caste, appears in connexion with the *Atharva*, the latest of the Védic collections. The Indian people are obviously brought to notice in it as bound in the fetters of an established hierarchy and rampant superstition. The priest, particularly the priest of the Atharva class, is dominant in that work. In it, too, the Bráhman, or the *Purohita*, is not the minister, or substitute, but the lord of the prince; and peculiar privileges are consequently to be enjoyed by him.

In the *Bráhmaṇas*, or earliest Liturgical and Rubrical Directories and Compilations of the Legendry and Speculation of the Bráhmans,—the supposed age of which has just been mentioned,—the progress of the Bráhmans to power, and the gradual development of Caste in general, receives some valuable incidental illustrations. These compositions always treat of the Bráhmans as a pre-eminent class, ascribing their "beauty and wisdom" to the Gáyatrí verse; while they speak of the Kshatriya as obtaining "splendour and bravery" from the Trishṭub, and of the *Vaishya*, as getting cattle, from the Jagatí. A certain Ṛishi of the Védas, a *Dásyaputra* they tell us, enjoyed his status only by the special favour of the gods. The Bráhman, they say, stands in the relationship to others of Bṛihaspati, the Purohita of the gods. They encourage the maintenance of a hereditary priesthood, even by force. They relate long legends to enhance the virtue of the royal Vishvámitra, who had been raised to the Brahmanhood by his adoption of a Bráhman who

had narrowly escaped been sacrificed to the gods; and they degrade the memory of this Vishvámitra by making him the parent of certain aboriginal tribes. They throw distinctive light on the manner in which the Bráhmans practically obtained a monopoly in sacrifice. The Bráhmans, they tell us, acted in their own peculiar character and functions when they conducted sacrifices, while the Kshatriyas laid aside their peculiar character and functions when they sacrificed and performed a work beyond their general ability. They invent stories of excessive (almost incalculable) rewards having been given by princes to officiating priests. They put the Bráhman in the class of the gods, and the Shúdra in the class of the devils. Nay, they declare that the Bráhman is every divinity. In the lack of a goat for a sacrifice, the Homa, they declare, may be made at the right hand of a Bráhman. He is the Vaishvánara fire; if the Homa be made on the *Bráhman's* hand, it is as if made by Agni himself. The *Bráhman* is of the form of the day; the *Kshatriya*, of the form of the night. The *Shúdra* is only the watchman at the great horse-sacrifice. It is perhaps in connexion with his watching at sacrifice, or in his participation in the edibles or potables of sacrifice (also referred to in the Bráhmaṇas) that the Shúdra in a particular instance is invited to sacrifice.* The Bráhman they recommend to seek to be the personal representative at sacrifice of every Kshatriya. Defilement and impurity they first bring to notice; but this not in connexion with the persons of men in ordinary circumstances, as in the matured system of caste, but in connexion with sacramental services.

* See above, p. 163.

One of the legends of the Bráhmaṇas, agreeing in some respects with the Mosaic history of the Deluge, seems to indicate that the A'ryas had some tradition of their having passed some great mountainous range to the north on their coming to India. This agrees with the inferences noticed in the commencement of this section of our work. A party connected with Gandhára is represented in the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa as speaking in his proper character, and this as an A'ryan. Pentads and Heptads are mentioned in the same work, but these perhaps only in connexion with the peoples of the Panjáb and the contiguous country.

The old *Araṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, which are founded on Pantheism, or on Dualism, are philosophically speaking unfavourable to caste, inasmuch as they treat of all the varieties of men and animals as merely developments of *Brahma*, which they use in the new sense of the universal Self, Soul, or Spirit. They even ascribe the origin of the knowledge of Brahma (in a passage which we shall afterwards quote) to the Kshatriyas as distinguished from the Bráhmans.* Yet incidental references and legends in these works are sometimes not inconsistent with the claims of the Bráhmans for pre-eminence. Brahma, they say, is the birth-place of the Kshatra. God in the Bráhman is in his highest form. The doctrine of Brahma (or Soul) may be learned from a Kshatrya; but it goes against the grain for a Bráhman to approach a Kshatriya to learn this doctrine. Looking to the non-initiated world, these philosophical works recognize the Bráhmanical A'shrams, or Orders, as in the later Law Books. The founders of the Indian Schools, in general, accommo-

* Chhandogya Up. v. 3. 7.

dated themselves to the prevailing customs and superstitions of the country.

The *Vedic Sútras*, the period of which probably ranges from 600 to 200 before Christ, and which are intermediate between the Bráhmaṇas and the Law Books, show a marked growth in the development of caste. This remark is more applicable, however, to the *Shrauta Sútras* and *Sámayáchárika* or *Dharma Sútras*, than to the *Gṛihya Sútras* or Sútras of Domestic Services; but our references to them have been so recent that they need not be here recapitulated.

From what we have collected, translated, and said in this long section, it must be apparent that Caste, which was not an original institution of the A'ryas, arose from small and almost imperceptible beginnings, though in a way which at the same time is not unintelligible in the view of the admitted pravities of human nature. Our conclusions respecting it though founded on a personal and special examination of the Védic works to which we have referred (with the helps with which they are now associated), are wonderfully in accordance with those of the learned orientalists who have of late years given their attention to it in Europe, such as Lassen, Roth, Weber, Muir, and Max Müller. All these learned gentlemen have, at greater or less length, noticed the rise and advancement of the Bráhmanical power much in the way we have done in the preceding pages. Dr. Müller, for example, thus writes in his usual animated style, but with an acute recognition of facts and principles:—"The three occupations of the A'ryas in India were fighting, cultivating the soil, and worshipping the gods. Those who fought

the battles of the people would naturally acquire influence and rank, and their leaders appear in the Véda as Rajas or Kings. Those who did not share in the fighting would occupy a more humble position; they were called Vish, Vaishyas, or householders, and would no doubt have to contribute towards the maintenance of the armies." "But a third occupation, that of worshipping the gods, was evidently considered by the whole nation to be as important and as truly essential to the well-being of the country as fighting against enemies or cultivating the soil. However imperfect and absurd their notions of the Deity may seem to us, we must admit that no nation was ever so anxious to perform the service of their gods as the early Hindus. It is the gods who conquer the enemy, it is the gods who vouchsafe a rich harvest. Health and wealth, children, friends, flocks, and gold, all are the gifts of the gods. And these are not unmeaning phrases with those early poets." "Among a nation of this peculiar stamp the priests were certain to acquire great influence at a very early period, and, like all priests, they were as certain to use it for their own advantage, and to the ruin of all true religious feeling. It is the lifespring of all religion that man feels the immediate presence of God, and draws as near to God as a child to his father. But the priests maintained that no one should approach the gods without their intercession, and that no sacrifices should be offered without their advice. Most of the Indo-European nations have resisted these claims, but in India the priests were successful, and in the Véda, already, though only in some of the latest hymns, the position of the priest or the Purohita, is firmly esta-

blished." "These very hymns were the chief strength on which the priests relied, and they were handed down from father to son as the most valuable heirloom. A hymn by which the gods had been invoked at the beginning of a battle, and which had secured to the king a victory over his enemies, was considered an unfailing spell, and it became the sacred war-song of a whole tribe. But the priests only were allowed to chant these songs, they only were able to teach them, and they impressed the people with a belief that the slightest mistake in the words, or the pronunciation of the words, would rouse the anger of the gods. Thus they became the masters of all religious ceremonies, the teachers of the people, the ministers of kings. Their favour was courted, their anger dreaded, by a pious but credulous race. The priests never aspired [nominally] to Royal power. They left the insignia of royalty to the military caste. But woe to the warrior who would not submit to their spiritual guidance, or who would dare to perform his sacrifice without waiting for his Samuel! There were fierce and sanguinary struggles between the priests and the nobility before the King consented to bow before the Bráhman. In the Véda we still find Kings composing their own hymns to the gods, royal bards, Rájarṣhis, who united in their person the powers both of king and priest. The family of Vishvámitra has contributed its own collection of hymns to the Ṛig-Véda, but Vishvámitra himself was of royal descent, and if in later times he is represented as admitted to the Brahmanic family of the Bhṛigus—a family famous for its sanctity as well as its valour—this is but an excuse invented by the Bráhmans, in order to

explain what would otherwise have upset their old system. King Janaka of Vidéha is represented in some of the Bráhmaṇas as more learned than any of the Bráhmans at his Court. Yet, when instructed by Yájnavalkaya as to the real nature of the soul and its identity with Brahma, or the divine spirit, he exclaims, 'I will give thee, O Venerable, the kingdom of the Vidéhas, and my own self, to become thy slave.' As the influence of the Bráhmans extended they became more and more jealous of their privileges, and, while fixing their own privileges, they endeavoured at the same time to circumscribe the duties of the warriors and the householders. Those of the A′ryas who would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts, and they are chiefly known by the name of Vrátyas or tribes. They spoke the same language as the three A′ryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances if they wished to be readmitted into the A′ryan society. The aboriginal inhabitants again, who conformed to the Bráhmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted as a fourth caste, under the name of Shúdras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyus, whatever their language might be."* We clearly see the path over which the Bráhmans moved, though we cannot sympathize with either their aspirations or their success. Caste was a growth, pride being its seminal principle—the pride of race, and the pride of religious presumption and pre-eminence, issuing in arrogant monopoly.

* *Times*, 10th April, 1858.

VI.—Caste in the Indian Epics.

In looking for information as to the origin and early development of Caste, we have hitherto confined our attention to the Védic works, of different characters and ages, which, as far as that institution is concerned, have passed in review before us in the preceding section of our volume. We have next to seek for illustrations of its action in Indian society in the literature which may be considered, at least, in its original form, intermediate between these Védic works and the Hindu Law-Books, in which Caste is essentially bound up with Hinduism, and decreed, as far as priestly legislation can accomplish the matter, to last till the world, by its impairment and neglect, is ripe for destruction.* We now turn our attention to the *Epics*, which, when critically viewed, are really the best sources of information respecting the working of Caste influences and their extension and maintenance throughout India.

By the Indian Epics, we mean the *Rámáyaṇa* and the *Mahábhárata.* They are both designated *Kávya*, poetry properly so-called, and *itihása* or *ákhyána*, narrative or tale. They were first denominated Epics by Sir William Jones, whose conjectures, even respecting what was but imperfectly known in his day, were often of a happy character. "The appropriateness of the epithet," says Professor H. H. Wilson, "has been denied by some of those ultra-admirers of Virgil and Homer, who will allow the dignity of the Epos to be claimed by none but the objects of their idolatry: and, in the restricted sense in which a poem is entitled *Epic*, agreeable to the definition of

* See before, note, p. 72.

Aristotle, it may indeed be matter of question, if the term be strictly applicable to the Hindu Poems. Although, however, it might not be impossible to vindicate their pretensions to such a title, yet it is not worth while to defend them. It matters little what they are called; and they will not lose their value, as interesting narratives of important events, as storehouses of historical traditions and mythological legends, as records of the ancient social and political condition of India, and as pictures of natural manners, if, instead of *epic*, they be denominated *heroic* poems."* As they are now found, they are both, especially the Mahábhárata, deficient in unity, and have an immense number of anachronisms, episodes, digressions, discussions, interpolations, many of which are posterior to their original composition. We notice them in what we conceive to be the order of that composition.

1. The *Rámáyaṇa*, or Progress-of-Ráma, derives its name from Ráma, King of Ayodhyá, ("Oude"), the thirty-fourth in descent according to one of its recensions from the mythical personage Vaivasvata, or Manu, the son of the sun. Its great object is to celebrate, after a mythical or allegorical form, the advancement of the A'ryan power and rites among the uncivilized tribes of the south of India, the opposition to which is typified by a Rákshasa or giant named Rávana,† who is said to have carried off Sítá, the wife of Ráma, the daughter of Swadhaya, the representative of the line of Janaka of Vidéha, or Maithila.

* Introduction to Johnson's Selections from the Mahábhárata.

† "What this is to India," says Dr. Max Müller, "the war of Persia was to Greece; the victory of patriotic valour over brute force. The muses of Herodotus are the Rámáyaṇa of Hellas." Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 17. Yet, how vastly different their character!

This occurred when Ráma, banished by his father Dasharatha, was living as an ascetic in the forests, along with one of his brothers Lakshmaṇa. The action of the poem is primarily directed to the recovery and reinstatement of Sítá; and on the whole it is of a uniform casting. Ráma, with the assistance of Sugríva, Hanumán, and other monkey chiefs, (representatives of forest tribes,) invaded Lanká, the country of the ravisher, took his capital, killed Rávana in fight, established the brother of the offender (Vibhíshaṇa, the formidable) on the throne, and returned to Ayodhyá, where he reigned in succession to his father. The sphere of the poem, viewed in its essential range, as observed by Professor Lassen, "is geographically limited to the country north of the Vindhya [mountains]; in the south there is nothing but a wilderness of forests, with monkeys for inhabitants." Little notice is taken in it of any southern peoples, though there are allusions to them in Sugrívá's charge to the monkeys requiring them to search various localities for Sítá, as will afterwards appear; and the extension of its story to Lanká, or Ceylon, as thought by Lassen, is probably posterior to its original composition. It is attributed to Válmiki, a Bráhman, represented as the contemporary of Ráma; but certainly it was not composed in the days of that king, while large portions of it so speak of Válmiki as to show that he was not their author. The portions of it which allude to Ráma as an incarnation of a portion, or a portion-of-a-portion (*anshánsha*) of the god Viṣhṇu do not seem to belong to its original plan.* It was originally handed

* "In the Epic poems," says Lassen, "Ráma and Krishṇa certainly appear as incarnations of Viṣhṇu, but at the same time as human

down orally; and is said to have been sung at a great Ashvamédha, or royal horse-sacrifice by Kusha and Lava, the reputed [but disowned] sons of its hero, "their joint name (*Kushilava*"), as remarked by Lassen, "signifying a bard and at a later time an actor, as though the hero had through his seed given birth to a race of bards." A good portion of it, distinguished for the ease and naturalness of its language, may have been composed when the Sanskrit was a spoken language, which it ceased to be soon after

heroes; and these two representations are so little commingled that both of the two ordinarily display themselves only like other more highly-gifted men, act according to human motives, and do not by any means turn their divine superiority to account. It is only in single sections especially added to inculcate their divinity that they come forward as Vishnu. No one can read the two poems with attention without being reminded of the later addition of these deifying sections, of the awkward manner in which they are often introduced, of the looseness of their connexion, and of their superfluousness with reference to the progress of the narrative. Even as the Mahábhárata now stands Krishna is not the principal hero of the poem; this part is appropriated to the Pándavas. He certainly belonged to the original Pándava legend, but only as the hero of his tribe, and not as occupying a higher position than the Pándavas. His elevation above his fellow-heroes is due to later endeavours, but does not pervade the whole work, and it is only in a very few places that the later editors have ventured to call the Bhárata the holy book of Krishna." For Lassen on the Indian Epics, see his Indische Altherthumskunde, i. 479-499. Gorresio, in his preface to the fifth volume of his text of the Rámáyana, after quoting the passages in which Ráma is spoken of in that work as an Avatára of Vishnu, hesitates to pronounce on the question of their original connection, or not, with the poem. At p. xlviii, he says, "Resti dunque sospesa la sentenza: *sub judice lis.*" The passages quoted are but few in number, and the idea which they express is certainly not wrought into the body of the poem.

the time of Buddha. Its legends (as well as those of the Mahábhárata which is posterior to it) Professor Lassen justly holds, "were remolded in a way which tended to generalize them and obliterate the features of the more ancient times, and while the whole material was subjected to a priestly, religious influence." "The views of a later period," the same distinguished author adds, "penetrated the ancient legend; the doctrines of the three great gods [Brahma, Vishṇu, and Shiva] of the four castes and their position, and whatever other ideas were not a part of the Indian system, took possession also of the traditions of the earliest era. The priestly element of the history of the gods restricted the martial character of the heroic legend, and confined it to narrower limits. The battles in the Rámáyaṇa seek rather to excite our astonishment by supernatural personages and weapons, than to awaken our wonder by great natural human prowess." Pahlavas (the Pactyes of the Greeks), Shakas, Yavanas, (Iônes, or Greeks) are mentioned in it*; and in all probability, the Yavanas here referred to became known to the Indians posterior to the days of Alexander the Great. It is difficult, almost impossible in many instances, to distinguish between the more ancient and more modern portions of the work, between those which are prior and those which are posterior to the triumph of Buddhism. It exists, it may be proper here to add, in at least two recensions, the Northern recension and Gauḍ, or Bengal, recension, which, in some places, differ considerably in their wording, though little in their meaning. Sometimes we have had the one, and sometimes the other, in our hands, when making our extracts. In the portions

* Rám. i. 55.

of the Rámáyaṇa meritoriously published and translated by Drs. Marshman and Carey, there is a combination, or mixture, of the recensions. Schlegel attempted, in the portions which he edited and translated, to give the northern text in its purity. It is the Gauḍ recension which of late years has been very neatly and accurately edited, with an excellent Italian translation, by the Cave-liere Gaspare Gorresio. In the Sanskrit text of the work, it is said to consist of 24,000 verses.* One of my friends (the Rev. J. W. Gardner), who has kindly counted them for me, finds them to amount to 20,213.

It has evidently been an object with the authors of the Rámáyaṇa, to represent the Caste system,—especially as connected with the Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras,—as essentially formed in the days of Ráma the King of Ayodhyá, whose doings they celebrate in a mythical form. These castes are often mentioned together, throughout that poem, as forming the recognized divisions of Hindu society. In its introduction it is prophesied of Ráma, as the descendant of Raghu, one of his predecessors on the throne, that he should establish the four *Varṇas* in the world according to their respective duties.† Among the inhabitants of his capital were the excellent twice-born men maintaining the sacrificial fire, deeply read in the Véda and its six Angas,‡ distributors of thousands (of gifts), full

* Rám. i. at the end. † Rámáyana i. 199.

‡ The six Védángas, or "members-of-the-Véda." "This name," Dr. Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 109) correctly says, "does not imply the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with their [the Bráhmans'] sacred writings, but merely the admission of six

of truth, discipline, and mercy, like the ancient great Rishis, controllers of themselves.* Of its people in general it is said that no one of them was *anyáyavrittimán,* addicted to a calling not his own.† "The Kshatra, Brahma, and Viṭa were loyal to their sovereign; while there were no Sankaṛas (mixed classes) either by birth or by conduct."‡ "All the Varṇas kept by their proper work."§ To the horse-sacrifice of Dasharatha, the father of Ráma, performed for the sake of offspring, learned and devout Bráhmans were ordered to be summoned by Sumantra, his minister, who is said to have introduced Suyajna, Vámadéva, Jáváli, Kashyapa, the Purohita Vasiṣhṭha, and others, the poet by a gross anachronism going back to the times of the Védas || These Bráhmans began to conduct the sacrifice. Multitudes of their caste were present, who were furnished with abandance of food and drink. Pious persons of the four castes were ordered by Vasiṣhṭha to be invited, and also Janaka, king of Mithilá, the King of Káshí, the king

subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the reading, the understanding, or the proper sacrificial employment of the Véda." Dr. M. thinks they were originally "integral portions of the Bráhmaṇas, in the same manner as the [primitive] Purános and Itihásas," and not the "small and barren tracts now known by this name." (p. 110.). They are mentioned in the little Charaṇavyúha to which we must afterwards refer, as *shikshá* (pronunciation), *kalpa* (ceremonial), *vyakáraṇa* (grammar), *nirukta,* (explanation, of words), *chanda* (metre), and *jyotisha* (astronomy and astrology). All the Bráhmans consider them to have still these divisions.

* Rám. i. 5. 20. † Rám. i. 6. 6. ‡ Rám i. 6. 21.

§ सर्वे वर्णाः स्वकर्मभि : Rám. i. 16. (N. R.)

|| Rám. i. 11. 6-9. See also ii. 8.

of Kekayí, Lomapáda the king of Anga, the kings to the east of Sindhusauvíra and Suráṣhṭra, and the kings of the south, who must consequently be supposed to have been followers of the A'ryan faith.* Thousands of Bráhmans were feasted separately. The king, bent on increasing his family, presented on that occasion the east country to the Hotṛi, the west to the Adhvaryu, the south to the Bráhman, and the north to the Udgátṛi; but these classes of priests devoted to the study of the Véda, refused this offering, accepting, however, "a million of cows, a hundred millions of (pieces of) gold, and four times as many pieces of silver." In addition to this he gave ten millions (of the gold) of Jambunada to the Bráhmans in general.† A somewhat similar liberality was shown by him on the occasion of the marriage of his four sons, when he gave the Bráhmans four hundred thousand cows.‡ Of even this liberality, the rich Bráhmans are represented as scarcely standing in need. Vasiṣhṭha is made to decline for his cow Shabalá (which yielded according to desire) an offer from Vishvámitra of fourteen thousand elephants, with

* Some have supposed that the Suráshtra and Sauvíra here mentioned were contiguous countries; but this was not the case. Sítá in resisting the addresses of Rávana (Rám. iii. 53. 56) alludes to their distance from one another as an illustration of the distance between him and Ráma, her husband, in her estimation. Suráṣhṭra was in the peninsula of Káthiáwáḍ, and Sauvíra (or Sindhu-Sauvíra) a district on the Indus, far to the east. The Bráhmans of Sehwan (the Sindomana of Alexander's historians) identify their town with Sindhu-Sauvíra, but erroneously, as it is comparatively near Suráṣhṭra.

† Rám. i. 12. 12, et. seq. Compare both recensions.

‡ Rám. i. 74. 28-9.

golden appurtenances; eight hundred golden chariots, with four white horses for each; one thousand and ten horses of good birth by country and family, and ten millions of cows of various colours and hues.* This cow, Shabalá, the creation of the ingenuity of the Bráhmans, seems to have had great regard for the glory of Bráhmans, for she says to her owner: "A Kshatriya's power, it is said, is not so powerful as that of a Bráhman, which being the power of the Brahma is divine and greater than that of the Kshatra."† An extraordinary conflict is represented as having been maintained between Vishvámitra and Vashiṣhṭha, which ended in the former performing most extraordinary austerities to obtain the Brahmanhood which the earlier traditions of the Hindus represent him as having acquired.‡ Bhagíratha, the son of Dílipa, is exhibited as performing austerities for the descent of the Ganges, for a thousand years, surrounded in the hot season with five fires and in the cold lying in water, according to the ordinances (found in Manu).§ Allusions are made in it to the destruction in a former age of the Kshatriyas by Parashuráma, the son of Jamadagni, because of their opposition to the Bráhmans.‖ Dasharatha, on his sending his son Bharata to his grandfather, thus counsels him:—"Be thou modest and pious and humble, O my son; by every endeavour seek to please the Bráhmans devoted to the work of the Shruti and exerting themselves in service. Ask thou counsel of them; let

* Rám. i. 54. 19-22. † Ib. i. 55. 14.

‡ Rámáyaṇa i. 54-67. See on this Muir's Texts, i. 98-110.

§ Rám. i. 44. 9-12. See before, p. 34.

‖ Rám. i. 76. 21 et seq.

their counsel be received by thee as the elixir of immortality. They are the root of prosperity and glory. The Bráhmans, the utterers of the brahma, are necessary in every ceremonial institute. The gods, O son, O most wise, have, for maintaining the existence of men, assumed the abode of humanity becoming gods on earth, the twice-born. To them belong the Védas, the Dharmasháastra, the disciplinary Institutes, the Níti-shástra, and the science of Archery."* The Bráhmans are set forth as deeply lamenting for Ráma when ordered by his father to take up his abode in the wilderness; and when they followed him on foot, it is said, he would not ride.† Dasharatha, his father, who also accompanied him to Chitrakuṭa, is made to express to one of his wives his deep penitence for having killed a boy who appeared to be of the Bráhmanical race, and he was comforted by the youth saying, "I am not of the twice-born; throw aside the fear of (having committed) Brahmacide. I was produced by a Bráhman on a female Shúdra living in the wilderness."‡ The property, as well as the life of a Bráhman is represented as sacred, by Bharata, when he complains of Ráma having been sent by his father into the wilderness.§ Ráma's success in war is attributed more to the bows, arrows, scimitars, and other weapons which he received from the Rishis and other Bráhmans than to any portion of the divinity which he is represented as possessing.||

* Rám. i. 79, 16-20.

† Rám. ii. 43.

‡ Rám. ii. 66. 43.

§ Rám. ii. 74. 53.

|| Rám. i. 30, et in al. loc.

The honour of the Bráhmans is set forth as one of the grand duties of morality, which are thus spoken of:—

सत्यं च धर्मं च पराक्रमं च
भूतानुकम्पा प्रियवादिता च ।
द्विजातिदेवातिथिपूजनं च
पन्थानमाहुस्त्रिदिवस्य सन्तः

"The sages say that truth, and religion, and valor, and tenderness for living beings, and affectionate speech, and the service or worship of the twice-born, the gods, and guests, form the path which leads to heaven.*" Here the Bráhmans take precedence of the gods.

Little is found in the Rámáyaṇa about the distinctive position of the *Kshatriyas.* It must be remembered, however, that the grand object of the poem is the laudation of the princes of Ayodhyá in the use of their kshatra, or power. The Kshatriyas, it shows us, formed the leaders of armies. Bálí, or Váli a monkey prince, when expostulating with Ráma for wounding him with an arrow not in fair fight, says to him, "Composedness, liberality, self-confidence, forgiveness, truthfulness, boldness, steadiness, and the disposition to punish transgressors are the qualities of the Kshatra." The same quadrumanous

* Rám. ii. 118, 32. The moral teachings of this chapter are much superior to those of the professed law-books. The following lines (verses 13-14) are excellent:—

धर्मः सत्यपरो लोके मूलं धर्मस्य सत्यता ॥
सत्यमेवेश्वरो लोके सत्ये श्रीर्नियतं स्थिता ।
सर्वं सत्यप्रतिष्ठानं तस्मात् सत्यपरो भवेत् ॥

Truth is the foundation of piety in the world; the root of religion is truth;
Truth is the supreme principle in the world; on truth prosperity rests.
Truth is the most excellent of all things; wherefore let truth be glorious.

teacher gives him the following instruction agreeable to the Law Books:—"The destroyer of kings, of Bráhmans, and of cows, the thief, the life-taker, the atheist, and the younger brother who marries before the elder, go to hell. My skin is not fit to be worn by saints. What will you do with my bones! My flesh is not to be ate by a Brahmáchárí like thyself. O descendant of Raghu, there are five classes (of animals) with five nails which are not to be ate by Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. The hare, porcupine, guana, crocodile, and tortoise are these five. These other five have been mentioned (by law) to me as inedible—the jackal, crocodile, monkey, kinnara, and man.* Munis do not touch either my skin or bones. My flesh is not to be ate by saints; I am of the five-nailed."† Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Ráma, when instructing Sugríva, the brother and successor of Báli, seems to have made a return for this information; for he repeats this Shloka on the authority of Brahmá:—"For the slayer of a Bráhman, for the drinker of intoxicants, for the thief, and for the breaker of vows an atonement *(nishkṛiti‡)* is prescribed; but for ingratitude there is no atonement."§

Though the authors of the Rámáyaṇa speak of the *Vaishyas* and *Shúdras* as having their respective functions

* The word for man here is *nara*, coupled with *vánara* (monkey),—the man-of-the woods,—according to the native etymologists.

† Rám. iv. 16. 22, 30-34.

‡ Literally "a-doing-away." The word is used in Maráṭhí as well as in Sanskrit, and is often nearer the idea of "atonement" than *práyaschitta*, the meaning of which frequently is "penance," or "penitence."

§ ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च चौरे भग्नव्रते तथा निष्कृतिर्विहिता राजन् कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः Rám. iv. 34. 18.

(*svakarma*), they did not, it appears to me, seek to recognize any such subordination of castes and ranks founded on diversities of occupation as has been exhibited in later times. In the ninetieth chapter of the Ayodhyá-Káṇda, the inhabitants of the city of Ayodhyá are represented as going out with Bharata in the following order,—to seek Ráma that he might occupy the throne after his father Dasharatha's death. I give their designations in the singular, for the sake of convenience, though the plural is used by the poet.

1 *Maṇikára*, ... Jeweller.
2 *Kumbhakára*, ... Potter.
3 *Yantrakarmakṛit*, Mechanician.
4 *Astropajívi*, ... Man-of-arms.
5 *Mayúrika*, ... Peacock-keeper.
6 *Taittirika*, ... Partridge-keeper.
7 *Chhédaka*, ... Borer (as of pearls, wood, etc.)
8 *Bhédaka*. ... Splitter.
9 *Dantakára*, ... Ivory-worker.*
10 *Sudhakára*, ... Dealer-in-nectar.
11 *Gandhopajívi*, ... Perfumer.
12 *Svarnakára*, ... Goldsmith.
13 *Kanakadháraka*, Metallic-burnisher.
14 *Snápaka*, ... Bather.
15 *Chhádaka*, ... Dresser.
16 *Vaidya*, ... Physician.
17 *Shaundika*. ... Distiller.
18 *Dhúpika*, ... Incense-dealer.
19 *Rajaka*, ... Washerman.
20 *Tantraváya*, ... Weaver.
21 *Rangopajívi*, ... Actor.
22 *Abhiṣhṭavaka*, ... Encomiast.
23 *Súta*, ... Súta.
24 *Mághada*, ... Mághada.
25 *Bandi*,† ... Panegyrist.
26 *Varaṭa*, ... Varaṭa.‡
27 *Vaittrakára*, ... Worker-in-withes.
28 *Gándhika*, ... Compounder-of-perfumes.
29 *Pánika*, ... Dealer-in-drinks.
30 *Právárika*, ... Garment-maker.
31 *Sutrakára*, ... Carpenter.§
32 *Shilpopajívi* ... Artisan.
33 *Hiraṇyakára*, ... Worker-in-gold.
34 *Vṛiddhyupajívi*, Usurer.
35 *Prábálika*, ... Worker-in-coral.
36 *Shaukarika*, ... Pork-dealer.
37 *Matsyopajívi*, ... Fishmonger.
38 *Múlaváp*a, ... Planter.
39 *Kánsyakára*, ... Brazier.
40 *Chitrakára*, ... Painter.
41 *Dhányavikráyaka* Grain-dealer.
42 *Panyavikrayí* ... Huckster.
43 *Phalopajívi*, ... Fruit-seller.
44 *Pushpopajívi*, ... Flower-seller.
45 *Lépakára*, ... Plasterer.
46 *Sthapataya*, ... Architect.
47 *Takshána*, ... Carpenter.
48 *Kárayantrika*, ... Instrument-maker.

* Literally, toothworker.

† Probably the equivalent of Bandijan,

‡ The occupation of the Varata (man of a particular race) is unknown.

§ Binding by cords, instead of nails, seems, judging from the etymology of his name, to have been originally his wont.

No.	Name	Occupation
49	*Nivápaka,* ...	Seedsman.
50	*Ishtakákáraka,...*	Brickmaker.
51	*Dadhimodakára,*	Cheesemaker.
52	*Málákára,* ...	Gardener.
53	*Changérika-vikrayi,*	Seller-of-wood-sorrel.*
54	*Mánsopajívi,* ...	Flesher.
55	*Paṭṭikávápaka,*	Planter-of-the Lodh-tree.†
56	*Chúrṇopajívi,* ...	Seller-of-powders.
57	*Kárpásika,* ...	Cotton-dealer (or teazer).
58	*Dhanushkára,* ...	Maker-of-bows.
59	*Sútravikrayi,* ...	Thread-seller.
60	*Shastrakarmakṛit,*	Armourer.
61	*Káṇḍakára,* ...	Betelnut-seller.
62	*Tambulika.* ...	Leaf-seller.
63	*Chitrambhajantí,*	Draftsman.
64	*Charmakára,* ...	Currier.
65	*Lohokára,* ...	Blacksmith.
66	*Shalákáshalayakartá,*	Maker-of-darts and javelins.
67	*Vishagháta,* ...	Destroyer-of-poisons.
68	*Bhútagrahavidhijna,*	Exorcist.
69	*Bálanámchikitsak,*	Physician-for-children.
70	*Arakúṭakṛita,* ...	Brass-founder.
71	*Tamṛikuta[kṛat],*	Copper-founder.
72	*Svastikára,* ...	Maker-of-figures (on floors, etc).
73	*Keshakára,* ...	Hairdresser.
74	*Bhaktopasúdhaka,*	Boiler (Cook).
75	*Brishtakára,* ...	Frier (Cook).
76	*Shaktukára,* ...	Baker.
77	*Shádvika,* ...	Confectioner.
78	*Khandakára,* ...	Dealer-in-candied-sugar.
79	*Vánijaka,* ...	Merchant.
80	*Káchakára,* ...	Cutter-of-crystal, or glassmaker.
81	*Chatrákára,* ...	Umbrella-maker.
82	*Vedhakashodhaka,*	Refiner.
83	*Khanḍasansthápaka,*	Maker-of-inlaid-work.
84	*Támropajívi,* ...	Coppersmith.
85	*Shreṇímahattara,*	Chief-of-a-guild.
86	*Grámaghoshamahattara,*	Chief-of-the-town-herds.
87	*Shailusha,* ...	Player (or Tumbler).
88	*Dyutavaitansika,*	Dice-player.

"Followers of each occupation," it is added, "and all other dealers, in the city crowded together, except those who were sick, old, and young. Bráhmans, who were pure, versed in the Védas, and distinguished, thousands in number, came along behind Bharata, who proceeded with his luggage loaded on bullocks."‡ To these Bráhmans he had given abundant largesses on the occasion of his having performed the first funeral obsequies *(shráddha)* of his

* Probably for rinsing the teeth. † For what use?

‡ Rám. ii. 90. In the northern recension (Bombay edition, ii. 83, fol. 161), the classes enumerated are much fewer than those in this list.

father. Vasishtha advised him to occupy the throne, promising that the people of the north, west, and south, the Kéralas (the people of the Konkan and Malabar), the Dandadharas, and the dwellers on the coast of the ocean, would bring him gems (in token of subjection.)*

In the list above-quoted there can be nothing more than an attempt to represent the occupations of the times of Ráma, to which the poem is posterior. Whether or not it belonged to the poem in its original form, it is impossible to say. It shows an advanced state of society, as far as diversities of occupation are concerned. What is most worthy of notice in it is, that the professionists which it enumerates are mentioned seemingly without any reference to the rank usually recognized in caste arrangements. Many of them, it is obvious, must have belonged to the A'ryan race.

The Rámáyana mentions some of the aboriginal tribes of India with greater respect than that accorded to them in Manu. Ráma in an early stage of his wanderings near the Ganges met "the virtuous Guha, the beloved chief of the Nishádas."† The occurrence of the Nishádas at this place seems to indicate that the progress of the A'ryan race in the eastern country was still but limited.‡ The forest tribes represented by Hanumán, Sugríva, etc. were his great auxiliaries in his alleged journey to Lanká. The *Palhavas, Shakas* (Sacœ, Scythians), *Yavanas* (Iônes or Greeks) *Kambojas, Varvaras* (Barbaroi), *Haritas, Kirá-*

* Rám. ii. 88. 7.

† गुहमासाद्य धर्मात्मा निषादाधिपतिं प्रियं. Rám. i. 1. 29. Bombay ed. et in al. loc.

‡ For Ráma's intercourse with Guha, see Rám. ii. 52. Gor.

tas, and *Mléchchas* are spoken of as most valiant, though most impure, peoples, in the narrative of the contests between Vashishtha and Vishvámitra in the first book. The *Chándálas* (the Gondaloi of Ptolemy*) are more than once mentioned as conveying defilement to those coming in contact with them. The sons, or disciples of Vasishtha, are represented as asking, in opposition to Vishvámitra, originally a Kshatriya, how the gods can eat the sacrifice when it is offered by a Kshatriya officiating as a priest (*yajaka*) for a Chándála, and how Bráhmans after eating the food of a Chándála can go to heaven purified by Vishvámitra.† Yet Ráma is said to have called the chief of the twice-born (the Bráhmans) to kindle the fire of the Homa, to repeat mantras, to scatter the Kusha grass, and to offer clarified butter to the fire, on the occasion of the instalment on the throne of the monkey Bálí, who did not recover from the wound of his arrow.‡

The most extensive allusions to the provinces, tribes, and nations of India which the Rámáyaṇa contains are made in the orders issued by Sugríva to his monkey-hosts to search for Sítá after her abstraction by Rávana. Connected with the East, mention is made (in addition to that of mythical beings) of the Shakas, Pulindas, and Kalingas; of the Sumbhas, Vidéhas, Káshikoshalas, Mágadhas, Daṇḍakulas, Vangas, and Angas; and of the Kirátas, the black-mouthed Párakas and Karbukas. Connected with the South, are noticed the Mékalas, Utkalas, Chédas, Dasháṛṇas,

* Ptol. Geo. vii.

† Rám. 59. 11-15. See on this Muir's Texts, i. p. 102.

‡ Rám. iv. 25. 27-28.

Kukuras, Antarvédas; the Bhojas, Páṇḍyas, the Vidarbhas, Ṛishikas, Ashmakas, Pulindas, and Kalingas; the Auṇḍras (Andhras ?), the Draviḍas, Pundras, Cholas, and Kéralas. Connected with the West reference is made to the Suraṣhṭras, Válhikas, Bhadras, and Abhíras; the Suvíras, Anhas, and Kolúkas; the Kaikéyas, Sindhusauvíras; Anarttas; the inhabitants of Maru* and Anumaru, the Shurábhíras; the Pahlavas, and the inhabitants of the Panchanada, Kashmir, the city of Takshashíla, Shaláká, and the Shálvas. Connected with the North, are mentioned the Matsyas, Pulindas, Shúrasénas, the Pracharas, the Bhadrakas, the Kurus and Madrakas, the Gándháras, the Yavanas, Shakas, Odras, Paradas, Válhikas, Pauravas, Kinkaras, Chínas, and Aparchínas, the Tukháras, Varvaras (or Barbaras), Kámbojas, and Daradas, the Kirátas, Tankaṇas, Bhadras, and Pashupálas, and the Uttara Kurus.† The portion of the poem in which these names occur is probably one of its later sections.

Ráma on recovering his wife, and abandoning her from suspicion after she had passed through the ordeal of fire, and being inaugurated, is made to give to the Bráhmans "thousands of thousands of cows, hundreds of hundreds of bulls, 30,000,000 goldings, conveyances, food, clothes, beds and couches, and very many villages."‡

The Rámáyaṇa, so interesting in a literary point of view, ends with the glorification of the Bráhmans, whose exaltation was ever in the view of its authors.

* Also given as Marabhumi. † Rám. iv. 40. 41. 43. 44.

‡ Ram. vi. 112. 84-6.

2. The *Mahábhárata,* to which we now proceed, is a work of great size. It is generally spoken of as containing 100,000 stanzas; but this was certainly not its original bulk. The first printed edition [published at Calcutta], writes Professor H. H. Wilson, "contains 107,389 shlokas; but this comprizes the supplement called Harivansha, the stanzas of which are 16,374, and which is certainly not a part of the original Mahábhárata."* In its first chapter it is represented as repeated by the Sauti (or Suta) Ugrashava, the son of Lomaharṣhaṇa, to the Riṣhis of the Naimiṣha forest. It is attributed to Kṛishṇa Dvaipáyana, or Vyása ("the extender"), who is said to have comprehended it, in its first edition, in 24,000, stanzas, but without the Upákhyánas ("inferior narratives") devoted to the gods, pitṛis (ancestorial manes), Gandharvas, and men, which when added raised it to 100,000.† It is said to have been communicated by Nárada to the Gods; by Dévala to the Pitṛis; by Shuka, to the Gandharvas, and by Vaishampáyana, (who heard it from his master at a sacrifice of king Janaméjaya, the disciple of Vyása,) to Men. It is said of it that some Bráhmans commence it with the word *Manu;* some, with *ástíka;* and some with *uparichara,*‡ In all probability the editions of it have been numerous, episodes and interpolations having been added to it at various times, by Brahmanical agreement. Its name, according to some, means, "of-great-weight"; and according to others, who are probably right in their opinion, "what-pertains-to-the-great-(king)-Bharata." Vyása, to

* Introduction to Johnson's Selections from the Mahábhárata.

† Mahábh. i. 1. 101 (p. 4). ‡ Mahábh. i. 1. 52 (p. 3).

whom its original authorship is assigned, is said to have been the half-brother of Vichitravírya (of the Lunar Race of kings) by whose widowed wives (Ambá and Ambáliká) he had as sons Paṇḍu and Dhṛitaráṣhṭra.* Paṇḍu had five sons, called the Páṇḍavas—Yuddhiṣhṭhira, Bhíma, and Arjuna by his wife Pṛithá; and Nakula and Sahadeva by his wife Mádrí. Dhriṭaraṣhṭra had the parentage of a hundred sons ascribed to him, collectively called the Kauravas as descended from king Kuru, of whom Duryodhana the oldest was the most distinguished. The subject of the poem of the Mahábhárata is a war for sovereignty,—the possession of the throne of Hastinápura,—between the Páṇḍavas and Kauravas, now mentioned.

The story of the "Mahábhárata is divided into eighteen Parvas, or "Segments,"—the A'di, Sabhá, Vana, Viráta, Udyoga, Bhíṣhma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Shalya, Sauptika, Strí, Shánti, Anushásbana, Ashvamédha, A'shramvásika, Mausala, Maháprastháná, and Svargarohaṇa,—to the general contents of which it is proper for us to allude, for the sake of marking the position of the information which they afford on the subject of caste.

(1.) The *A'di* Parva (or Parvva), the Introductory Section, notices the general circumstances of the parties with whom the Great War originated. Paṇḍu, "the Pale," was, on account of his pallor (perhaps intimating as supposed by Professor H. H. Wilson a leprous taint)

* Kriṣhna Dvaipáyana is said to have been the son of the Sage Paráshara by Satyavatí before her marriage to Shantanu, the king of Hastinápura. Vichitravírya, the successor of Shantanu, dying without offspring, Vyása, according to the custom of the times, raised up by his widows heirs to the throne.

held incapable of succession to the throne. He consequently retired to the Himálaya mountains, where his sons were born to him or (according to the legends) produced through his wives by various of the gods. On his death they were introduced, at Hastinápura, to their uncle Dhṛitarashṭra, who, on being ultimately satisfied about their origin, took them under his care, and educated them with his own sons, who treated them with jealousy and dislike, setting fire on one occasion to the house in which they resided with their mother Pṛithá. The Páṇḍavas, warned by this opposition, secreted themselves in the forests, and disguised themselves as Bráhmans. It was only when they heard of the *svayamvara*, (or the choice of a husband after public trial of capacity and prowess) of Draupadí, the daughter of Drupada, king of Pánchála, in which they were successful, that they were again revealed in their own character.* It is curious to observe the alleged polyandrism of their common wife, which is in accordance with customs still existing in Malabar and Travankur, the South-west of India.

(2.) In the *Sabhá*, or Court, Parva, various movements at Hastinápura are recorded. Dhṛitaráshṭra, hearing of the success of the Páṇḍavas sent for them, and divided the sovereignty between them and his sons, Yudhishṭhira and his brethren reigning at Indraprastha, and Dur-

* For a spirited poetical translation of the Passage of Arms, by Prof. H. H. Wilson, see Quart. Or. Mag. March 1825. The passage of Arms was at Pánchála, and not at Hastinápur as mentioned in the title of this translation.

yodhana and his brethren reigning at Hastinápura, at no great distance from one another. Jealousies and strifes were the consequence of this arrangement. Yudhiṣhṭhira, aided by his brothers, brought many of the inferior princes of India under his sway. He then engaged in celebrating the ceremonial of the Rájasúya,—in establishment of his pre-eminence,—at which these princes did him obeisance. The sons of Dhṛitaráṣhṭra, disliking his honours, but feigning a wish to promote the amusement going on, challenged him to a game, resembling backgammon, at which he lost to Duryodhana his all—including his kingdom, wife, brothers, and himself. These were again restored to him on the intercession of Dhṛitaráṣhṭra; but, on a second adventure, he incurred the penalty of passing, with his brothers and their common wife Draupadí, twelve years in the forests and an additional year in absolute obscurity, with liability to renewal of the whole period in case of their discovery in this interval.

(3.) In the *Vana*, or Forest, Parva, we have an account of the incidents which befell the Páṇḍavas in their banishment.

(4.) The *Viráta* Parva brings to notice the intercommunion of the Páṇḍavas with Viráta, king of Matsyadésha, to whom they revealed themselves after the completion of the period of their exile, and whose assistance they secured to avenge their wrongs.

(5.) The *Udyoga* Parva, or Chapter of Endeavour, relates the preparations made by both sides for the terrible war which was to follow. The assistance of king Kriṣhṇa, said to be an Avatára or Incarnation of Viṣhnu, was soli-

cited by both parties, to whom he was related in blood. He gave Duryodhana the choice either of his own personal assistance, or of that of his army. His military force was preferred. In consequence of this he was left free to give himself to the Páṇḍavas, to whose cause, as the story goes, and as the charioteer of Arjuna, he gave invaluable assistance, although he afterwards had his own difficulties in battle with Jarásandha and other foes.

(6.) The *Bhíṣhma* Parva derives its name from Bhíshma, the son of Shantanu by Gangá, or the Ganges. He was the paternal uncle of Dhṛitaráṣhṭra, owing to whose blindness he acted as regent while his grand-nephews were under age. Though he did not approve of the conduct of Duryodhana to his cousins, he espoused the cause of the Kauravas. In the first series of battles, to which the sixth parva is mainly devoted, he commanded the forces of Duryodhana. He was wounded in fight. Of the battles which took place under him and the generals by whom he was succeeded, it is correctly said, "Some of these are very Homeric; but, in general, the interest of the narrative is injured by repetition, and the battles are spoiled by the introduction of supernatural weapons, which leaves little credit to the hero who vanquishes by their employment."*

7. The *Droṇa* Parva is named from Droṇa, the military preceptor of both the Kauravas and Páṇḍavas, who succeeded Bhíṣhma as commander of the forces of the Kauravas, and proved a most competent warrior.

* Prof. H. H. Wilson's Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahábhárata.

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8. The *Karṇa* Parva makes us acquainted with the generalship, on the same side, of Karṇa, said to be the son of A'ditya, the Sun, and of Pṛithá, before her marriage to Pandu. It was the jealousy of his brethren, who viewed him as a bastard, which is assigned as the reason of his espousing the cause of their adversaries. He is represented as the king of Anga.

9. The *Shalya* Parva gets its name from Shalya, king of Madra, the successor of Karṇa. It was when he was leader that Duryodhana was killed by Bhíma in a duel fought with Gadás, or maces of a formidable character.

10. The *Sauptika* Parva, or Section-of-Sleep, is named from a nocturnal attack made on the Páṇḍavas, in the repulsion of which they owed much to Kṛishṇa, their ally.

11. The *Strí*, or Female, Parva is named from the lamentation of the females over the slain on both sides. It also represents the leaders of the war as nearly overwhelmed with grief. It contains some passages characterized by affection and tenderness.

12. The *Shánti* Parva is the section of Consolation, following this grief. A great deal of the Hindu teaching respecting the duties of kings and the means of liberation from future births, put into the mouth of Bhíshma, has found in it a place. It has evidently received many interpolations.

(13.) The *Anushásana* Parva, or Section of Law, treats of general duties, the speaker also being Bhíshma, about to die, and the principal listener being Yudhishṭhira. Its didactic portions are enlivened by tales and fables, according to Indian custom.

(14.) The *Ashvamédha,* or Horse-sacrifice, Parva, gives us an account of the great ceremonial of Yudhiṣhṭhira, on his attaining to acknowledged sovereignty.

(15.) The *A'shramavásika* Parva, or Section-of-the-Refuge, shows us Dhṛitaráṣhṭra, his wife Gaṇdhári (the daughter of the king of Gandhára), and their companions retiring to a hermitage and there dying.

16. The *Mausala* Parva, or Section-of-the-Club, narrates the destruction of the race of Yadu of the Lunar line, including that of Kṛiṣhṇa, one of its members, which was followed by the submergence of Dváriká, his ultimate capital.

The denomination and contents of the two remaining books, we mention in the words of Professor H. H. Wilson :—

17. "The seventeenth Book called the *Mahápraspthánika* or Great-Journey, witnesses the abdication of his hardly won throne, by Yudhiṣhṭhira, and the departure of himself, his brothers, and Draupadí to the Himálaya, on their way to the holy mount Méru. As they proceed, the influence of former evil deeds proves fatal, and each in succession drops dead by the way side, until Yudhiṣhṭhira, and a dog that followed them from Hastinápura, are the only survivors. Indra comes to convey the prince to Svarga, or Indra's heaven ; but Yudhiṣhṭhira refuses to go thither, unless

> Admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company,

and Indra is obliged to comply.

18. " The eighteenth Book, the *Svargarohana* [the Departure-to-Heaven] introduces Yudhiṣhṭhira in his bodily

form to heaven. To his great dismay he finds there Duryodhana and the other sons of Dhṛitaráṣhṭra; but sees none of his own friends, his brothers, or Draupadí. He demands to know where they are, and refuses to stay in Svarga without them. A messenger of the gods is sent to show him where his friends are, and leads him to the 'fauces graveolentis Averni,' where he encounters all sorts of disgusting and terrific objects. His first impression is to turn back; but he is arrested by the wailings of well-remembered voices, imploring him to remain, as his presence has already alleviated their tortures. He overcomes his repugnance, and resolves to share the fate of his friends in health, rather than abide with their enemy in heaven. This is his crowning trial. The gods come, and applaud his disinterested virtue. All the horrors that had formerly beset his path, vanish; and his friends and kindred are raised along with him to Svarga; where they become again the celestial personages that they originally were, and which they had ceased to be for a season, in order to descend along with Kṛiṣhṇa in human forms amongst mankind and co-operate with him in relieving the world from the tyranny of those evil beings, who were oppressing the virtuous and propagating impiety, in the characters of Duryodhana, his brothers, and their allies."*

On the Harivansha, which is a supplement to the Mahabhárata, we do not at present say anything.

In examining the Mahábhárata in connexion with the subject of our inquiry, we find a very decided social and poetical exaltation of caste; some historical traces of the manner in which it acquired its ultimate establishment;

* Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahábhárata.

and some curious theoretical speculations as to its origin. It is convenient to refer to it in the order of its books now mentioned.

(1.) In the first section we have an account of a struggle of the Bráhmans with the Kshatriyas which, though of a wild character, may be noticed as illustrative of the enmity which their mutual contests for supremacy during the rise of the caste system must often have generated. I insert the accurate abstract of it given by Mr. Muir:—"There was a king named Kriṭavírya, by whose liberality the Bhṛigus, learned in the Védas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money. After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhṛigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Bráhmans, being afraid of the Kshatriyas, while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshatriya, while digging the ground, discovered the money concealed in the house of a Bhṛigu. The Kshatriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and slew, in consequence, all the Bhṛigus, down to the children in the womb. The widows, however, fled to the Himálaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshatriyas, hearing of its existence, sought to kill it; but it issued forth with a lustre which blinded the persecutors. They, now humbled, supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva (into whom the whole Véda, with its six Vedángas,* had entered),

* See, above, p. 216.

as the person who had robbed them of their sight, (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives), and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhṛigus ; but his progenitors (pitṛis) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshatriyas ; 'whose violence the devout Bhṛigus had not overlooked from weakness, but had rather sought to provoke, by concealing their money, (for which, in view of heaven, they cared nothing,) in order, when weary of life, to bring about their own destruction by the hands of those irritated warriors, that so they might be exalted the sooner to paradise.' 'Destroy not the Kshatriyas, O son,' they concluded, 'nor the seven worlds; abandon your kindled wrath, which nullifies the power of austerity...Aurva, however, argued against this clemency on grounds of justice and policy; and urged that his wrath, if it found no other vent, would consume himself. He was, however, at length persuaded by the pitṛis to throw it into the sea, where it found exercise in assailing the watery element :—"Having become the great Hayashiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Véda, which vomits forth that fire, and drinks up the waters."* This legendry, the object of which is apparent, appears in various other forms in the Mahábhárata and other works. The phosphorescence of the sea, seen when ships move along, is pointed to, even in the present day, as the flashings of the Aurvágni, or submarine fire of Aurva.

* Mahábhárata, i. v. 6802, et seq. Muir's Texts, i. pp. 152.

The celebration of the glory (mahátmya) of Brahmans is said to be one of the objects of the Mahábhárata itself.* Desiring the favour of Brahma and the Bráhmans, it is said Vyása formed the divisions of the Védas, wherefore he is called Vyása, the Divider.†

Without reference to the alleged origin of the castes from the bodily members of the divinity, it is said, that "the known mental sons of Brahma are the six Maharṣhis, Maríchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu "‡ From these Maharṣhis, according to the context, all created beings have sprung.

Concerning the eight kinds of marriage prescribed in the Smṛiti—the Bráhma, Daiva, A'rsḥa, Prájápatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rákshasa, and Paisácha, it is said that the first four of them become the Bráhman; the first six, the Kshatriya; the Rákshasa, a king; and the Paisácha, the Viṭas and Shúdras.§

The "Brahman," it is said, "is the chief of bipeds, the cow is the highest of quadrupeds; the guru is the chief of those that are venerable; and a son is the chief of those that are delectable."‖ Yet, in the context, it is said that "The Kshatra was created by the Brahma, and the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra."¶ Perhaps, in the latter clause, the reference is to an allegation such as we find in the Chhándogya Upaniṣhad, that Brahma, viewed in the Vedantic sense of the "science-of-soul,"

* M. Bh. i. v. 2316. † Ib. v. 2417.

‡ Ib. v. 2518. § Ib. 2962-3.

‖ M. Bh. i. 3044.

¶ संसृष्टं ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रं क्षत्रेण संहितं. Ib. v. 3377.

particularly as connected with a future state, originated with the Kshatriyas.* Such an origination of this species of learning is by no means improbable, the Kshatriyas ultimately being freer for speculation than the Bráhmans engaged in the cumbersome and minute rites and ceremonies which they succeeded in monopolizing. The credit given to the Kshatriyas in this matter was counterbalanced by the subsequent progress of the Bráhmans in this kind of learning. He who is chief among the knowers-of-Brahma, is he who excels in the use of the weapons-of-Brahma. For Droṇa, a Brahman, superiority even in valour was claimed.†

In a passage, quoted by Mr. Muir, "The Yavanas are said to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mléchcha tribes from Anu."‡ Remarks

* The pre-eminence of the Kshatriya in the case of research as to soul is several times brought to notice in the Chhándogya Upanishad. Mr. Rajendralál Mitra, in the introduction to his edition and translation of this ancient piece, says (pp. 25-26), "In explaining these attributes of Om several anecdotes are related, in one of which (v. 8.) a Kshatriya takes precedence of two Bráhmans in explaining the subject of their discourse. Similar precedence is given to the Kshatriyas in sections 3rd and 11th of the fifth chapter, and in the Katha and Vrihad Araṇyaka Upanishads. Nor does this precedence appear to be accidental. Praváhana, King of Panchála (ch. v. sect. 3) goes the length of asserting that the knowledge of man's lot hereafter was first attained by his own caste." In reply to a question from a Bráhman he says, "Since you have thus inquired, and inasmuch as no Bráhman knew it before, hence of all people in the world, the Kshatriyas alone have the right of imparting instruction on this subject."

† M. Bh. i. v. 6379.

‡ Muir, i. p. 178. M. Bh. i. v. 3533.

of this kind, however, are probably speculative for the nonce, and not historical.

The Rishi Vasishtha is (probably fictionally) associated with the Bháratas as their family-priest. He is represented as installing Samvarana as monarch of the Kshatriya race, to be a horn (of power) over the whole earth, by the simple repetition of the syllable Om.*

The co-operative subordination of the four Castes is said to have been observed in the reign of Shantanu.†

The Nishádas found by the Pándavas and Kauravas, on their going out to hunt, are said to have been so black in their skin and hair that the dogs began to bark at them, and to have been particularly keen in hearing.‡ This is an indication of their long residence in India, and of their comparatively uncivilized state.

Suicide is declared to be less heinous than Brahmacide, for which there is no atonement (*nishkriti*).§

A curious legend is related at length to enhance the worth and might of the Bráhman Vasishtha and to depreciate his rival Vishvámitra, of whom we have already given various notices. We take the following extracts of it from Mr. Muir's Texts, adopting his excellent translation. "Having gained this great and self-restraining personage" (Vasishtha), it is said, "the Kings of Ikshvaku's race acquired the dominion of the earth. Possessing this excellent Rishi, Vasishtha, for their priest, they offered sacrifice. This Brahman-rishi performed sacrificial rites for all those monarchs, as Vrihaspati does for the immortals. Wherefore let some desirable Bráhman, endowed with

* M. Bh. i. 3731, sq. See on this, Muir, i. p. 135.

† M. Bh. i. v. 3977-8. ‡ Ib. v. 4249. § M. Bh. i. v. 6227.

good qualities, whose chief characteristic is religion, and who is skilled in Védic observances, be selected as a family priest. Let a well-born Kshatriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first appoint a priest, in order to acquire dominion." The story goes on to speak of the cow of Vasishtha. Vishvámitra offered "a hundred millions of cows, or his kingdom, as her price. His offer was rejected. He then said, 'He was a Kshatriya, and Vasishtha a Bráhman, whose function was devotion and study; one of a class who were gentle and destitute of power;—and that as his offer was refused, he would act agreeably to the character of his caste, and take the cow by force.' Vasishtha told him to do as he proposed without loss of time. Vishvámitra seized the cow, but she would not move from the hermitage, though violently beaten with whip and stick; and demanded of Vasishtha why he did not help her."*

In the same parva there occurs another legend connected with the parties now mentioned, in which some curious illustrations are given of Bráhmanical demands and exactions. Vasishtha was the priest of king Kalmáshapáda, son of Sudása of the race of Ikshváku, an office desired also by Vishvámitra. The king, when out hunting, desired Shaktri, the eldest of Vasishtha's hundred sons to get out of the road. "The king must according to all the principles of law cede the path to the Bráhman," was the reply. The king did not yield, but struck the Bráhman with his whip. The Bráhman, in return, laid a curse upon the king, that he should become a man-eater. The king was ultimately, however, about to give way, when Vishvámitra, who was passing

* M. Bh. i. v. 6638, et. seq. Muir's Tests, i. pp. 96-7.

by, put a Rákshasa into him, who urged him to mischief. The king sent some human flesh to a poor Bráhman, who also laid his curse upon him, to the intent that he should become a man-eater. He consequently began his work by devouring all the children of Vasiṣhṭha, beginning with the oldest. Vasiṣhṭha attempted to destroy himself, instead of destroying his rival Vishvámitra. 'This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Méru; but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage; but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief, and binding himself with bonds he threw himself into the river Vipáshá, which was swollen by the rains, and was sweeping along many trees torn from its banks; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (Vipáshá); whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage....He afterwards threw himself into the *Shatadru* (Sutlej), which derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman brilliant as fire.' In consequence of this he was once more stranded. After roaming about over many countries and forests, he again returned to his hermitage; and finding that his daughter-in-law Adríṣhyantí (Saktṛí's widow) was pregnant (with a child, who, when born, received the name of Paráshara), and that there was thus a hope of his lineage being continued, he

abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmáshapáda, whom they beheld in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vasiṣhṭha stopped him by a blast from his mouth, and sprinkling him with water, consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vasiṣhṭha thus: 'Most excellent sage, I am Saudás, whose priest thou art: What can I do that would be pleasing to thee? Vasiṣhṭha answered: 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but O monarch never contemn the Bráhmans.' The king replied: 'never shall I despise the most excellent Bráhmans, but submitting to thy commands, I shall pay them all honor.'"* In the Hindu literature there are other legends of a similar character about these personages, which it would contribute but little to our purpose here to notice in detail. The whole have originated in allusions in the Ṛig-Véda to both Vasiṣhṭha and Vishvámitra having been family priests of king Sudása, and at the same time having been very jealous of one another's influence, and disposed to use their own power, and that of the gods whom they invoked, to do one another mischief. They testify merely to a struggle of the Bráhmans with the Kshatriyas in the establishment of their priestly monopoly,†—a struggle, the grounds of which are obvious.

(2.) In the *Sabhá Parva* we find a chapter‡ which

* Muir's Texts, i. 113-117. M. Bh. i. v. 6699, et seq.

† See Texts of Mr. Muir, i. 95 et. seq., where the legends are patiently collected and compared and accurately translated.

‡ M. Bh. ii. 5. v. 983, et seq.

throws much light on the geography of ancient India, and of the spread of the A'ryas and their institutions in this great country. It is entitled *Digvijaya*, and treats of the conquest of the four quarters of the world by the brothers of Yudhishṭhira, and of the gifts brought to him by the nations at the time of his Rájasúya, or coronation sacrifice. It has attracted much attention from European orientalists, though, from the state in which the text is found, it appears to have been much neglected by native Sanskrit scholars. It has been copiously illustrated both by Professor Lassen and the late Professor H. H. Wilson,* as well as compared with other portions of the Mahábhárata and of other literary works of the Hindus. The following findings are principally the results of the researches of Lassen. Two routes in advance offered themselves to the A'ryans after their settlement in the Panchanada, or Panjáb,—one leading eastward in the direction of the Yamuná and Ganges, and the other along the Sindhu to the ocean. The valleys of the rivers rising in the Himálaya also invited visitors; and Kashmíra became an ancient seat of the Bráhmanic faith. The Daradas, contiguous to this region, however, followed not this law, being denominated Dasyus in Manu, as well as in the Mahábhárata. When the A'ryas reached the course of the Yamuná, they found the Vindhya range with its

* See Lassen's commentaries upon it in the first and second volumes of his Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, and in his Indische Altherthumskunde, vol. i. p. 531 et. seq. A translation of this portion of his invaluable work is given in the Oriental Christian Spectator, for May and June 1857, and March and April 1862. For Professor Wilson's illustrations, see his Vishṇu Purána, pp. 179-197.

many offsets and forests. Following the principal streams they reached the Sarayu and the Kaushikí, where their earlier capitals Ayodhyá and Mithilá were founded. From Madhyadésha where they now were, the roads, in progress, went either across the Vindhya, or round it on both sides. Advances may also have been made by them to the west of the Arávalí range, where, near the range itself, the country is not altogether barren. Suráṣhṭra, mainly the peninsula of Gujarát, appears as early as the Rámáyaṇa as an A'ryan country. From Indraprastha on the Yamuná, a road ran to the Narmadá river by way of Ujjayiní; and another ran from the province of Magadha to the upper portions of the Narmadá, but as it passes through the wild country of the Goṇdas it would not be of much use to the A'ryas.

The Kulindas of the western river-valleys of the Himálaya and the higher contiguous regions were, probably, at the time of the Mahábhárata, an A'ryan nation, never being spoken of as Dasyus, though they must have had but little contact with the A'ryan civilization. The regions contiguous to the western rivers may also be supposed to have been A'ryan, as they were easily accessible to a spreading people. Eastward from the Upper Ganges the population was non-A'ryan, as were the Tanganas and Kirátas of the Sarayu valley. Vidéha and Mithilá, under the Himálaya, appear, in the pilgrimages, as A'ryan land. On the whole, in the time of the Mahábhárata, the A'ryan progress had not advanced farther to the east than we find it in the Rámáyaṇa. In other directions, however, that progress was very considerable. While in the Rámáyaṇa, Anga was the most south-eastern A'ryan land, we find in

the Mahábhárata, powerful kings of the Pundras, the king of Madagiri, of Banga, and of Támralipta, and even the Suhmas on the sea-shore, mentioned; while it tells us that the mouths of the Ganges were frequented by pilgrims. The Bráhmanic law, propagated by the Gautamas, had by this time reached the five principal nations of eastern India,—the Angas, Pundras, Bangas, Suhmas, and Kalingas. The river Vaitaraní, in Kalinga, is even spoken of as a holy river. The worship of Shiva is said to have prevailed in its neighbourhood. This region was not all subjected to Bráhmanism. The Odras, Dravidas, and A'ndhras appear as non-A'ryan. In the Rámáyaṇa the hermitage of Agastya is placed in the north of the Upper Godávarí; in the Mahábhárata it is said to have been found by the Páṇḍavas at the mouth of that river. In the Mahábhárata, the tírthas of the Kumárís, or Virgins, is found at the southernmost promontory of India, still named from them Cape Comorin. The hermitages of the teachers of the Dakhan moved south with the A'ryan settlements. A hermitage is spoken of as being at Gokarṇa on the western coast. Prabhása was also there the locality of a Bráhmanical institution, but further to the north, possibly in the British Konkan.* Shúrpáraka was a tírtha both on the western and eastern sea, in the latter case near the mouths of the Krishṇa.

No tírthas being mentioned as in the interior of the Dakhan, we may conclude that at the time of the Mahábhárata it was but little affected by Bráhmanism. Mahishmatí, in the Maisur, furnishes auxiliaries, however,

* So, Lassen. The Bráhmans of Suráshtra place it at the S. W. corner of the Gujarát Peninsula.

to the Kurus through its king Níla. In connexion with it, Agni is represented as granting unlimited liberty to the women of that land in the choice of a plurality of husbands, as among the well-known Nairs of Malabar to the present time. The more southern part of the Dakhan is treated as a country but little known; and there the Dig-Vijaya places the fabulous nations—the one-footed, the black-faced, etc. The known nations of the south are principally situated on the coasts, as the Kéralas, Páṇḍyas, Dravidas, Odras, and Kalingas. Vibhíshana, the brother of Rávana, is spoken of as in Lanká.

The Payoṣhṇí, the river of-hot-water, of which a synonym of corresponding meaning was the Taptí, was at the period to which these notices refer rich in its Bráhmanical tírthas.* Vidarbha, hodie Berar, and Khándésh, were to a certain extent A'ryan, though many wild tribes must then, as well as at present, have been residing within their borders. The Godávarí and Bhímarathí were praised as holy rivers. Of the affluents of the Godávarí, however, only the Véṇva is mentioned. The Pravéṇí is the frontier of the holy land in the direction of the Dakshinápatha, now corresponding with the Dakhan. "If we sum up these inquiries," says Professor Lassen, "we perceive a considerable progress in the propagation of the A'ryan religion and dominion towards the south when compared with the state of things pourtrayed in the Rámáyaṇa. The Bráhmanic cultus had spread from Suráshtra to Gokarṇa, on the eastern coast not only as far as the mouths of the Ganges, but as far as those of

* It was perhaps from these settlements, sacred to Agni the god of fire, that it received its name.

the Godávarí; and even beyond them, the kings of Kalinga and Manipura obeyed the laws of the A'ryan warriors. In the interior, in the south of India, we find no more the solitary hermitages of the Rámáyaṇa; but the banks of the Payoṣhṇí, of the Pravéṇí, and of the Godávarí are studded with numerous seats of penitents, while the A'ryan kings reign already in the countries to the south of the great mountains of separation, which are even traversed by caravans. Deeper in the south, however, the country is yet non-A'ryan, with the exception of one single region, that of the Máhishikas; and this, although accepting Bráhmans and their cultus, still preserves its peculiar Dakhan customs. The people of the southernmost Dakhan and Ceylon have entered into intercourse with the inhabitants of the North, and have become known to them by the products of their countries. Although the conjecture that this connexion took place by sea is not confirmed by the Epos, we possess for it the weightier testimony of the Védas, that the A'ryan Indians prosecuted navigation and undertook voyages: because the Ashvins are praised for exhibiting their power by protecting the hundred-oared ship of Bhujyu on the immeasurable bottomless sea, and bringing it fortunately to the shore.

"The Mahábhárata affords also instructive hints on the manner of the A'ryan propagation. No A'ryan empire is mentioned on the west coast to the south of Suráshtra. The hermitages, however, of the Bráhmans, and the seats of the Gods, extend as far as Gokarṇa; and thus far pilgrimages were undertaken. But no A'ryan nation is mentioned. Gokarṇa is now the southern limit of the domain of the Sanskrit tongue. At the time of Ptolemy,

this coast, and the interior country above it, was called Aryaka; and hence it must have been occupied by A'ryans. Consequently the immigration of the A'ryans into this part took place later than the time of the Páṇḍavas, and the Bráhmans appear here only as the precursors of A'ryan possession. The same holds good also of the valley of the Payoshní, in which, also, only seats of the Bráhmans are mentioned; and the King of Vidarbha is not represented to us as a conqueror, but as a founder of a Bráhmanical state. Consequently the Maráthás also immigrated after the heroic time. Báglána and the country near the sources of the Godávarí, i. e. the first seats of the Maráthás upon the high land, were not yet visited by the Páṇḍavas. It is still plainer handed down by the mythus, that in Máhishmati, the Bráhmans introduced their cultus themselves without the assistance of warriors; and by this also the conjecture is confirmed, that the south of India was gained over to A'ryan civilization, not by forced conversions, but by means of peaceable missions of Bráhmans. For this we have also the confirmation of Ptolemy, who mentions a race of Bráhmans in southernmost India on the Argalic gulf."*

On the names of peoples and countries occurring in the Dig-Vijaya much light has been cast not only by Professor Lassen but by Professor H. H. Wilson; but it is not necessary for us to extend our notices of this and similar portions of the Mahábhárata.

The carrying on of war, at all hazards of life, is declared to be the duty of the Kshatriya.†

(3.) In the *Vana* Parva, after it is again stated that

* Lassen's Indische Altherthumskunde, i. pp. 576-78.

† M. Bh. ii. v. 1951.

the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra and the Kshatra by the Brahma, the necessity of a Kshatra having a Bráhman for instruction and advice is very emphatically set forth. Without an arrangement of this kind any nation or people, it is said, will go to destruction. The power of the Bráhman and Kshatriya united together are as fire and wind in the consumption of the forest—irresistible.*

With reference doubtless to the early settlement of the A'ryans near the Sarasvatí, it is said, "They who dwell to the south of the Sarasvatí and to the north of the Drishadvatí dwell in heaven," adding that the district is known by the name of the very holy Bráhmakshétra. Onwards it is said that the disappearance (in the sands) of the Sarasvatí takes place from its reaching the borders of the Nishádas (viewed as impure). "Here is this delightful, divine, and fluent river the Sarasvatí. O King of men, (here is) what is called the *Vináshana* (the disappearance) of the Sarasvatí; on account of the fault (*dosha*) of the commencement of the region of the Nishádas, the Sarasvatí, entered the earth."†

The story of Parshuráma and the Kshatriyas is related in this parva with great particularity. The following accurate notice of the legend is by Mr. Muir :—

"Arjun, son of Kritavírya and King of the Haihayas, had, we are told, twenty-one hundred arms. He rode in a chariot of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, yakshas, and rishis, and oppressed all creatures. The gods and rishis applied to Vishnu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. About this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kányakubja called Gádhi, who had a daughter named Satyavatí. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Richíka, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in the same way as

* M. Bh. iii. v. 975-983. † M. Bh. iii. v. 5074. Ib. v. 10538.

above narrated in p. 85.* Jamadagni and Satyavatí had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Parshuráma. By his father's command he kills his mother (in whom her husband had detected some inward defilement), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Parshuráma's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason, and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder. His history now begins to be connected with that of King Arjuna (or Kártavírya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Parshuráma was filled with indignation, attacked and slew Arjuna, and cut off his arms (which according to this version were a thousand in number). Arjuna's sons in return slew the sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Parshuráma. The latter vowed to destroy the whole Kshatriya race, and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons, and their followers. "Twenty-one times," it is said, he swept away all Kshatriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka; in which he satiated the manes of the Bhrigus.... He then performed a grand sacrifice to Indra, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar on the sage Kashyapa......This, by his permission, the Bráhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khán̥aváyanas. Having given away the earth to Kashyapa, Parshuráma himself dwells on the mountain Mahéndra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshatriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Ráma of boundless might."†

This legend, which occurs in other forms elsewhere, may have arisen from a very small beginning, to which we have already referred.‡ The only historical fact on which it can be founded, is that there were olden quarrels

* See p. 237-8 of this work.

† Muir's Texts, i. pp. 156-7 M. Bh. iii. v. 11070, et seq.

‡ See before, p. 148.

about prerogative between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. Its intended lesson is the danger of Kshatriyas trifling with Bráhmans.

In connexion with a description of the first age, put into the mouth of Hanumán, it is mentioned that Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras strictly observed the institutes of their own castes.* This representation was intended as a hint for the present. In the context, sacrificing (for one's self), giving of gifts, learning the Védas, are said to be common to the three twice-born castes; while sacrificing for others and teaching, and taking alms belong to the Bráhmans,—protection (*pálana*) being the duty of the Kshatriyas, supporting (*poshaṇa*) that of the Vaishyas, and service (*shushrúshá*) that of the Shúdras.†

The King Nahusha, the son of A'yus, and grandson of Pururavas mentioned in the Védas, (who is represented, in the first parva‡ as forcing even the Ṛishis to pay him tribute, and to carry him upon their shoulders, in a palanquin,) is represented as found by Yudhishṭhira as a serpent, into which state he had been brought by the curse of one of them, Agastya Muni, whom he had touched with his foot. He is made to be bewail his pride and to ask deliverance from Yudhishṭhira, whose name had been given as his saviour by the Muni, on his begging his pardon. It is added that Yudhishṭhira gave him a celestial form in which he ascended to heaven. The curse and its limitation were of course both from the Bráhman.§

* M. Bh. iii. v. 11241. † Ib. iii. v. 11298 et seq.

‡ Ib. i. v. 3151, et seq.

§ M. Bh. iii. v. 12408, et seq. Muir's Texts, i. 68-9.

In the course of the alleged conversation between Yudhiṣhṭhira and the Serpent now referred to, some of the principles of caste as affected by the progress of Indian society, are curiously brought forward.

"The Serpent says: Who, O king Yudhiṣhṭhira, is the Bráhman, and what is Knowledge? Declare your high judgment (in the case), I make inquiry of thee. Yudhiṣhṭhira says: He in whom are seen truth, liberality, forgiveness, virtue, innocence, austere-devotion, and compassion, he, O king of Nágas, is according to the Smṛiti a Bráhman. Knowledge, O Serpent, is Parabrahma, without pain, without pleasure, whither, upon having gone, they have no grief; what more do you wish to be known? The Serpent replies: The establishment of the four castes is with proof (authorized), and Bráhma is also true. But even in Shúdras, O Yudhiṣhṭhira, are truth, liberality, wrathlessness, innocence, abstinence from killing, compassion. (The) knowledge (of Brahma?) is also without pain or pleasure, O Lord of men; and without these (sensations), there is no other thing but Knowledge. Yudhiṣhṭhira says: When in a Shúdra there is a mark of virtue, and it is not in a Dvíja, the Shúdra is not a Shúdra and the Bráhman is not a Bráhman. The person in whom that mark of virtue is seen, O Serpent, is a Bráhman; and the person in whom it is not seen is a Shúdra."* The conversation is continued (I here avail myself of Mr. Muir's translation of it): "The Serpent said: If you regard him only as a Bráhman whom his conduct makes such, then caste is of no avail until deeds are superadded to it. Yudhiṣhṭhira replies:

* M. Bh. iii. vv. 12469, et seq.

O most sapient Serpent, the caste of mankind is difficult to determine, owing to the general confusion of classes. Men of all castes are continually begetting children on women of all castes: the speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death, of all men are alike. This also is established by the word of rishis, and is authoritative,—'We who sacrifice,' etc. Hence those who have insight into reality consider virtuous character to be the thing mainly to be desired. The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord. [See Manu ii. 29]. Then Sávitri (the Gáyatrí, Manu, ii. 77), becomes his mother, and the religious teacher his father. [Manu, ii. 170, 225.] He is on a level with a Shúdra till he is born in the Véda. [Manu, ii. 172.] In this division of opinions Manu Swayambhuva hath so declared. Again, though the prescribed ceremonies have been fulfilled? Yet, if good conduct is not superadded, there is considered to be, in that case, a great confusion of castes. I have before declared him to be a Bráhman who aims at purity of conduct."* There is something here like a statement of certain Buddhist objections to Caste, though with but a feeble reply to them.

An account of the Deluge, much extended, and different from that of the Shatapatha Bráhmana which we have introduced into a former part of this work,† is given in the parva under notice. It differs from that which we have quoted, in this among other respects, that it does not mention the original residence of Manu.‡

* Muir's Texts, i. 197. † See, before, p. 167 et seq.

‡ M. Bh. iii. 12751, et seq. The passage has been extracted and translated by Mr. Muir in his Texts, ii. 331-2.

The glory of the Bráhman is emphatically set forth in the following instructions given to Yudhishṭhira by the Rishi Márkandéya, particularly in their conclusion:—"The person possessed of these three purities—purity of speech, purity of conduct, and purity by water (ablution)—is worthy of heaven; of this there is no doubt. The Bráhman who performs *Sandhyá* morning and evening, repeating the holy, divine *gáyatrí*, the mother of the Védas, that Bráhman becomes by this divine (object) free from sin *(nashta-kilvishah)*. He is not to grieve for being a receiver of gifts, even though of the earth and ocean (that is of the whole world). Whatever planets, as the sun in the heavens, etc., may be fearful to him, they become to him prosperous, and more and more prosperous for aye. Pursuing evil devils *(pishitáshináh,)** of horrible form and great bulk, do not ill-treat the Bráhman. From teaching, sacrificing, and taking gifts from others (whatever errors may occur?), there is no fault, as Bráhmans are like the blazing fire (which consumes everything). Whether ill-instructed or well-instructed, whether vulgar or refined, Bráhmans are not to be disregarded, being as fire concealed in ashes. As kindled fire in the burning-ground (for the dead) is without fault, so the Bráhman learned or unlearned is a great deity."†

Even the Rákshasa Vibhíshaṇa, is made to utter respect for the Bráhmans, by declining to use their instrument

* Literally, flesh-eaters.

† M. Bh. iii. vv. 13431–13438. The following is the Sanskrit of the two last Shlokas of this passage:—

दुर्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा। ब्राह्मणानावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः॥
यथा स्मशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको नैव दुष्यति। एवं विद्वानविद्वान वा ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत्॥

(that of prayer), while his brother Rávana was beseeching Brahma to make him invisible to his foes.*

(4.) In the *Viráṭa* Parva, we have the distribution of works for the four castes respectively mentioned, as by "Svayambhuva" (Manu), a proof that this portion of the work at least is posterior to that Code.†

(5.) In the *Udyoga* Parva there is a repetition, with variations, of the story of the haughty king Nahusha, evidently again brought forward to show the danger of ill-treating the Bráhmans.‡

(6.) In the *Bhíṣhma* Parva occurs the well-known Bhagawad-Gítá, or Song-of-God, containing the discourse between Kriṣhṇa and Arjuna, in which the latter party relates his humane scruples about going into battle when the crisis of the great war occurred, and the former gives a reply, which, to use the words of Mr. Milman, breathes "the terrible sublime of pantheistic fatalism."§ The system of philosophy on which this remarkable episode is, in the main, founded, is that of the *Yoga* of *Pantanjali*, in which liberation from further births, and absorption into the divine Spirit, (the great objects of desire according to Hindu speculation), are made dependent on the knowledge of Spirit and the practice of contemplative and ascetic devotion, so far as indifference to pleasure and pain and the suppression of emotional action are concerned. It is not altogether consistent or homogeneous

* M. Bh. iii. 15913. Muir, ii. 433.

† M. Bh. iv. 1457. So also in vv. 830-35 ; 1550-61 ; v. 3454 et seq., etc. See Muir i. pp. 69-73.

‡ M. Bh. v. v. 345, et seq. § Quarterly Review, vol. xiv.

throughout, and as pointed out by William de Humboldt, who viewed it as an important contribution to philosophy, has itself been probably the subject of additions and interpolations, from various hands.* Notwithstanding its speculative character, it professes to show respect to what may be called the Hindu institutes. Its notices of Caste are very scanty. The existence of the mixed classes *(Varṇa-sankara)* it traces to vicious women.† It is probable that at the time it was composed, all illegitimate children were reckoned to belong to the mixed castes, which, in the first instance, had originated from the division of labour. Fighting it represents as the supreme duty of the Kshatriya.‡ Probably with secessions to Buddhism, more than secessions from Caste, in view, but applicable to both, it sets forth the general aphorism :—" One's own religion, though worthless, is better than the religion of another, however well instituted (or followed); one's own religion is profitable at death, while that of another beareth fear."§ It represents Krishṇa (as the Supreme) saying: " They who are of the womb-of-sin, women, Vaishyas, and Shúdras shall go the supreme journey, if they take refuge with me; how much more my holy worshippers, the Bráhmans, and the Rajarshis."‖ In connexion with its notices of the three qualities of truth *(satva)*, passion *(raja)*, and darkness

* For a translation of Humboldt's Essay, by the late Rev. G. H. Weigle, see a valuable edition of the Bhagawad-Gítá in Sanskrit, Canarese, and English, published by the Rev. J. Garrett, at Bangalur, 1849.

† स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वार्ष्णेय जायते वर्णसंकरः M. Bh. vi. v. 872.

‡ M. Bh. vi. v. 909.

§ M. Bh. vi. v. 958.

‖ M. B. vi. 1203-4.

(tama), it says, that, "The sacrifice which is performed without the ordained rites, without the distribution of food, without the mantras, without dakshiṇá, and without faith is of the quality of darkness."* The respective duties and qualities of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya, it declares in the usual form, as already given by us on its authority.†

(7.) In the *Drona* Parva, the Shúdras, along with other peoples near the Indus, are mentioned as a people,‡ as in the Dig-vijaya,—a position consistent with that which we have supposed to have originally belonged to them.§

(8.) In the *Karṇa* Parva, it is mentioned that in the appointment of Karṇa to succeed Droṇa as general, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras were unanimous *(sunmatáh)*.‖

In the same section the following passage occurs:—"The Bráhmans, according to the Shruti, were created by Bráhma from his mouth; the Kshatra from his arms; the Vaishyas from his thighs; and the Shúdras from his feet. Other distinctions of caste called *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma* were produced from them.¶ This, O king, was from intercourse with strange females (those not belonging to one's own caste). The *Kshatriyas*, according to the Smṛiti, are protectors, collectors (of tribute), and givers-of-largesses. Sacrificing for others, teaching, and taking pure alms, belong to the *Bráhmans*. Bráhmans are established on the earth for the advantage of the people. The *Vaishyas* are in duty

* M. Bh. vi. v. 1439.

† See before, pp. 20, 38, 45.

‡ M. Bh. vii. 183-4.

§ See before, p. 111.

‖ M. Bh. viii. 390.

¶ See before, p. 63.

obligated to agriculture, keeping of cattle, and liberality. The *Shúdras* are appointed servants to the Bráhma, Kshatra, and Visha. The *Sútas* are appointed servants of the Brahma and Kshatra. It is not heard (never enjoined) that a Kshatriya should be a servant to a Súta. I, a *Murddhábhishikta*, (Shalya is addressing Duryodhana) who am born of a Rajarshi family, O king, and who am addressed as a *Maharatha*, am to be served and praised by *Bandis*. I who am, as above signified, O king, do not wish to be the charioteer of a Sútaputra." "Having got so dishonoured, I will certainly not fight. Having asked (leave) of you, O son of Gandhárí, I take my departure to my own home."* Duryodhana afterwards reminds Shalya, that a charioteer may be superior to the person driven (as was exemplified in the case of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna).† All this is in consistency with the orthodox view of Caste, as found in Manu and elsewhere.‡

In the context of the passages now referred to, much is said of the impurity of the Madrakas, and Gandháras, whose king was Shalya.§ Of the adjoining territories of the *Báhíkas*, the neighbours of the Madras, a most curious account is given, in a passage thus summarily translated by Professor H. H. Wilson :—

"An old and excellent Bráhman reviling the countries Báhíka and Madra in the dwelling of Dhṛitaráshṭra, related facts long known, and thus described those nations. External to the Himávan, and beyond the Ganges, beyond the Sarasvatí and Yamuná rivers and Kurukshétra, between five rivers, and the Sindhu as the sixth, are situated the Báhíkas, devoid of ritual or observance, and therefore to be shunned.

* M. Bh. viii. v. 1367 et seq.

† M. Bh. viii. v. 1621.

‡ See before, p. 53, et seq.

§ M. Bh. viii. 1837, et seq.

Their fig-tree is named Govardhana (i. e. the place of cow-killing); their market place is Subhadram, (the place of vending liquor: at least so say the commentators), and these give titles to the doorway of the royal palace. A business of great importance compelled me to dwell amongst the Báhíkas, and their customs are therefore well known to me. The chief city is called Shákála, and the river Apagá. The people are also named Jarttikas; and their customs are shameful. They drink spirits made from sugar and grain, and eat meat seasoned with garlic; and live on flesh and wine: their women intoxicated appear in public places, with no other garb than garlands and perfumes, dancing and singing, and vociferating indecencies in tones more harsh than those of the camel or the ass; they indulge in promiscuous intercourse, and are under no restraint. They clothe themselves in skins and blankets, and sound the cymbal and drum and conch, and cry aloud with hoarse voices. "We will hasten to delight, in thick forests and in pleasant places; we will feast and sport; and gathering on the high ways spring upon the travellers and spoil, and scourge them." In Shákála, a female demon (a Rákshasí) on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight sings aloud, "I will feast on the flesh of kine, and quaff the inebriating spirit attended by fair and graceful females." The Shúdra-like Báhíkas have no institutes nor sacrifices; and neither deities, manes, nor Bráhmans accept their offerings. They eat out of wooden or earthen plates, nor heed their being smeared with wine or viands, or licked by dogs, and they use equally in its various preparations the milk of ewes, of camels, and of asses. Who that has drank milk in the city Yugandhara can hope to enter Svarga? *Bahi* and *Híka* were the names of two fiends in the Vipáshá river; the *Báhíkas* are their descendants and not of the creation of Brahmá. Some say the *Araṭṭas* are the name of the people, and Báhíka of the waters. The *Védas* are not known there, nor oblation, nor sacrifice, and the gods will not partake their food. The *Prasthalas* (perhaps borderers), *Madras*, *Gandháras*, *A'raṭṭas*, *Khashas*, *Vasas*, *Atisindhus*, (or those beyond the Indus), *Sauvíras*, are all equally infamous. There one who is by birth a *Bráhman*, becomes a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaishya*, or a *Shúdra*, or a *Barber*, and having been a *barber* becomes a *Bráhman* again. A virtuous woman was once violated by *A'raṭṭa* ruffians, and she cursed the race, and their women have ever since been unchaste. On this account their heirs are their sister's children, not

their own. All countries have their laws and gods: the Yavanas are wise, and pre-eminently brave; the Mléchchas observe their own ritual, but the *Madrakas* are worthless. *Madra* is the ordure of the earth: it is the region of ebriety, unchastity, robbery, and murder: fie on the Panchanada people! fie on the Aratta race!*

From this it is evident that if ever the Madras and Báhíkas (or Váhíkas) were under A'ryan influence, they had contrived to make their escape from it at the period here represented. Some of the Caste customs of the A'ryas are here revealed by our turning the vices charged by the narrator into virtues.

(9.) In the *Shalya* Parva, there are several stories setting forth the struggles of Vishvámitra to attain Bráhmanhood.† Their intended lesson is like that pertaining to this matter found elsewhere:—The Bráhmanhood, after the formation of the first of the race of the head-born, was held was to be a privilege of birth, except when superhuman efforts were made by the favour of the gods to obtain its advantages.

(10.) In the *Sauptika* Parva, Ashvathámá, the son of Drona, a Bráhman, apologizes for his knowledge of war and the affairs of the Kshatriyas by pleading his own poverty, the sole cause of his abandonment of Brahmanical works.‡ Poverty is a great plea for remissness in caste observances even at the present day.

(11.) In the *Strí* Parva, we find nothing bearing on Caste. The writers and framers of the Mahábhárata have

* M. Bh. viii. 2026, et seq. Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. pp. 108-9.

† M. Bh. ix. v. 2265, et seq.; v. 2357, et seq. These passages are translated in Muir's Texts. i. pp. 200-1; 202-204.

‡ M. Bh. ix. v. 122-5.

refrained from discussing any of the questions raised respecting it with mourning women.

(12.) In the *Shánti* Parva, Arjuna teaches that death in battle is better than all sacrifices for a Kshatriya.

In the *Rájadharmánushásana* section of this division of the Bhárata, there is much said on the religion and duty of kings, corresponding with what we find in the Law-books.*

The legendry respecting Parashuráma and the alleged destruction of the Kshatriyas here appears in a very advanced and extended form. The following is an abridgement of what is found respecting it in Mr. Muir's Texts:—

"Jamadagni was father of Parashuráma, "who became perfect in all science, thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshatriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahádéva he obtained among other things the irresistible axe, *(parashu)*, from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kṛitavírya, kingof the Haihayas, is here represented as a dutiful and religious monarch who, at an Ashvamédha (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Bráhmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered with his thousand arms." He had, however, been cursed by the sage A'pava (Vasishṭha) to have those arms cut off by Parashuráma. Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of a barbarous disposition, became the cause of his death. Unknown to their father, they took away Jamadagni's calf, and, in consequence Parashuráma attacked Arjuna, and cut off his arms. His sons relatiated by killing Jamadagni. Parashuráma having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshatriyas from the earth, seized his weapons, and slaughtering the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, and converted it into a mass of ensanguined mud. Then, being penetrated by deep compassion, he went to the forest. After thousands of years had elapsed he was

* See before, pp. 37-44.

taunted by Parávasu, the grandson of Vishvámitra, with having failed to fulfil his threat, and vainly boasted in public of having killed all the Kshatriyas, (as many of that tribe were there present), and with having withdrawn from fear; while the earth had again become overrun by them......the Kshatriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These however, being stung by Parávasu's taunt, Parashuráma now slew, with their children, and all the yet unborn infants as they came into the world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, he gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kashhyapa at the conclusion of the Ashvamédha. Kashyapa, making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, that the remaining Kshatriyas should be spared, sent away Parashuráma to the shore of the southern ocean......Having received dominion over the earth, Kashyapa made it an abode of Bráhmans, and himself withdrew to the forests. Shúdras and Vaishyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Bráhmans, and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of his property......The earth being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder, descended to the lower regions, etc. This goddess earth then supplicated Kashyapa for protection, and for a king. She had, she said, preserved among the females many Kshatriyas who had been born in the race of the Haihayas, and whom she desired for her protectors." Among these are mentioned Sárvakarmá, the son of Saudása, "whom the tender-hearted priest Paráshara had saved, performing, though a Bráhman, all menial offices, *(Sarvakarmaṇí)* for him like a Shúdra,—whence the prince's name......'All these Kshatriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places......If they protect me I shall continue unshaken. Their fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Ráma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [? such as Kashyapa ?]; but I will be content with an ordinary ruler (?). Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Káshyapa then sent for these Kshatriyas who had been pointed out by the earth, and installed them in the kingly office."*

* Muir's Texts, i. pp. 157-159. M. Bh. xii. v. 1745, et seq.

This legendry, as we have already hinted,* may have had but a very slender beginning. For its extension there may have been a strong motive at the time it assumed the form now given. This motive, I venture to think, was the disparagement of the Kshatriyas at the time when the Buddhist faith, patronized by the Kshatriyas, began to prevail. But this matter we may afterwards notice.

Pṛithu, (the son of Véna, mentioned as a refractory king by Manu†), is represented in the Parva before us as very respectful to the chief of the twice-born. "In thought, deed, and word," it was enjoined upon him, "take on thyself, and constantly renew the engagement *(pratijná)* to uphold the earthly Brahma (Védic services)... And promise that thou will exempt the Bráhmans from punishment, and preserve society from the confusion of castes. The son of Véna then addressed the gods headed by the Ṛishis: 'The illustrious Bráhmans, the chief of men, shall be venerated by me.'‡ In this veneration much moral excellence was concentrated, according to Brahmanical notions. In the context, a fanciful derivation of the name *Kshatriya* is thus given:— "The Kshatriya is so called from saving the Bráhmans from *Kshata* (hurt)."§

Long discussions are carried on between Bhíṣhma and

* See before, p. 148. † Manu, vii. 41.

‡ M. Bh. xii. v. 2221, et seq.

§ ब्राह्मणानां क्षतत्राणात्ततः क्षत्रिय उच्यते· M. Bh. xii. v. 2247. *Kshatra* really means "power"; and Kshatriya, "a possessor of power." See before p. 108.

Yudhishṭhira on the subject of Caste, in which the exaltation of the Bráhman, his four áshramas, and his six works, are specified in the usual form; while it is said that the Kshatriyas are to exercise their power in subordination to and with the advice of the Bráhmans.

In connexion with the matters now referred to, some light is cast by the following passage (translated by Mr. Muir) on the accommodations made by the A'ryas with the *Dasyus*, when they were able to proselytize them. Bhíshma repeats in it in a conversation alleged to have taken place between king Maṇdhátá and Indra:—

"The Yavanas, Kirátas, Gandháras, Chínas, Shavaras, Varvaras, Shakas, Tusháras, Kankas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Pauṇdras, Pulindas, Ramaṭhas, Kambojas, men sprung from Bráhmans and from Kshatriyas, persons of the Vaishya and Shúdra castes—'how shall these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as *Dasyus*? Instruct me on these points, for thou [Indra] art the friend of our Kshatriya race.' Indra answers: All the Dasyus should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, and anchorites, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Védas. They should sacrifice to the Pitṛis, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Bráhmans. They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity, and inoffensiveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just division of property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the *Dasyus* should offer costly *páka* oblations. Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people. Mándhatṛi observes: In this world of men, *Dasyus* are to be seen in all castes, living, under another garb, even among men of the four orders (*áshramas*). Indra replies: 'When criminal justice has perished, and the duties of Government are disregarded, mankind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When this Kṛita age has come to a close, innumerable mendicants and

hypocrites shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness."*

Though this is certainly not one of the earlier portions of the Mahábhárata, it is possessed of importance, as illustrating the method of bringing foreign tribes within the pale of Bráhmanism. The prophecy with which it concludes shows that it was written when the glory of that system of social life and religion was, in the Indian point of view, beginning to pass away. Curious matter is added to it respecting the evils which occur when Kshatriyas fail to discharge their duty of protection.† In the context, the orthodox view of the origin of the four primitive castes is put into the mouth of the god Váyu, who concludes by saying to Bhíṣhma, "The Bráhman was born immediately after the earth, the Lord of all creatures, to protect the treasury of religion. Therefore [the creator] constituted the Kshatriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmá's ordinance that the Vaishya should sustain these three castes with money and corn; and that the Shúdra should serve them. The son of Ilá [Pururavas] then enquires: tell me, Váyu, whose should the earth, with its wealth, rightfully be, the Brahman's or the Kshatriya's? Váyu replies, "Whatever exists in the world belongs to the Bráhmans in right of primogeniture and headship."‡ Exhortations exhorting Bráhmans and Kshatriyas to agree (with this recognition) follow.§

* Muir's Texts, i. p. 180. M. Bh. xii. v. 2429.

† M. Bh. xii. v. 2540, et seq.

‡ M. Bh. xii. v. 2749, et seq. Muir's Texts, pp. 33-4.

§ M. Bh. xii. v. 2803, 2936, etc.

A detailed account is given of an alleged conversation between Vishvámitra and a Cháṇḍála about a proposal made by the sage to eat a dog's thigh in a season of famine. It was when this savoury dish was cooked and ready, that Vishvámitra by a heavy fall of rain was prevented from carrying his fully formed purpose into effect. The Cháṇḍála is represented as standing out against the use of the extraordinary meal.* Manu alludes to the legend† as an illustration of what may be lawfully done for the sustenation of life in times of difficulty.‡ A Bráhman (Gautama) is represented as having assimilated himself to the Mléchchas (alias Dasyus, according to the notice), while dwelling among them on a begging excursion. He was recalled to duty, however, by another Bráhman visitor.§

The following passage, which I give as translated by Mr. Muir, contains a statement of the origin of Caste different from all which we have yet noticed; while at the same time, it is more moderate than many of the Bráhmannical teachings which have passed before our view.

"Bṛigu speaks: Brahma thus formerly created the Prajápatis (Bráhmanas) distinguished by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, devotion, eternal Védas, virtuous practice, and purity for [the attainment of] heaven. He also formed the Dévas, Dánavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asúras, Mahoragas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Nágas, Pisháchas, and men, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, and other tribes [or castes] of living creatures. The colour [*varṇa*, meaning primarily colour and afterwards caste] of the Bráhmans was white; that of the Kshatriyas red; that of the Vaishyas yellow; and that of the Shúdras black.

* M. Bh. xii. v. 5330-5420.

† Manu x. 108.

‡ Manu x. 108.

§ M. Bh. xii. v. 6295, et seq.

" Bháradwája here rejoins: If the cast (*varṇa*) of the four castes is distinguished by their colour [*varṇa*], then we perceive in all the castes a confusion of caste [or colour]. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, anxiety, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all; [' sarvéshám *na* prabhavati;' the reading of the Calcutta edition can scarcely be correct;] by what, then, is caste distinguished? [They have in common all] the bodily secretions, with phlegm, bile, and blood; and the bodies of them all decay: by what then is caste distinguished? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary: how is the class [or caste] of all these different classes of creatures determined?

" Bhṛigu replies: there is no distinction of castes; this whole world is from [or is formed of] Brahmá; for having been formerly created by him, it became separated into castes in consequence of works. Those red-limbed Bráhmans [twice born] who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to daring, and who had forsaken their duties, fell into the condition of Kshatriyas. The yellow Bráhmans who derived their livelihood from cows, and agriculture, and did not practise their duties, fell into the state of Vaishyas. The Bráhmans who were black, and had lost their purity, who were addicted to violence and lying, who were covetous and subsisted by all kinds of work, fell into the position of Shúdras. Being thus separated by these their works, the Bráhmans became of other castes. Religious ceremonies and sacrifice have not been always forbidden to [all] these. Thus these four castes, whose speech [Saraswatí] is from Brahma [or Brahmanical?]*, were formerly instituted by Brahma; but by their cupidity fell into ignorance. Bráhmans are dependent on the Védas [brahma]; their devotion does not perish, while they constantly maintain the Véda, its observances and rules. The Véda [brahma] was created the chief of all things: they who do not know it are not Bráhmans. Of these [of those who are not Bráhmans?] there are many other classes of different sorts in different places, Pisháchas, Rákshasas, Prétas, various classes of Mléchhas, who have lost all knowledge, sacred and profane, and follow whatever observances they please. Other creatures with the initiation of Bráhmans, who have ascertained

* See Indische Studien, vol. ii. 194 note, where Dr. Weber regards this passage as intimating that at an early period of Indian history the Shúdrás spoke the same language as the other castes.

their proper duties, are created by other Rishís through their own devotion. This creation, proceeding from the primeval god, having its root in Brahma, and unperishable, is called the mental creation, devoted to duty.

" Bharadwája now enquires: what constitutes a Bráhman, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shúdra? tell me, O most eloquent of Brahmanical sages.

Brigu replies: he who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other initiatory ceremonies, who duly studies the Véda, practises the six kinds of works, and the rites of purification, who eats of offerings, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in austerities, and is devoted to truth, is called a Bráhman. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, innocence, modesty, compassion, and devotion—is declared to be a Bráhman. He who pursues the duties derived from the function of protection *(Kshattra)*, who studies the Véda, and is addicted to giving and receiving,—is called a Kshatriya. He who quickly enters among (?) cattle, (this seems to be a play upon words, to connect the word *Vaishya* with the root *vish*, to enter,) is addicted to agriculture, and acquisition, who is pure, and studies the Védas,—is called a Vaishya. He who is unclean is addicted constantly to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of works, has abandoned the Véda, and is destitute of pure observances,—is called a Shúdra. And this is the mark of a Shúdra, and it is not found in a twice-born man: the Shúdra will be a Shúdra, but the Bráhman not a Bráhman."*

The three Varṇas, according to Paráshara, are required to observe their respective works, as often enjoined. A Shúdra, however, may practise merchandise, the keeping of cattle, masonry, playing, acting, the selling of spirits and flesh, the selling of iron and leather. What is not agreeable to usage is not to be done.† It is evident from this that the Shúdras by this time were not all in a state of slavery.

(13.) In the *Anushásana* Parva, there are many notices of Caste as well as in the Shánti Parva, now referred to.

* Muir's Texts i. 38-40. M. Bh. xii. v. 6930, et seq.

† M. Bh. xii. v. 10794, et seq.

The Bráhman (theoretically viewed) is said to be free of anger.*

The question, How did Vishvámitra become a Bráhman (without transmigrating into another body) is again put and answered. References are made to his reported austerities and exploits, and it is said that Richíka, the father of Shunahshépha, "infused into him the Bráhmanhood."†

A Bráhman though only ten years of age is fitted, it is said, to be a guru of a Kshatriya a hundred years old. The Bráhman is the father; the Kshatriya the son. It is in lack of a Bráhman that a Kshatriya has sovereignty in the earth.‡

The Cháṇḍála, according to the fictional system, is said to derive his birth from a Bráhman mother and a barber father.§

The entertainers of Cows and Bráhmans and the followers of truth need fear no evil.‖ The females of the bovine race and the chief of the twice-born are often mentioned together throughout the Mahábhárata as objects of religious veneration and attention.

The law of inheritance as affecting the offspring of Bráhmans by wives of different classes is thus in substance stated: The property of a Bráhman being divided into ten parts, four of these fall to the offspring by a female

* M. Bh. xiii. 26.

† M. Bh. xiii. v. 260. See on the legends here recited, Muir's Texts, i. 111-112.

‡ M. Bh. xiii. v. 394-5. More occurs in the context about the pre-eminence of the Bráhman.

§ M. Bh. xiii. v. 1882.

‖ M. Bh. xiii. 2035.

Bráhman ; three, to that by a female Kshatriya ; two, to that by a female Vaishya; and one to that by a Shúdra.*

The origin of the Párashava, Ugra, Súta, Vaidéhaka, Maudgalya, Bandí, Mágadha, Nish//áda, Ayogava, Takshá, Sairandhra, Mádhuka, Madgura, Shvapáka, Saugandha, Madranábha, Pukkasa, Kshudra, Andhra, Káravara, Pándusaupáka, A'hindaka, and of some other Castes is given in the fictional form found in Manu and in the table which we have already inserted.†

The story of Parashuráma and Vishvámitra is again repeated with variations. Mr. Muir, who gives it at length, asks, "Is the legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Parashuráma of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Vishvámitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession."‡

The rules to be observed in the giving of gifts and practising liberality (*dándharma*) are laid down with particularity. The fruit of the gift of a cow by a Bráhman distinguished for truth and duty is equal to that of a thousand (in ordinary circumstances). The fruit of a similar gift by a Kshatriya of this character is equal to that enjoyed by a Bráhman. That of a Vaishya is that of five hundred ; and of a Shúdra, of the fourth (of the Bráhman's merit, or two hundred and fifty).§ A long conversation on the merit of the gift of cows conducted between Saudása

* M. Bh. xiii. v. 2510, et seq.

† M. Bh. xiii. 2565, et. seq. See before, pp. 55-59 ; 65-70.

‡ Muir's Texts i. 169-171. M. Bh. xiii. 2718, et. seq.

§ M. Bh. xiii. v. 3575-79. See the context for the institutes about Dánadharma.

and Vasiṣhṭha, follows.* The teachings of Vasiṣhṭha are in reply to the question, "What, O sinless Lord, is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds, by constantly observing which a man may acquire the highest merit (*punyamuttamam*)"? They specify, amongst other things, the heavens (*lokas*) into which the givers of cows, of particular colours and trappings and conditions as to calves and milk, enter after death. They called forth, according to the legend, great liberality from Saudása, who in consequence attained to the "heavens,"—a plurality of these "heavens" being intimated without that individual specification which, with reference to his personal identity, it might have been difficult to indicate. I once ventured to propose this question to a Bráhman casuist: "Into what heaven or heavens does the giver of cows of different characters, each meriting a particular heaven, actually enter"? He seemed unwilling to give any answer. I expected him to have said, "He will get a choice."

Another story about Parashuráma appears in this neighbourhood. It is thus given by Mr. Muir:—

"It begins as follows: 'Ráma, son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshatriyas, and conquered the whole earth, performed the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Bráhmans and Kshatriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, augments power and lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not, however, feel relieved in his mind, but enquired of the Ṛishis skilled in the scriptures, and the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed a man who had committed deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. The Ṛishis skilled in the Védas and Shástras replied, let the Bráhmans be the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Védas requires; and let the Bráhman Ṛishis be further consulted in regard to the

* M. Bh. xiii. v. 3735—3801.

means of lustration.' Parashuráma accordingly consulted Vasishtha, Agastya, and Kashyapa. They replied that he should bestow cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great: 'as those who bestow it, bestow the gods:'—a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: 'for Agní comprehends all the gods; and gold is of the essence of Agni.' In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vasishtha tells a very long story, how it was born by the goddess Gangá to Agní, by whom she had been impregnated, and was the son of that god. 'Thus was gold born the offspring of Játavédas (Agni), ... the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, the lord Prajápati. It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Bráhmans, to be assured that the gift of gold has such a high mystical, as well as current exchangeable, value. 'Parashuráma,' the story concludes, 'after being thus addressed by Vasishtha, gave gold to the Bráhmans, and was freed from sin.' "*

A dirty story is told about the birth of the great Bráhman Bhrigu, of whose origin various accounts are given in the Hindu writings.†

Arjuna is represented as disputing the power and authority of the Bráhmans, and as boasting of his own prowess as a Kshatriya. The god Váyu is then brought in repeating various stories, to rebuke his presumption, and establish the priestly pre-eminence. When the earth, offended by king Anga who wished to present it to the Bráhmans as a sacrificial fee, was about to depart in a pet to the world of Brahmá, the sage Kashyapa (a Bráhman) entered into her, and she became replenished with grass and plants, and then did obeisance to Kashyapa, and became his daughter. Angiras made a potation of the waters, and then filled the whole earth with a great flood.

* Muir's Texts, i. pp. 162-63. M. Bh. xiii. v. 3960, et seq.

† See Muir's Texts, i. pp. 152-53.

Gautama cursed Purandara (the god Indra) for an evil-affection for his wife Ahalya, and yet escaped injury by his daring. The Bráhmans made the ocean salt by their curse. Aurva alone destroyed the great Kshatriya family of the Tálajanghas. Agni himself is a Bráhman, receiving the offerings of the whole world. Utathya called the god Varuṇa a "robber," for carrying off his wife; and in his rage compelled restitution by drinking up all the sea, of which Varuṇa (in his modern aspects) is supposed to be the guardian. Agastya protected the gods from the enraged Asuras and Dánavas, when they appealed to him for protection; and expelling the Dánavas from heaven made them fly to the south. Vasishṭha, on another occasion, also protected the gods, including Indra, from the Dánavas, all of whom he burnt up. Atri, too, protected the gods from their enemies. Chayavana, the powerful, forced Indra to drink the Soma with the Ashvins, frightening him by a fearful monster, named Mada, which he created for the occasion. When Indra and the gods had fallen into the mouth of this Mada, and thus lost heaven; and when the demon Kapas had deprived them of the earth, they betook themselves, on the advice of Brahmá, to the Bráhmans, who hurled forth their fires and destroyed Kapas. Given the truth of all these stories, we need not wonder at Arjuna saying, "I live altogether and always for the Bráhmans: I am devoted to the Bráhmans, and do obeisance to them continually."* How suitable to the omnipotent sons of Brah-

* M. Bh. xiii. 7187-7353. See Muir's Texts, i. pp. 163-169. These stories of the Mahábhárata are similar to those to which we have referred at pp. 23-25 of this work.

má would have been the counsel of the poet Cowper:—

> Beware of too sublime a sense
> Of your own worth and consequence.
> The man who dreams himself so great,
> And his importance of such weight,
> That all around in all that's done
> Must move and act for Him alone,
> Will learn in school of tribulation
> The folly of his expectation.

(14.) In the *Ashvamédha*, or Horse-Sacrifice Parva, we have some valuable geographical information given in connexion with the wandering of the horse previous to its being presented to the god Indra; but its indications we have already noticed on the authority of Professor Lassen.*

In the latter Parvas we have not found any information respecting Caste worthy of abstracting, though their tone is altogether consistent with its spirit.†

Having given, as we have passed along, most of the legends respecting Parashuráma and the destruction of the Kshatriyas, we may turn back to a notice of a renewed race of Kshatriyas, said to have been produced by the intercourse of Bráhmans with Kshatriya women. At this time, it is added, the Bráhmanical faith was well observed, the Bráhmans being well instructed in the Védas, their Angas, and the Upanişhads; the Kshatriyas being liberal in their Dakshiņa to Bráhmans; the Vaishyas cultivating their fields without cows (i. e., only by bullocks;) the Shúdras not presuming to pronounce the Védas; and all the Castes (*Varņas*) following their dis-

* See before, pp. 245, et seq.

† For a reference to Gokarņa, Prabhása, and Dváravatí, etc., see M. Bh. xiv. v. 2477, et seq.

tinctive works.* The general doctrine of orthodox Hindus is that the Kshatriyas as a body have disappeared. The probable reason of this allegation, as we have already hinted, was the countenance given by the Kshatriyas to the Buddhist heresy. The spread of this heresy gave an importance and expansion among the Bráhmans to the legends about Parashuráma which they did not originally possess ; and that very much to the annoyance of the professing Kshatriyas of the present day, who are very unwilling to have their desired position in the Indian community in any way questioned.

In no work of the classical literature of the Hindus has so much been done, by interpolations and apocryphal additaments, to uphold Caste as in the Mahábhárata. That large work, with its numerous didactic episodes and interludes, is as great a strong-hold of Caste as any of the Indian law-books, to which, from its references to them, it is obvious that large portions of it are posterior. It may be characterized as the great fountain of Indian popular instruction. Its influence exceeds that of all the Puráṇas put together, though they themselves to a considerable extent harmonize with it. The provincial poetry,—as that of the Maráthás,—continually draws from its almost inexhaustible stores. Most injurious is the common idea formed of it by the Hindus, that the bulk of it is veritable history as well as exciting and amusing poetry. A translation of the whole of it into English is certainly a desideratum. Notwithstanding the care bestowed on the edition of the text printed at Calcutta, a collation of the older manuscripts is also a desideratum.†

* M. Bh. i. v. 2458, et seq.

† A lithographed edition of the work is in the press in Bombay.

VII.—The Buddhist View of Caste.

On entering on this subject it is necessary for us to mark the present stage of our chronological advancement. We view Dr. Max Müller's date of the Sútra period, —from 600-200 before Christ,—as correct enough for general practical purposes. It is abundantly evident from the notices which we have given, from even the earliest of this series of works, that the Caste system had reached its maturity when they were prepared. It is also manifest from the Araṇyakas and Upanishads, that even before this time, Indian speculation, in which it is admitted on all hands Buddhism originated, had made considerable progress. With Caste, then, Buddhism had to deal. Its peculiar treatment of this institution, as we shall immediately see, was one of the principal causes of its rapid establishment in India. Buddhism in its most important social aspect was a reaction against Caste, the tyranny of which multitudes had begun to feel to be unbearable, though previous to its origin they had considered themselves unable to assail the religious foundations on which it was supposed to rest. The Bráhmans, the inventors and guardians of Caste, had up to the time of Buddha been nearly omnipotent in Indian society.

The word *Buddha* is not a name, but an appellative. It means the "intelligent-one," or the party possessed of intelligence (in the sense of omniscience). The proper name of the individual on whom it is conferred is unknown, as is the case with those of not a few of the most celebrated of the Hindu religionists. Other common denominations of Buddha were *Shákya Muni,* the Sage of the Shákya

tribe; *Shákya Prabhu*, the Shákya Lord; *Shákya Sinha*, the Shákya Lion (or majestic one); *Prabhu Gautama*, the distinguished one of the Gautama family; *Bhagavat*, the worshipful one, emphatically so called; *Siddhárta*, the one who has obtained perfection; and *Tathágata*, the one who has passed (into total liberation or extinction).*

Buddha (who is represented by his followers as having a pre-existent heavenly state obtained by his merits in former births) belonged originally to the Kshatriya Caste, of the early influence of which in Indian speculation we have already seen some notices.† His father was Shuddhodana, the king of Kapilavastu or Kapilapura,‡ "the estate of Kapila" or "city of Kapila," probably so named from its proximity to what may have been the hermitage of the Ṛishi Kapila, the reputed founder of the Sánkhya or Numeral System of the Indian Schoolmen, to certain of whose doctrines some of those of Buddha bear a considerable resemblance. His mother, Máyá or Máyádéví, daughter of king Suprabuddha,§ is said to have died seven days after

* Lalita Vistara, in mult loc.

† See before, pp. 239-240, "Kumárila [the commentator on the Mímánsá] always speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya who tried to become a Bráhman." Müller's Hist. of Sans. Lit. p. 79.

‡ Lalita Vistara, adh. xii. xv. xvi. Life of Shákya by A. Csoma Körösi, in As. Res. vol. xx. pp. 286, et seq.

§ "There was a consultation again among the gods in what form *Bodhisatta* should enter into the womb or body of the woman whom he had chosen to become his mother. A young elephant with six adorned trunks, such as has been judged proper in Brahmanical works, was preferred. He therefore leaving *Tushita* [said to be a heaven] descends, and in the form of an elephant, enters by the right side or cavity of the body of Máyádéví, the wife of Shuddhodana." "The child came out by her right side." See A. Csoma Körösi, ut sup.

his birth. He was reared under the care of her sister, Gautamí. His early days gave indications of future promise; and many extravagant and incongruous legends connected with them are related by his followers. In his youth, it is said, he was put to school (*shálálipi*, hall-of-writing), where he greatly astonished his master, who was named Vishvámitra, by his knowledge of sixty kinds of writing, terrene and celestial.* The party chosen for him as a wife was Gopá, the daughter of Daṇḍápáṇi, like himself of the Shákya race, for she is often spoken of as the Shákya Kaṇya (daughter, or lady).† Two other spouses were given to him according to the Tibetan accounts. By one of his wives, the name of whom is variedly given in the Buddhist writings,‡ he had a son named Ráhula. Marriage did not in his case interfere with the meditation and reflection to which he was early addicted. At the age of twenty-nine he renounced the world, deeply affected by its prevailing miseries. He

* At the time of Buddha's birth, literal writing was probably not practised by the Indians, though it was in use somewhat before the third century before Christ. See Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp. 34-36; and, more particularly, Max Müller's Hist. of Anc. S. Lit. pp. 497-524. Among the kinds of writing said to be known to Buddha, were those of *Anga* (the Bhagalpur territories), *Banga* (Bengal), *Magadha*, *Dravida*, and *Kinárí* (or Kanadi, the Canarese country ?), the *Dakshiṇa*, the *Ugra*, the *Darda*, the *Kashya*, the *China*, the *Huna*, the *Uttara-Kuru*, the *Apara-Gauḍa*, the *Eástern-Vidéha*. Lalita-Vistara, adh. x. (Cal. ed. pp. 143-144). Cṣoma Körösi (As. Res. xx. p. 290) mentions the lipi of the *Yavanas*, (or Greeks) as one of those known to Buddha; but that is not specified in the Calcutta edition of the Lalita-Vistara.

† Lal. Vist. adh. xii.

‡ Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 164. Mahavanso, p. 9. As. Res. xx. p. 200.

became the pupil of a Bráhman at Vaisháli, and afterwards of another famous Bráhman at Rájagṛiha, the capital of Magadha. Simple austerities, however, were not to his taste. With five of his fellow-disciples he retired into solitude near the village of Uravélaya (afterwards Buddhagaya), where for six years he resided, maturing his own peculiar system of faith. Varaṇasí, or Benares, was the next place which enjoyed the light of his presence. He was afterwards invited by king Bimbisára to Rájagṛiha, at which place and in its neighbourhood he is said to have discoursed to his disciples, teaching them the misery of birth and the desirableness of its termination. It was perhaps the favour extended to him by Bimbisára which led to the murder of that king, by his son Ajátashatru. From Rájagṛiha he went to Shrávastí, the capital of Koshala, where he lived and lectured in a distinctive building erected for him and his disciples by an opulent merchant named Anáthapiṇḍáda, and where he succeeded in the conversion to his faith of Prasénajita, the king of that locality. After twelve years' absence he visited his native place, on which occasion his own tribe professed their adherence to his doctrines. His own wife and aunt (his foster-mother) are said to have been the first of his female disciples and devotees. He afterwards revisited Rájagṛiha, where he could ultimately claim Ajátashatru as a disciple. He also revisited Vaishálí; and at about the age of seventy-five he died in a forest near Kushinagara, to which city he had been bending his footsteps. His death occurred according to Professor Lassen in the year 543, and according to Dr. Max Müller, in the year 477, before Christ.*

* For a review of the question of the date of Buddha's death, see Müller's Hist. of S. Lit. pp. 260, et seq. (which contains the references

The doctrines of Buddha, metaphysically viewed, were of an atheistic character, as, like Kapila, his predecessor, he denied that there is any proof of the existence of a creative and superintending providence, and resolved all the objects, combinations, organizations, and phenomena, which indicate divine volition, design, creation, adaptation, and guidance, into mere nature, proximity, development, and growth.* He was an indevout speculatist; but as an instructor he was aided by concurrent circumstances, and produced a greater effect on the mind and practice of India, and through his disciples on the adjoining countries, than any other of India's sons. This effect was not so much the result of his negative spiritual and metaphysical teaching,—denying the existence of Deity, and holding out as the summum bonum after death, *nirváṇa*,—the extinction of being, or as some writers are inclined to believe, the extinction of conscious being, at death,†—but of his moral and

to Lassen) and Goldstücker's Manava Kalpa Sútra, Introduction, p. 230-234. Mr. Tournour (Mahavanso, Introduction, p. xlviii.), was aware of the difficulty of fixing the date of Buddha's death, though he decides, as Lassen afterwards did, in favour of the Ceylon authorities. [As this sheet is passing through the press, I observe that a paper on the date of the death of Buddha (Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr und einege andere Zeitpunkte in der älteren Geschishte Indiens) has just been published by my learned friend, Professor Westergaard, K. D. of Copenhagen. He makes that event to have occurred between 368-370, B. C.]

* For the principles of the School of Kapila, see the "Sánkhya Aphorisms of Kapila (text, translation and paraphrase) by Dr. Ballantyne; and the Sánkhya Pravachana Bháshya by Vijnána Bhikshu (text), with a valuable introduction by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall.

† *Nirváṇa* is a participial noun formed from *vá*, (to blow, as the wind) with the negative affix *nir*. It may mean *non-agitation*, as well

social teachings, which were superior, in some respects, to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. What was his treatment of Caste? is the question with which at present we have to do.

For an answer to this question we must refer to the traditional records of his own teachings and those of his early disciples, which, though full of exaggerations and inventions, yet afford a small residuum of historical matter to the critical and philosophical reader; and to the wondrous monuments of the faith which he established which are to be found throughout India, especially in the Western parts of the Dakhan. Copies of these Buddhist records, in the Sanskrit language and Tibetan translations, were discovered and collected by one of India's most accomplished scholars (both as a linguist and a naturalist) and most able and public-spirited administrators, B. H. Hodg-

as *extinction* in which sense (with a good array of authority) it is interpreted by Burnouf, Lassen, etc. The word in its technical meaning is used by the Jaina disputants of the North-West of India principally for absolute and undisturbable non-conscious-quiescence. The difference between this idea and that of extinction is but very slight. One of the most interesting groups of hewn-figures at the Caves of Ajantá, of gigantic dimensions, represents the death of Buddha. "The sage in the scene is lying in a horizontal position. His earthly servants, standing round his couch, are overcome with sorrow and grief, while a band of heavenly choristers above is frantic with joy at the supposed liberation or extinction of his spirit." Author's Remarks on the Buddhist Excavations of Western India prefixed to Johnson's Photographs of the Caves of Kárlá, p. 5. No symbol of the departed spirit is seen in this group. Dr. Judson (see his Memoir by Dr. Wayland, ii. pp. 340-1) found nothing in the Buddhism of Barmah "to redeem the system from the charge of absolute atheism." "Dr. Judson also regarded the state of nigban (*nirváṇa*) as nothing less than a total extinction of soul and body."

son, Esq., long Resident at the Court of Népâl, who also directed attention to their interesting contents in a series of valuable papers given by him to the Asiatic Societies of India and Europe.* Copies of them, too, were, with princely liberality, presented by Mr. Hodgson to the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, Great Britain, and France. They bore their first fruits in Paris, through the zeal and perseverance of the late ingenious and learned Professor E. Burnouf, who made them the foundation of his "Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien," which was published in 1844, and who also translated into French, one of the most important of them, the *Saddharma Paṇḍaríka*, or "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," which left the press a short time after his lamented death. With the discovery of the Hodgson manuscripts, the researches in Tibet of Mr. Alexander Csoma Körösi,—whose Analysis of the Dulva (a portion of the great *Kah-Gyur*) and Notices of the Life of Shákya, appeared in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Transactions in 1835; Schmidt's translation of portions of the Buddhist canon of Mongolia; and the translation and publication of the Mahavanso of Ceylon, by the Hon. George Turnour, which appeared in 1837, were nearly concurrent. These interesting works have been followed by the translation from the Chinese of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims Fahian and Hiuen-Thsang in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, and in the seventh, centuries of the Christian era, by Remusat, Klaproth, Landress, and Julien; by a translation from the Tibetan of a History of Buddha, by Foucaux;

* These papers, fifteen in number, were collected by Mr. Hodgson, and republished by him at the Serampore press in 1841.

by the publication, in the Bibliotheca Indica, of a portion of the Sanskrit *Lalita Vistara*, the Legendary Life of Buddha, edited by Babu Rájendralál Mitra; by the important works of the Rev. Spence Hardy on Eastern Monachism, and his Manual of Buddhism; by the able papers of the Rev. D. J. Gogerly of Ceylon; by the publication of the Páli text of the *Dhammapadam*, by Dr. Fausböll of Copenhagen; by various papers on the Buddhist antiquities of Western India, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;* and by the learned treatises

* "The following is a list of the papers treating of them (the Buddhist remains) which appear in our late proceedings, according to the dates which they bear. On the Ashoka inscriptions at Girnár by Captain G. LeG. Jacob and N. L. Westergaard, Esq. Brief account of the Minor Buddha Caves of Bédsa and Bhájá near Kárlá, by N. L. Westergaard. Mr. Prinsep's Correspondence with Dr. Burn on Indian Antiquities. Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Buddha and Jaina Religions, by James Bird, Esq. Correction of Errors in the Lithograph of the Girnár Inscriptions by Capt. LeGrand Jacob. Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina remains of Western India, by John Wilson, D. D. Memorandum on some Buddhist Excavations near Karhád by H. B. E. Frere, Esq. Note on the Rock Inscriptions in the Island of Salsette by J. Stevenson, D. D. Second Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries, and other Ancient Remains of Western India, by John Wilson, D, D. Historical Names and Facts contained in the Kánhéri Inscriptions, by J. Stevenson, D. D. On the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, by J. Stevenson, D. D. Buddhist Cave Temples in the Sirkárs of Baital-Wadi and Daulatábád, by W. H. Bradley, Esq. Sahyádrí Inscriptions, by J. Stevenson, D. D. Description the Caves of Kalví in Malwa, by E. Impey, Esq. Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sindh by H. B. E. Frere, Esq. All these papers are in addition to the well-known papers of Mr. Erskine, Colonel Sykes, and Captain Dangerfield, and contain important information with statements of opinion and speculation worthy of respectful attention. Other valuable

of Köppen and St. Hilaire. Ample material has thus been provided for a correct estimate of Buddhism in its general character and relationships, though other contributions to its elucidation will still be welcomed by the public.* There can now be but little doubt of the view which Buddha took of Indian Caste.

papers on the matters to which I now refer, especially by Dr. Stevenson and the Messrs. West, have been laid before the Society."—Author's Review of the Present State of Oriental, Antiquarian, and Geographical Research connected with the West of India in Journ. B. B. R. A. S. 1856. Since this article appeared, the transcript of the Kanhérí Inscriptions by the Messrs. West has been published in the Bombay Journal for 1862. Dr. Bháu Dájí is reviewing them and others in a series of ingenious and learned papers. It is hoped that by degrees their contents will be fully ascertained.

* Of the Buddhist writings the following is a correct summary view by Professor H. H. Wilson.

" According to the Buddhists themselves, the doctrines of Shákya Muni were not committed to writing by him, but were orally communicated to his disciples, and transmitted in like manner by them to succeeding generations. When they were first written is not clearly made out from the traditions of the North ; but they agree with those of the South in describing the occurrence of different public councils or convocations at which the senior Buddhist priest corrected the errors that had crept into the teaching of heterodox disciples and agreed upon the chief points of discipline and doctrine that were to be promulgated. The first of these councils was held, it is said, immediately after Shák a Muni's death ; the second 110, and the third 218 years afterwards, or about 246 B. C. The Northern Buddhists confound apparently the second and third councils, or take no notice of the latter in the time of Ashoka, but placed the third in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka or Kanerka, one of the Hindu-Sythic Kings, 400 years after Budha's Nirvāṇa or B. C. 153. Both accounts agree that the propagation of Buddhism, by Missions dispatched for that purpose, took place after the third council.

Buddha found the system of Indian caste in existence and vigorous operation, when he commenced his studies and teachings. In the oldest works of his disciples which treat of his life and doctrines, the first castes,—of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras,—are frequently mentioned, and often in opposition to the Chándálas, who are introduced as representatives of the non-Brahmanical classes. The Bráhmans are generally alluded to as *de facto* superior to the other classes in status, learning, religious practice, and austerities. They are recognized as acquainted with the four Védas; as in possession of the *mantras*, or holy words; as the dispensers and conductors of sacred rites to princes and peoples; as Bráhmans by birth (*Játí-Bráhmanáḥ*) and Bráhmans by learning (*Véda-Bráhmanáḥ*); as resorting to agriculture only in times or circumstances of distress; as practising astrology and soothsaying; and as receiving gifts of goods, treasure,

" According to the traditions which are current in the South as well as the North. the classification of the Buddhist authorities as the Tripithaka (the three collections) took place at the first council, the portion termed *Sútra* the doctrinal precepts, being compiled by A'nanda; the *Vinaya*, or discipline of the priesthood, by Upáli; and the *Abhidharma* or philosophical portions by Káshyapa, all three Buddha's disciples. Their compilations were revised at the second council, and were finally established as canonical at last. Their being compiled, however, does not necessarily imply their being written, and according to the Northern Buddhists, they were not committed to writing until after the convocation in Kashmir, or 153 B. C.; while the Southern authorities state, that they were preserved by memory for 450 years, and were then first reduced to writing in Ceylon."—Journ. of R. A. S. vol. xvi. p. 239. In the paper from which this extract is made, Professor Wilson expresses his doubt of the system of the Buddhists having had any specific founder. Shákya Muni, he is inclined to consider only a mythical personage.

and land for their services. The Kshatriyas, with whom, as we have already seen, Buddha himself was connected, are noticed as a governing class ; and most of the more important of them embraced the system of faith and practice of which he was the parent, and used their influence in behalf of that system, even to the humiliation of the Bráhmans. Other Castes, such as those of the Véṇukaras, Rathakáras, Pukkasas, Barbaras, Ahírs, or Herdsmen, are viewed in the writings, to which we refer, as inferior both in station and privilege to the Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. The Buddhist Sútras, too, recognize the duty, or custom, of each person to marry in his own caste, and to follow the profession of his ancestors. They ascribe baseness and elevation of birth to sin practised or to merit accumulated in former births, according to the prevailing doctrine of the metempsychosis. Yet, the Lalita Vistara, in giving an account of the choice of a wife for Buddha by his father Shuddhodana, represents the father, as giving instructions that the wife should be chosen, according to her qualities, from either a Bráhman, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shúdra family.* This work, however, was probably composed, only little more than a century before the Christian era.

" While society was in this state,"—to quote from M. E. Burnouf,—" there was born in one of the families of the Kshatriyas, that of the Shákyas of Kapilavastu, which professed to be descended from the Solar race of Kings, a young prince who at the age of twenty-nine renounced the world, and became a devotee under the name of *Shákya Muni*, or *Shraman Gautama*. His doctrine

* Lalita Vistara, adh. xii. (p. 159, Calc. ed.)

which according to the [Buddhist] Sútras was more moral than metaphysical, at least in its principle, rested on an opinion admitted as a fact, and upon a hope presented as a certainty. The opinion was that the visible world is in a state of perpetual change; that death succeeds life, and life death; that man, as well as all that surrounds him, revolves in an eternal circle of transmigration; that he passes in succession through all the varieties of life from the most elementary to the most perfect; that the place which he occupies in the vast scale of living beings depends on the merit of the actions he performs in the world, and that thus the virtuous man is to be reborn after death with a divine body and the wicked with a degraded body; that the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell are only for a limited period, like the things of this world; that time exhausts the merit of virtuous actions as it effaces the faults of the wicked; and that the fated law of change extends over the world, over the gods, and over the damned (in hell). The hope which Shákya Muni gave to men was the possibility of escaping this law of change, by entering into what is called *nirváṇa,* that is to say, annihilation. The positive sign of this annihilation was death; but a prevenient sign announced in this life the man predestined to this supreme deliverance; it was the possession of unlimited knowledge, which enabled him to see the world with all its moral and physical laws; and to sum up all in a single word, it was the practice of the six transcendental perfections—almsgiving, morality, knowledge, energy, patience, and charity. The authority on which the devotee of the race of Shákya rested his teaching was entirely personal, and was formed of two

elements, the one real, and the other ideal. The first was the regularity and sanctity of his conduct, of which chastity, patience, and charity formed the principal features. The second was the claim he had to be a Buddha, that is Enlightened [rather The-endowed-with-intelligence], and consequently possessed of superhuman knowledge and power. By his power he wrought miracles; by his knowledge he called up before himself the past and the future in a clear and complete form. By it he could tell what any man had done in a previous state of existence; and he affirmed that an infinite number of beings had like himself already attained by the practice of the same virtues to the dignity of a Buddha before entering into a state of complete annihilation. In fine, he presented himself to men as their Saviour, and promised that his death should not be the annihilation of his doctrine, but that that doctrine should continue for a great number of ages after him, and that when its salutary influence should cease, a new Buddha, whom he announced by name, should come into the world, who before having to descend to the earth had, according to the legends, consecrated himself in heaven to be a future Buddha."*

The same distinguished orientalist from whom we have now quoted thus more particularly notices the view taken by Buddha of Indian society, and the modifications which he introduced into it in connexion with Caste. "His avowed aim was to save men from the miserable conditions of existence which they found in this world, and to free them from the fated law of transmigration. He ad-

* Burnouf, Introduct. à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, i. pp. 152-53. His references in proof are to the Lalita Vistara, fol. 25 of his MS. and to the Life of Shákhya in As. Res. vol. xx. p. 287.

mitted that the practice of virtue ensured to a good man a future sojourn in heaven, and the enjoyment of a better existence. But no one viewed this as a definitive state of well-being: to become a god was to be born again in order one day to die; and the object was to escape for ever the necessity of being born again and dying. The distinction of Castes was in the view of Shákya an accident in the existence of men here below—an accident which he recognized, but could not prevent. This is why the Castes appear in all the Sútras and legends which I have read as an established fact, against which Shákya does not make a single political objection. This was so much the case, that when a party attached to the service of a prince wished to embrace the life of a devotee, Shákya did not receive him till the prince had given his consent." [This is illustrated by a legend from the Avadána Shataka]. "This respect of Shákya for the royal authority has left its traces even on modern Buddhism; and it is one of the fundamental rules for the ordination of a Devotee or Mendicant [*Bhikshu*], that he should reply in the negative to the question, Art thou in the service of the king?* Shákya admitted, then, the

* [One of the questions asked (in Pálí) at the candidate for admission into the order of Devotee (Bhikshu) is नसो राजभटो—Thou art not a soldier-of-the king? The reply is, आम भन्ते—I am not, O venerable-ones. See Kammavákhya, edited by Dr. Spiegel, p. 5. The novice is exhorted, according to this formula of initiation, to eat the food left by others except on particular occasions; to wear chiefly garments dyed with clay; to dwell usually at the roots of trees; to use cow's urine as a medicament, and only occasionally ghí, butter, oil, honey, and sugar; to abstain altogether from intercourse with women; to abstain from stealing, even that of a leaf; to abstain from killing animals, etc.]

hierarchy of Castes ; he even explained it, as did the Bráhmans, by the theory of punishments and rewards ; and as often as he instructed a man of low condition, he did not fail to attribute the baseness of his birth to the sins he had committed in a former life. To convert a man of whatever condition, then, was in the view of Shákya to give him the means of escaping from transmigration." "Shákya opened, then, to all castes without distinction the way of salvation, from which their birth had before excluded the greater number ; and he made them equal among themselves, and in his own estimation, by conferring upon them investiture with the rank of Devotees. In this last respect he went much further than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali, who had begun a work somewhat resembling that which the Buddhists afterwards accomplished. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Véda, and by substituting for them the practice of personal asceticism, Kapila had placed within the reach of all, in principle at least if not in reality, the title of Ascetic, which previous to that time had been the distinction and almost exclusive privilege of the life of a Bráhman. Shákya did more than this : he gave to isolated philosophers the organization of a religious body. We thus find the explanation of two facts, the facility with which Buddhism must have been originally propagated, and the opposition which Bráhmanism naturally made to its progress. The Bráhmans had no objections to make to Shákya so long as he restricted himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of man, and to assure him of the liberation which I have already characterized as absolute.

But they could not admit the possibility of that actual deliverance, that relative liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction in a given time, of the subordination of Castes as regarded religion. This is how Shákya attacked the foundation of the Indian system, and it indicates that a time could not fail to come, when the Bráhmans placed at the head of that system, would feel the necessity of proscribing a doctrine of which the consequences could not escape them."*

It is evident from all this,—which is perfectly consistent with what is found in the oldest Buddhist Sútras and legends,—that Shákya Muni did not directly oppose the state of matters religious and social which he found to exist in Indian society. He thought that he had found out a better and shorter way to get rid of the evils of life; and he brought his own plan to notice in the most effective manner. He became himself, as we have seen, an ascetic; and he strove by strictness and purity of life, more than by harshness of discipline, to become the best of ascetics, and to elevate himself to a moral position, superior even to that of the *Tírthyas* or dwellers at holy places, and the most ascetic of the Bráhmans. His tenets and practices he brought conspicuously to notice by the public preaching of himself and his disciples, avoiding that monopoly of knowledge and instruction to which the Bráhmans had laid claim. All classes of society, without any peculiar privilege from Caste, were invited to join the orders which he established, with the full expectation of receiv-

* Burnouf, ut sup. i. pp. 210-212.

ing their highest advantages. He disparaged and eschewed, though he did not directly condemn, a hereditary priesthood. He pretended, if we may believe his followers, to work miracles, and to be himself a miracle of knowledge. He carried his sympathies, too, much farther beyond the human family than had been done before his day. He interdicted all animal sacrifice, and all slaying of animals even for the purpose of food, ordering the rules of eating and drinking so as to make them accord with this object. Aided by numerous associates and by some of the most powerful of the Indian princes, he effected a revolution in Indian society. Multitudes made him their leader; his system gained a political importance, particularly through Ashoka the grandson of Chandragupta (the Sandracottus of the Greeks); and his faith, through the zeal of his adherents, and the notice which its wondrous structural buildings and excavations (then novelties in India) attracted, became predominant in India for ages, and was carried to other lands, where it still exists though not with its pristine vigour. Even the forest tribes of India, as may be seen from the ornamental figures of the cave-temples and monasteries of Western India, are represented as joyfully doing him homage. Denying the existence of the Divinity, he made himself, or suffered himself to be made, a god. His images, through the efforts of his followers, soon filled the temples, the gods of the Hindu pantheon being thence banished, or there appearing as subordinate to himself. His way became more glorious than that of the Bráhmans in the eyes of the multitude, the *Shramaṇa*

taking the precedence of the *Bráhmaṇa*.* Though some Bráhmans became his willing pupils, the Bráhmanical body soon appeared in opposition to him. His followers in their turn began to oppose the Bráhmans, and ultimately placed themselves to them in an attitude of unmitigated hostility. The strife continued, even during the ages of Buddhist ascendancy. The Bráhman power, as will be onwards noticed, ultimately proved victorious within the bounds of India proper.

The final attitude of Buddhism to Caste cannot be better illustrated than by the Buddhist tract attributed to Ashva Ghoṣha. This witty production was discovered by Mr. Hodgson in Népál in 1829. "A few days since," (he writes in July 11th, 1829), "my learned old Bauddha friend brought me a little tract in Sanskrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained. 'Oh, my friend,' was his reply, 'I have been long trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it; and after many applications to the owner, I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it or even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it.' These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentleman to lend me and my pandit his aid in making a translation of it." This

* The designation of Shramaṇa (a practiser of *shrama*, toil or austerity) does not necessarily mean a Buddhist devotee; but as opposed to Bráhmaṇa, it has this meaning, in which it always occurs in the Buddhist writings.

translation appeared in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was afterwards reprinted in Mr. Hodgson's "Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists." I have compared it throughout with a manuscript of the original, presented to me by the late L. Wilkinson, Esq., a most able and zealous member of the Bombay Civil Service; and found it to be both sufficiently accurate, and spirited.* I here give it a place, interpolating a few explanations and adding a few notes. The Buddhist author, it must be borne in mind, reasons ex concessu throughout, from what he supposes to be the Bráhmanical writings.

Vajra Shúchí.

"I, Ashva Ghosha first invoking Manju Ghosha,† the Guru of the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to compose the book called *Vajra Shúchí* [the Adamentine Needle] in according with the Shástras [or rather, established opinion, *Mata*]."

Allow then that your Védas and Smṛitis, and works involving both *Dharma* and *Artha*‡ are good and valid, and that discourses at variance with them are invalid, still what you say that the Bráhman is the highest of the four Castes, cannot be proved from these books.

Tell me first of all what is Brahmanhood? Is it life, or parentage,§ or body, or wisdom, or the way [rather practice, *achára*] or acts i. e. that is morality (*karma*), or the Védas (learning in the Védas).

If you say that it is life *(jíva)*, such an assertion cannot be reconciled with the Védas; for it is written in the Védas that the sun and

* The Vajra Shúchí was printed by Mr. Wilkinson in 1839, with an acute but sophistical comment on it by Subájí Bápu.

† [Probably a Buddhist sage. See Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 509.]

‡ [*Dharma* (duty), *artha* (aim), *káma* (desire), and *moksha* (liberation), are the four objects of human existence, according to Hinduism.]

§ [In the MS. sent to me by Mr. Wilkinson the word for this (given onwards as *játi*, or birth, rather than parentage) is omitted.]

the moon, and other deities, were at first quadrupeds ; and some other deities were first animals and afterwards became gods; even the vilest of the vile (*shvapáka*) have become gods.* From these words it is clear that Bráhmanhood is not life (*jíva*), a position which is further proved from these words of the (Mahá) Bhárata : seven hunters and ten deer of the hill Kálinjala, a goose of the lake Mánasa-sara, a Chakraváka of the Sharadvípa, all these were born as Bráhmans in the *Kurukshêtra* (near Delhi), and became very learned in the Védas. It is also said by Manu in his Dharmashástra, " Whatever Bráhman learned in the four Védas with their Angas and Upángas, shall take charity [fees or gifts] from a Shúdra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog, and seventy births a dog.† From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life ; for if it were, how could such things be ?

If, again, you say that Bráhmanhood depends on parentage or birth (játi), that is, that to be a Bráhman one must be born of Bráhman parents,—this notion is at variance with the known passage of the Smṛiti, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Késha Pingala of an owl, and Agastya Muní from the Agasti flower, and Kausika Muni from the Kusha grass, and Kapila from a monkey, and Gautama Ṛishi from a creeper that entwined a Sála tree, and Droṇa A'chárya from an earthen pot, and Taittiri Ṛishi from a partridge, and (Parashu) Ráma from dust, and Shringa Ṛishi from a deer, and Vyása Muṇi from a fisherwoman, and Kaushika Muni from a female Shúdra, and Vishvámitra from a Chándální, and Vasishṭha Muni from a strumpet. Not one of them had a Bráhman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Bráh-

* [The text of this passage is the following :—

ओम् । सूर्यः पशुरासीत । सोम : पशुरासीत ।
इन्द्रः पशुरासीत । पशर्वोदेवा : ।
आद्यंते देवा : पशवः । श्वपाका अपिदेवा भवंति ।

—literally, The Sun was an animated being [or the (great) Soul, according to the Vedántists] ; the Moon was an animated being ; Indra was an animated being ; animated beings (were) the gods ; moreover, the gods were animatod beings ; the dog-eaters were at first gods.]

† [The taking of gifts by Bráhmans from Shúdras is forbidden in Manu, but not in the terms here alleged.]

mans; whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin, and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities.*

Should you again say, that whoever is born of a Bráhman father or mother is a Bráhman, then the child of a slave [Dása] even may become a Bráhman ; a consequence to which I have no objection, but which will not consort with your notions, I fancy.

Do you say that he who is sprung of Bráhman parents is a Bráhman ? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Bráhmans, in such case the breed of Bráhmans must be at an end; since the fathers of the parent race of Bráhmans are not, any of them, free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Shúdras. Now, if the real father be a Shúdra, the son cannot be a Bráhman, notwithstanding the Brahmanhood of his mother. From all which I infer that Brahmanhood is not truly derivable from birth ; and I draw fresh proofs of this from the Mánava Dharma, which affirms that the Bráhman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank; and also, that by selling wax, or salt, or milk, he becomes a Shúdra in three days; and further, that even such a Bráhman as can fly like a bird directly ceases to be a Bráhman by meddling with the fleshpots. From all this is it not clear that Brahmanhood is not the same with birth? since, if that were the case, it could not be lost by any acts however degrading. Knew you ever of a flying horse that by alighting on earth was turned into a pig ?—'Tis impossible.

Say you that body (*sharíra*) is the Brahman ? this too is false ; for, if body be the Bráhman, then fire, when the Bráhman's corpse is consumed by it, will be the murderer of a Bráhman; and such also will be every

* [When such absurdities as those mentioned in this paragraph found entrance into the more modern Indian legendry (in which they still occupy a place), it is difficult to say. Some things resembling them occur in the Digvarga of the Amarakosha, probably of the first century of the Christian era. Agastya, for example, is there called *Kumbhasambhava*, produced from a jar ; A'ngiras to be *Chitrashikhaṇḍija*, born of a peacock; and Aruṇa to be *Garuḍágraja*, born of the beak of *Garuḍa* or the eagle. The whole is equivalent to what would be such conceits as that Lord Bacon was born of the loin of a pig ; that Mr. Partridge, the able scientific visitor of Garibaldi, was born of the game bird of the same name ; and that the learned Mr. Sheepshanks was born of the trotter of a ram.]

one of the Bráhman's relatives who consigned his body to the flames. Nor less will this other absurdity follow, that every one born of a Bráhman, though his mother were a Kshatriya or a Vaishya, [or a Shúdra] would be a Bráhman—being bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh of his father, a monstrosity, you will allow, that was never heard of. Again, are not performing sacrifice, and causing others to perform it, reading and causing to read, receiving and giving charity, and other holy acts, sprung from the body of the Bráhman? Is then the virtue of all these destroyed by the destruction of the body of a Bráhman? Surely not, according to your own principles; and, if not, then Brahmanhood cannot consist in body.

Say you that wisdom* constitutes the Bráhman? This too is incorrect. Why? Because, if it were true, many Shúdras must have become Bráhmans from the great wisdom they acquired. I myself know many Shúdras who are masters of the four Védas, and of philology, and of the Mímánsá, and Sánkhya, and Vaishéshika and Jyotishika philosophies; yet not one of them is or ever was called a Bráhman. It is clearly proved, then, that Brahmanhood consists not in wisdom or learning.

Then do you affirm that the A'chára is Bráhmanhood? This too is false; for if it were true, many Shúdras would become Bráhmans; since many Naṭas and Bhatas, and Kaivartas, and Bhaṇḍas, and others, are everywhere to be seen performing the severest and most laborious acts of piety. Yet not one of these, who are all so pre-eminent in their A'chára, is ever called a Bráhman, from which it is clear that A'chára does not constitute the Bráhman.

Say you that *Karma* makes the Bráhman? I answer, no; for the argument used above applies here with even greater force, altogether annihilating the notion that acts constitute the Bráhman.

Do you declare that by reading the *Védas* a man becomes a Bráhman? This is palpably false; for it is notorious that the *Rákshasa* Rávana was deeply versed in all the four Védas [the Ṛig-Véda, Yajurvéda, Sáma Véda, and Atharva Véda]; and that, indeed, all the *Rákshasas* studied the *Védas* in Ravana's time: yet you do not say

* Perhaps it should rather be translated learning. This word in the original is Jnána.

that one of them thereby became a Bráhman. It is therefore proved that no one becomes a Bráhman by reading the *Védas*.

What then is this creature called a Bráhman? If neither reading the *Védas*, nor *sanskáras*, [sacraments,] nor parentage, nor race (*kula*), nor acts (*karma*), confers Brahmanhood, what does or can? To my mind Bráhmanhood is merely an immaculate quality, like the snowy whiteness of the Kundha flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of *Vrata* and *Tapa*, and *Niyama*, and *Upavása*, and *Dána*, and *Dama*, and *Shama*, and *Sanyama*. It is written in the *Védas* that the gods hold that man to be a Bráhman who is free from intemperance and egotism; and from *Sanga*, and *Parigraha*, and *Rága*, and *Dvésha*. Moreover, it is written in all the Shástras that the signs of a Bráhman are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy; as those of a Chánḍála are the vices opposed to those virtues. Another mark of the Bráhman is a scrupulous abstinence from sexual commerce, whether he be born a god, or a man, or a beast.* Yet further, Shukra (A'chárya) has said, that the gods take no heed of Caste, but deem him to be the Bráhman who is a good man although he belong to the vilest. From all which I infer, that birth, and life, and body, and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (A'chára), and acts (*Karma*), are all of no avail towards becoming a Bráhman.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that *Pravrajyá* is prohibited to the Shúdra; and that for him service and obedience paid to Bráhmans are instead of *Pravrajyá*,—*because*, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes, the Shúdra is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest,—is absurd; for, if it were correct, Indra would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, Indra being mentioned in the (*Parni*) *Sútra* after the dog, thus—"*Shva*, *Pura*, *Maghavan*."† In truth, the order in which they are mentioned or written, cannot affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of. What! is Párvati greater than Mahésha? or are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips, because we find the latter postponed to the

* [This is according to the Buddhist view. The Indian Bráhmans have practised marriage from the earliest ages.]

† [A name of Indra in the Védas.]

former, for the mere sake of euphony in some grammar sentence? Are the teeth older than the lips; or does your creed teach you to postpone Shiva to his spouse? No; nor any more is it true that the Shúdra is vile, and the Bráhman high and mighty, because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varṇa* [four castes] in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it, viz. that the vile Shúdra must be content to regard his service and obedience to Bráhmans as his only *Pravrajyá*,* falls likewise to the ground.

Know further, that it is written in the Dharma Shástra of Manu, that the Bráhman who has drank the milk of a Shúdraní, or has been even breathed upon by a Shúdraní, or has been born of such a female, is not restored to his rank by *Práyaschitta*.† In the same work it is further asserted, that if any Bráhman eat and drink from the hands of a *Shúdrani*, he becomes in life a Shúdra, and after death a dog. Manu further says, that a Brahman who associates with female Shúdras or keeps a Shúdra concubine, shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the Mánava Dharma, it is clear that Brahmanhood is nothing indefeasibly attached to any race or breed, but is merely a quality of good men. Further, it is written in the Shástra of Manu, that many Shúdras became Brahmans by force of their piety; for example, Kaṭhina Muni, who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood, became a Bráhman by dint of Tapa; and Vasishṭha Muni born of the courtezan Urvashí, and Vyása Muni, born of a female of the fisherman's caste; and Ṛishiyashṛinga Muni, born of a doe; and Vishvámitra, born of a *Chandálṇí*; and Nárada Muni, born of a female spiritseller; all these became Bráhmans by virtue of their Tapas. Is it not clear then Brahmanhood depends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquered himself is a *Yati*; that he who performs penance is a *Tapasya*; and that he who observes the *Brahmacharya* is a Bráhman. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper cheerful, is the true Bráhman; and that lineage (*Kula*) has nothing to do with the matter. There are these *Shlokas* in the Mánava Dharma, "Goodness of disposition and purity are the best of all things; lineage is not alone deserving

* [*Shushrúsha*, service, in MS.] † [*Nishkriti*, atonement, in MS.]

of respect. If the race be royal and virtue be wanting to it, it is contemptible and useless." Kathina Muni and Vyása Muni, and other sages, though born of Shúdras, are famous among men as Bráhmans, and many persons born in the lowest ranks have attained to heaven by the practice of uniform good conduct (*shíla*). To say therefore that the Bráhman is of one particular race is idle and false.

Your doctrine, that the Bráhman was produced from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs, and the Shúdras from the feet, cannot be supported. Bráhmans are not of one particular race. Many persons have lived who belonged to the *Kaivarta* [fisherman] *kula*, and the *Rajaka* [washerman] *kula*, and the *Cháṇḍála kula*, and yet, while they existed in this world, performed the *Chuḍa Karma* [head-shaving] and *Munj-bandhana* [tying-the-sacred-string], and [applying the] *Danta-Káṣhṭhá* [tooth-rinsing-wood] and other acts appropriated to Bráhmans, and after their deaths became, and still are, famous under the Bráhman.

All that I have said about Bráhmans you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas; and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false. All men are of one caste.

Wonderful! you affirm that all men proceeded from one, i. e. Brahma; how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity among them? If I have four sons by one wife, the four sons having one father and mother must be all essentially alike. Know too that distinctions of race among beings are broadly marked by differences of conformations and organization: thus, the foot of the elephant is very different from that of the horse: that of the tiger unlike that of the deer; and so of the rest, and by that single diagnosis we learn that those animals belong to very different races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was different from that of a Bráhman, or that of a Shúdra. All men are formed alike, and are clearly of one race. Further, the generative organs, the colour, the figure, the ordure, the urine, the odour, and utterance of the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the elephant, the ass, the monkey, the goat, the sheep, etc. furnish clear diagnostics whereby to separate these various races of animals: but in all those respects the Bráhman resembles the Kshatriya, and is therefore of the same race or species with him. I have instanced among quadrupeds the diversities which separate diverse genera. I now proceed to give some more instances from among birds. Thus,

the goose, the dove, the parrot, the peacock, etc. are known to be different by their diversities of figure, and colour, and plumage, and beak; but the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra are alike without and within. How then can we say they are essentially distinct? Again, among trees, the Vata and Bakula, and Palásha and Ashoka, and Tamála, and Nágakéshara, and Shirísha and Champaka, and others, are clearly contradistinguished by their stems, and leaves, and flowers, and fruits, and barks, and timber, and seeds, and juices and odours; but Bráhmans, and Kshatriyas, and the rest, are alike in flesh, and skins, and blood, and bones, and figure, and excrements, and mode of birth. It is surely then clear that they are of one species or race. Again, tell me, is a Brahman's sense of pleasure and pain different from that of the Kshatriya? Does not the one sustain life in the same way, and find death from the same causes as the other? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions, or the objects of those actions; in the manner of their birth, or in their subjection to fear and hope? not a whit.* It is therefore clear that they are essentially the same. In the Udumbara and Panasa trees the fruit is produced from the branches, the stem, the joints, and the roots.† Is one fruit therefore different from another, so that we may call that produced from the top of the stem the Bráhman fruit, and that from the roots the Shúdra fruit? Surely not. Nor can men be of four distinct races, because they sprang from four different parts of one body. You say that the Bráhman was produced from the mouth; whence was the Bráhmaní produced? From the mouth likewise? Grant it, and then you must marry the brother to the sister! a pretty business indeed! if such incest is to have place in this world of ours, all distinctions of right and wrong must be obliterated.

This consequence, flowing inevitably from your doctrine that the Brahman proceeded from the mouth, proves the falsity of that doctrine. The distinctions between Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice

* [Mr. Hodgson justly says, "The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject, is, in my judgment admirable, and altogether worthy of a European mind. Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakespeare....in the Merchant of Venice: Hath not a Jew eyes, etc."]

† [The Udambara is the Ficus glomerata; and the Panasa, the Artocarpus integrifolia.]

of different professions; as is clearly proved by the conversation of Vaishampáyana Rishi with Yudhishthira Rájá, which was as follows: One day the son of Pandu, named Yudhishthira, who was the wise man of his age, joining his hands reverentially, asked Vaishampáyana, whom do you call a Bráhman; and what are the signs of Brahmanhood? Vaisham answered, the first sign of a Bráhman is, that he possesses long suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong-doing; that he never eats flesh; and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is, that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it in the road. The third sign is, that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent of earthly considerations. The fourth, whether he is born a man, or a god, or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth that he possesses the following five pure qualities, truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence, and penance.* Whoever possesses these five signs of Bráhmanhood I acknowledge to be a Bráhman; and, if he possess them not, he is a Shúdra. Bráhmanhood depends not on race (*Kula*) or birth, (*Játí*) nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a Chandála is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Bráhman. Oh! Yudhishthira, formerly in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and avocations. All men were born of woman in like manner. All are subject to the same physical necessities, and have the same organs and senses. But he whose conduct is uniformly good is a Bráhman; and if it be otherwise he is a Shúdra; aye, lower than a Shúdra. The Shúdra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Bráhman.

Oh, Yudhishthira! If a Shúdra be superior to the allurements of the five senses, to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Heed not his caste, but only mark his qualities. Whoever in this life ever does well, and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, such an one is a Bráhman; and whoever, relinquishing worldly ways, employs himself solely in the

* The word in the original is *Tapas*, which we are accustomed to translate "penance," and I have followed the usage, though "ascetism" would be a better word. The proud *Tapas*, whom the very gods regard with dread, never dreams of contrition and repentance.

acquisition of Moksha, such an one also is a Bráhman; and whoever refrains from destruction of life, and from worldly affections, and evil acts, and is free from passion and backbiting, such an one also is a Bráhman; and whoso possesses *kshamá* [forgiveness], *dayá* [mercy], *dama* [subjection of the passions], *dána* [liberality], *satya* [truthfulness], *shauchana* [purity], *smṛiti* [knowledge of law], *ghṛiná* [tenderness], *vidyá* [learning], and *vijnána* [discernment], etc., is a Bráhman. Oh, Yudhiṣhthira, if a person perform the Brahmachárya for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (Yajna). And whoso has read all the Védas, and performed all the Tírthas, and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the Shástra, such an one is a Bráhman! and whoso has never injured a sentient thing by act, word, or thought, such a person shall instantly be absorbed (at his death) in Brahma. Such were the words of Vaishampáyana. Oh, my friend, my design in the above discourse is, that all ignorant Bráhmans and others should acquire wisdom by studying it, and take to the right way. Let them, if they approve it, heed it; and if they approve it not, let them neglect its admonitions."

Of the time of the production of this curious and pungent tract, it is difficult to form an opinion. Mr. Hodgson says, "Who Ashva Ghoṣha, the author, was, *when* he flourished and *where*, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him at Népál is, that he was a Maha-Paṇḍit, or great sage, and wrote, besides the little treatise now translated, two larger Bauddha works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note."* Burnouf asks whether Ashva Ghoṣha was the celebrated devotee, whose name is rendered in Chinese by *Ma ming* (the voice of a horse), and who according to the Japanese Encyclopœdia, was the twelfth Buddhist patriarch after the death of Shákya Muni; or some more modern devotee of the same

* Buddha Charitra Kavya, and the Nandi Mukhasughoṣha Avadána, and other works. Hodgson's Ill. of Lit. and Rel. of the Buddhists, pp. 193-4.

name.* I am inclined to believe that the work has been long known, to a greater or less extent, even on the continent of India. Mr. Wilkinson obtained his copy of it from a Bráhman of the town of Násik, at Bhopál in Central India. The Rev. Dr. Glasgow lately sent me a catalogue of a deceased Bráhman's library offered for private sale. I observed in it an entrance—"The *Vajra Shúchí*"; and having asked this tract, and obtained it, through the kindness of my learned friend, I find that it professes to be the composition of the celebrated Shankara A'chárya (of the eighth century of the Christian era), the copy having been made in Samvat 1845—A. D. 1730. The first part of this Bráhmanic treatise is a brief memoriter summary of the argument of the Buddhist tract, as will appear from the following literal translation which I make of it.

Here the Vajra Shúchí [the Adamantine Needle] is written. Hari ! Om ! I begin to publish the Adamantine Needle, the piercer of the ignorance of the Shástra, the stigma of the destitute of knowledge, the ornament of the intelligent. That the Bráhman is the chief of the four castes (*Varṇa*), the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra, is declared in the Védas, and is set forth by the Smritis. And this is the beginning. What is that which is called a Bráhman? Is it life (*jíva*)? Is it body (*déha*)? Is it birth (*játi*)? Is it colour (*varṇa*)? Is it learning (*pánditya*)? Is it religion (*dharma*)? Is it liberality (*dhármikya*)? Is it works (*karma*)? These are the eight objections (brought forward).

First, suppose that Life is the thing. Then, it being so, the form of life being the same in all men, life cannot be the Bráhman.

And, again, suppose the Bráhman to be Body. Then, from the disease and mortality apparent in the body of all men down to the Cháṇḍála, it is evident that body cannot be the Bráhman. Again, if body be the Bráhman, then from the concremation of the bodies

* Introduct. a l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, i. pp. 215-16.

of fathers and mothers, by sons, the sin of Brahmacide would attach itself to them. Wherefore body cannot be the Bráhman.

And suppose Colour to be the Bráhman, (and that it is the case that) the Bráhman is of white colour, the Kshatriya is of red colour, the Vaishya is of yellow colour, the Shúdra is of black colour:* then from the appearance of the mixture of colour among all the classes, including that of the Bráhmans, it is evident that colour is not the Bráhman.

Again suppose Works to be the Bráhman. According to this, the Bráhman of white colour lives (or would live) a hundred years; the Kshatriya, the half (of this number, fifty years); the Vaishya, the half (of this number, twenty-five years); and the Shúdra, the half (of this number, twelve and a half years). From there being no such rule, it is evident that work constitutes not the Bráhman.

Again, suppose Birth to be the Bráhman. Then, there are many great Rishis who have been of strange birth: Rishyashṛinga was born of a deer; Kaushika was from a stalk of the Kusha-grass (Poa Cynosuroides); Gautama was (born) from the back of a hair; Válmíka (was born) from an anthill; Vyása (was born from) the daughter of a fisherman (*Kaivartaka*); Vasishṭha (was born) of a Vaishya woman; Vishvámitra (was born) of a Kshatriya female; Agasti was born from a water jar; Máṇḍikya was born from the flower of the Maṇḍuka (Bignonia Indica); Mátanga was the son of a Matanga (a low tribe); Paráshara [the father of Vyása] was born from a female Cháṇḍála; Nárada was the son of a Dása;—so it is set forth in the Puráṇas. These parties on account of their distinguished knowledge obtained Bráhmanhood and pre-eminence, though without birth, as certainly reported.

Again, if Learning be supposed to constitute Bráhmanhood, it is found that there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, etc., who have great knowledge of categories (padártha) and logical processes (vákya-pramáṇa); and that consequently learning does not constitute the Bráhman.

Again, if Religion be supposed to constitute the Bráhman, there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, etc., who have in religious observance performed meritorious works (*ishṭapurta*); and consequently Religion does not constitute the Bráhman.

* This alleged diversity of colour in the primitive Castes is noticed in the Maha bhárata, xiii. v. 6934. See also Muir's Texts, i. pp. 40-1.

Again if Liberality be supposed to constitute the Bráhman, there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, who have given gifts of daughters, gifts of cows, gifts of gold, gifts of she-buffaloes ; and therefore liberality does not constitute the Bráhman.

What then [constitutes the Bráhman]? He who sees the import of Brahma as clearly as one who holds [the fruit of the] A'malaka in his hand and who is without lust, anger, hatred, etc., [and has] quiet and self-restraint, and from whom pleasure, pride, envy, desire, folly, and other evil affections are removed, is declared to be a Bráhman. A Shúdra by birth becoming a Brahmacharya is declared to be a *dvija* (one-twice-born); by practice in the Védas, he becomes a *Vipra* (an intelligent one); and by the knowledge of Brahma, he becomes a *Bráhman*.*

This reasoning is in substance that of the Buddhist Vajra Shúchí. The tract proceeds to dispose of the representations now quoted on the usual principles of the Védantists,—not disparaging the caste of the Bráhmans, but holding the knowledge of Brahma to be essential to its perfection. It appears to me that its author thus ingeniously seeks to weaken the Buddhist argument, which must have been current in the country before he considered it expedient to interfere with it.

And here it is proper to observe that though the Vaiṣhṇava Bráhmans,—the modern sectarial followers of Viṣhṇu,—have most absurdly alleged that Buddha was a descent *(avatára)*, and the Shaiva Bráhmans,—the sectarial followers of Shiva,—that he was a personal manifestation *(rupadhárána)* of Viṣhṇu,† effected for the

* Shankara Achárya virichatayáṇ upaniṣhat subodhinyáṇ Vajra Shúchí, pp. 1-4.

† "Then in the course of the Kali (Yuga), for distressing the enemies of the Suras (gods), he will be born among the Kíkaṭas, as Buddha, the son of Anjana." Bhágavata Puraṇa, i. 3. 24. See passages of a similar kind referred to in Kennedy on Ancient and Hindu Mythology, p. 250.

purpose of destroying the merit of a righteous king, whose worth they allege came into depressing competition with that of the gods themselves, they have all along rightly interpreted the *principles* of Buddhism while strenuously opposing them.

In the interesting Náṭaka, or Play, entitled the *Mrichchhakaṭiká*, or Toy Cart, attributed to king Súdraka, and supposed by Professor H. H. Wilson to have been composed about a century before the Christian era, a Shramaṇaka, or Búddhist mendicant, is represented as thus singing:—

> " Be virtue, friends, your only store,
> And restless appetite restrain,
> Beat meditation's drum and sore
> Your watch against each sense maintain ;
> The thief that still, in ambush lies,
> To make devotion's wealth his prize.
>
> Cast the five senses all away,
> That trample o'er the virtuous will,
> The pride of self importance slay,
> And ignorance remorseless kill ;
> So shall you safe the body guard,
> And Heaven shall be your last reward.
>
> Why shave the head and mow the chin
> While bristling follies choke the breast ?
> Apply the knife to parts within
> And heed not how deformed the rest :
> The heart of pride and passion weed,
> And then the man is pure indeed."*

* Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. i. p. 122. The spirit of the original passage (see Stenzler's text, p. 112) is here preserved, though considerable freedom has been used in the translation.

The party thus chaunting with Buddhistical propriety, who is represented as originally a *Samváhaka,*—a body-servant, or gambler, is also set forth as saying when about to leave his original work, "Lady, on account of the disgrace of this gambling profession I will become a Shákya *Shramaṇaka,*"* thus intimating the motive, by which, according to the Buddhist social reform, parties of the lower castes of the Hindus were often influenced in their assumption of Buddhist mendicancy. A similar motive is that by which many parties of the lower castes of the Hindus are influenced when they join the religious orders of the present day.

In the Káshí Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Puráṇa, devoted to the Shaiva form of Hinduism, the following are said to be the Buddhist teachings of Vishṇu,—responding to the call of Shiva, to adopt measures for effecting the injury of the righteous reign of king Divodása, whose merit prevented the return of Shiva to his own city Káshí:—

"This order of things (*sansára*) is eternally manifest (that is has no beginning); (to it) there is neither creator nor creation. It is self-existent, and self-extinguished. From Brahmá to a (vegetable) spike everything is confined in a bodily form. The soul (*A'tmá*) and God (Ishvara) are identical; they are not two: for Brahmá, Vishṇu, and Indra, etc. are merely nominal distinctions, as we are denominated Puṇyakirti,† etc. As at our natural time our bodies perish, so (other) bodies, from Brahmá to a fly, perish at their natural

* In the Prákṛita of the play, the original is अज्जु आए अहं एदिणं जूदिअलावमाणेण शाक्कश्शमणके हुविश्शं, being in Sanskṛiṭa, अज्जुके अहमेतेन द्यूतकरावमानेन शाक्यश्रमणको भविष्यामि. See the carefully edited text of Stenzler, pp. 39-40; 195.

† The name said to be assumed by Vishṇu, when he set to the propagation of heresy.

time. On a proper view (of matters) there is no superiority of bodies. Eating, copulating, sleeping, and fear are common to all. Satisfaction in eating is common to all, without any superiority or inferiority. Thirst is the consequence to all of refraining from drinking....Suppose there are hundreds of horses: their use to sit on is the same to all (that is only one at a time is available for sitting on). The pleasure experienced by sleeping on couches is the same as if we were sleeping on the floor. As we ourselves possessed of bodies fear death, so all from Brahmá to an insect fear death alike. If we consider aright, we shall see that all wearing bodies are alike. And having so inquired, it is established, that there should be no slaughter of any one (living being) (at any time) or at any place. There is no religion in the world like tenderness to life (*jívadayá*) ; wherefore men ought by all means to practise tenderness to life. He who preserves a single life, is as if he had preserved the three worlds, and he who kills one (life) is as if he had destroyed the three worlds; wherefore let there be preserving and not killing. That refraining from killing is the supreme duty (*paramodharma*), is said by the learned (*suras*) of old. Wherefore, whoever has the fear of hell should avoid killing. There is no sin in the three worlds like slaughter. The killer goes to hell; the non-killer goes to heaven (*svarga*). There are other offerings, but their fruits are very small. The offering (*dána*) freeing from fear is manifestly the greatest in the three worlds. There are four gifts enjoined by the great Ṛishis, on the inspection of the Shástras; they are seen to be productive of advantage in the present life and that which is to come:—giving confidence to the terrified, giving medicine to the suffering, giving learning to the ignorant, and giving food to the hungry. (Moreover), the power in gems, mantras, medicines, is to be reckoned extremely great. Wherefore men traffic among them by various expedients, and acquire wealth. Having acquired wealth, continue to worship at the twelve shrines, for without wealth there is no other way of worship. The twelve good (shrines) are the five organs of sensation, the five faculties of sensation, the intellectual faculty (*mana*), and intelligence (*buddhi*). Heaven and hell are in these twelve and nowhere else. Pleasure is said to be heaven, and pain to be hell. If the body die while enjoying pleasure, this is deliverance (*moksha*). This is the excellent deliver-

ance ; there is no other deliverance whatsoever. The total destruction of desire and pain is in the highest sense the excellent deliverance (*vijnáno-paramomoksha*) this is to be understood by the perceivers of distinctions. This is the Shruti spoken by the learned in the Védas :— There is to be no killing of any living beings ; (the sacrificial Ṛich beginning with) *Agnishoma* begets bewilderment to pure persons, for to intelligent ones there is no authority to its making the destruction of animals. That the cutting of trees, the slaughtering of animals, the making the ground red with the burning of oil-giving plants and clarified butter, lead to the attainment of heaven is surprising.*

The doctrines propagated by the Buddhists,—those of the eternal existence of the universe, of the negation of a Creator and a creation, of the identity of soul in all existing forms, of the natural course of growth and decay and pleasure and pain, of the universality of the fear of birth and death among sentient beings, of the great virtue of the preservation of life even in its lowest forms, of the evil of animal sacrifice and the destruction of vegetable growth,—are all here plainly set forth. It is only the doctrine of spirit involved in the passage quoted, however, which can be applied to the mitigation of the pride of caste. Very precise on this subject are the teachings in the context put into the mouth of Lakshmí, the spouse of Viṣhṇu, who under the name of *Vijnána Kaumudi*, is thus made to hold forth, after alluding to the propriety of enjoying bodily pleasures, which is no peculiar tenet of the Buddhists:—" The thirteen beautiful daughters of Daksha were married to Kashyapa, the son of Maríchi (the brother of Daksha). People of small understanding of the present time consider that such a kind of marriage

* Káshí Khaṇḍa, of the Skanda Puráṇa ii. 58. 80-108 (fol. 34-37 of MS. of Dr. Bháu Dájí.)

is fit, and yet not fit. The four castes are produced from the mouth, arm, thigh, and foot: this was the false imagination of olden times. How can four sons produced from the same body be of separate castes? (High) caste and low caste *(varṇa avarṇa)* are not to be thought of. Distinctions among men are not to be taken cognizance of by any one at any time or at any place."*

Only one explanation regarding the Buddhist view of Caste remains to be made. Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Bráhmans, that they opposed Caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged, by them wherever they found they had been preceded by A'ryan rule. They invented, too, in connexion with it their own legendry. All this is abundantly evident from what we find to be the state of matters in regard to the island of Ceylon. Mr. Tolfrey, in the Appendix to Lord Valentia's Travels, says, "The epoch in which we now are is called (by the Buddhists) the Mahábhadra Kalpa," previous to which a thousand millions of millions of worlds *(sakavals)* have been destroyed. Living creatures were regenerated, however, in the higher regions, and became Brahmas, without

* Káshí Khaṇḍa, ii. 58, 109-123 (MS. fol. 36). The legend of Divadása and Buddha, as found in this work, is, in substance, given by Vans Kennedy in his Researches in Ancient and Hindu Mythology, pp. 423-431. See also Author's First Exposure of Hinduism, pp. 137-140.

any distinction of caste. Some of these Brahmas returned to the world, "which they formerly inhabited, on their being reproduced, but from avarice degenerated to such a degree that they began to steal. Upon this, quarrels arose among them, and there being no chief to decide these disputes, their wise men reflected that the world would not be in a proper state without some kind of government. Upon this they selected from among them a person renowned for wisdom, whom they appointed to be their king, saying to him, 'Thou art our king; we will give to thee one-tenth part of the substance we may acquire; be thou a judge, and a ruler over us.' This king was called Maha Sammata, a compound word, which signifies a great assembly [rather one elected by many], to indicate that he had been chosen by the consent of many people."* The statements made by Mr. Spence Hardy agree with this condensed view of the Buddhist theory of the origin of the principal Castes. The king, he tells us, was called a Khatiyo or Kshatriya; the Brahmas, who concurred in the suppression of impious proceedings, were called Bráhmaṇás; those who acquired wealth, Vessá, or Vaishyas; and those who were addicted to hunting, Sudda, or Shúdras.† Several lists of Castes or professions are given by Mr. Tolfrey. Their denominations are principally derived from the Sanskrit, and are similar to those contained in the Indian lists which we have already inserted. They are said to have been constituted in order to serve the four superior Castes.

* Lord Valentia's Travels, iii. p. 488-9.

† Manual of Buddhism, p. 66.

The destruction of Buddhism by Bráhmanism under caste influence I shall afterwards have occasion to notice I conclude this chapter by remarking that the Jainas, who are only Buddhist Seceders, take exactly the same view of Caste as their speculative progenitors. Their Yatis or Jatis, and other religionists in the West of India, continually assail Caste by such arguments as we find in the Vajra Shúchí of Ashva Ghoṣha.

VIII.—A Peep at Indian Society by the Greeks.

India is emphatically the land of mystery. It has been a land of mystery from the earliest ages to the present hour. It has been a land of mystery to distant strangers, to friendly and hostile visitors, and even to its own inhabitants. Scarcely any other country of the world is to be compared to it in this respect. Egypt, with its hieroglyphic and hieratic characters and its esoteric doctrines, had its records and gigantic works palpable to all, which declared the grand outlines of its history, even back to the remotest ages. Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, though long obscure to their neighbours, did not conceal their history from their own people, but even stamped much of it on bricks and cylinders, and graved much of it on permanent tablets and on rocks, to be read by all men. The closed land of China, though jealous of foreign intrusion, has always patronized an open literature for the benefit of its own sons, as well as preserved and published the results of the thought and research of its numerous moralists, economists, and recorders. India alone has striven to keep itself in obscurity

and darkness. It had its poets in the early ages of the world; but they composed, and sang, and recited, principally for themselves and the gods of their invention and recognition. It had its priests, more numerous perhaps than those of any other country, but they kept their knowledge within their own circle, making of it an entire monopoly. It had its thinkers and wise men; but their lips did not "disperse knowledge," but enjoined the preservation of it as a body of secrets to be communicated only to particular classes of men, and amongst these only to the disciplined and initiated. It had its princes who patronized its bards and eulogists; but these princes encouraged these bards and eulogists to deal with flatteries and fables and not with facts and principles. It had its peculiar *itihása*, but this, speaking generally, was simply a licensed fiction, a dogmatic assertion that matters (in their incongruities and puerilities beyond the sphere of rational belief) were *said to be so and so*, without reference to their real origin and circumstantials. It contented itself with bare genealogical tables, which make no distinction between the divine, the heroic, and the human, and into which were thrust apocryphal additions whenever a new power or dynasty, however obscure, was anxious to invent and claim the prestige of antiquity. When these tables necessarily referred to later times, they were actually set forth, as in the Bhágavata, Vishṇu, and other Puráṇas, not as chronicles of the past, but as prophecies of the future. Its own progress and development, it neither, as a consequence, observed nor recorded. The only glimpses into its past which itself furnished were obtained by occasional rents in the veil of its mystery by the

violent hand of sectarianism, as in the case of Buddhism and other attempts to modify or change its general creed. It even kept aloof, after its early ages, from commerce and communion with neighbouring nations, which its own sons were forbidden to visit on pain of religious deprivation.

It is the fact that India has thus not spoken for herself that gives such a great interest to the notices taken of it in connexion with the nations and tribes which by visiting its shores sought to carry its productions to distant lands; and to the observations made on the borders of its territories or within its own boundaries by those who have sought to acquire its sovereignty, or to maintain with it a good understanding in connexion with their neighbouring colonies. This interest is now enhanced tenfold, when the vast and non-reviewed literature of India is in all its departments, in this critical age, passing into the hands of those who are competent to observe its indications, to interpret its spirit, and to cast the light which it yields on the path of its past advancement, and on the present state of its society, and its physical condition.

From all the people of antiquity brought into contact with India, we should expect the most from the Greeks. They had a cultivated intelligence, ardent curiosity, and, except as modified by an inordinate tribual pride, feelings of catholicity connected with all that could be characterized as an approximation to civilization. It was among them that the historical faculty properly so-called was first developed in extended comprehensiveness and laborious research. History (ἱστορία),—learning or

knowing by inquiry, and the knowledge or information so obtained,—was their own word; and the improvement of the historical faculty was their own glory. They belonged to the same great race from which the dominant Indians, the A′ryans, had sprung. Their forefathers, with those of these A′ryas, had long been members of the same family and community, and had had the same social connexions, the same speech, the same gods, and the same religion. The questions at once occur, when we realize their intercommunion in subsequent times,—Did the Greeks recognize their remote but close relationship with the A′ryas? did they perceive in India the many elements of their common speech? did they discover the identity or analogous position of the Grecian and Indian gods? did they see how the tribes migrating to the west and those moving to the south or south-east had, with marked peculiar diversities of occupation and development, certain things in common? did they note the peculiarities of India, and contrast them with those of their own country? These and other similar questions can be answered only by a careful collation of, and attention to, the fragments of their accounts of India which remain, and the comparison of them with what we know of India itself and find in its literary remains. By a similar process we answer the inquiries, Do the Greek accounts illustrate the Indian literature, and Does the Indian literature illustrate the Greek accounts? Both series of questions will be answered, in part at least, as we proceed with this section of our volume.

The first Greek author who mentions India by name, I need scarcely mention, is Herodotus, the father of

profane history.* He was born at Halicarnassus in Caria about the year B. C. 484; and he probably lived to an advanced age. He had intimate connexions at various times with Greece and the Greek colonies, and he was a great traveller in Europe, the North of Africa, and the West of Asia. He had, for his day, a comprehensive view of the objects of history. "Herodotus of Halicarnassus," he says, "publishes his researches in order to prevent the achievements of men from fading in the oblivion of time, and lest the great and admirable exploits both of Greeks and Barbarians should fail of their due renown. He also proposes to explain the occasions of the wars which have been carried on between them."† The wars before him were specially those of the Greeks and Persians. It is in connexion with these wars that he notices the circumstances of the various peoples which were affected by them. The course of his history, which he dedicates to the Muses, properly commences with the time (B. C. 546) when Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, conquered the Lydian kingdom of Crœsus, and extends to the capture of Sestos (B. C. 478), when the Greeks triumphed over the Persians. It is in connexion with his enumeration and description of the satrapies of Darius that he notices India, both as included in these satrapies and exterior to them. He had not personally visited India, his travels to the East having terminated in Mesopotamia or the Persian provinces contiguous to that country. There can be but little doubt that he had

* Perhaps India was included in the Ethiopia of Homer (Od. i. 23-24).

† Herodotus, Clio., 1.

intercourse with parties who had seen India or made it the subject of inquiry with those who had visited its border provinces. The information which he gives respecting it, though brief, and not to be received without criticism, is nevertheless of a valuable character.

Of geographical discoveries and acquisition of territory in India by Darius, Herodotus thus writes :—"The greater part of [the unknown] Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. This king wishing to know on what part of the coast the Indus meets the sea—a river which after the Nile is the only one [then known] that produces crocodiles, sent ships with persons on whose fidelity and truth he could rely, and among these was Scylax of Caryandea. These setting out from Caspatyrus, a city of Pactyica, descended the river in its course towards the East (?) till they reached the sea." "After this voyage had been accomplished, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented that sea," (the Indian Ocean).* The origin of this voyage must have been on the Kábul affluent of the Indus—the Kophen or *Kubhá.* Pactyica, (the country in which it commenced) is recognizable in the name of a people, with whom we are all familiar, found in that locality to the present day, I mean the *Pakhtus* or Patháns. Speaking of the twentieth satrapy of Darius established through this conquest, Herodotus further says:—"The Indians a people much more numerous than any that is known contributed a sum proportionately larger than that of any other division, for they paid three hundred and sixty talents of gold

* Herod. iv. 44. Taylor, p. 285.

dust."* We have not to suppose, from this notice, that the empire of Darius extended over all the country now comprehended under the name of India. It embraced, there is reason to believe, only the country contiguous to the banks of the Indus and the territory lying on the Persian side of the Hindu Caucasus. This is evident from what is afterwards added by Herodotus:—"The eastern part of India is a desert of sand, and of all the nations known to us, or of which we possess any certain information, the Indians are the farthest toward the East, being on that side the first people of Asia: for the sands render the country beyond them towards the east uninhabitable."† The great desert here referred to is supposed by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson to be that lying to the north of the Himálaya between that range and the Tchien Chau Range.‡ Major Rennell supposes that it may apply to the country between the lower part of the Indus and Rájputáná.§ It is evident that Herodotus had not been exactly informed of the peninsula of India, stretching into the Indian ocean, though he speaks in the progress of his narrative of a people resembling Ethiopians in the tint of their skin, whose country was a long way from Persia (that is the Persian dominions) towards the south.

India is the only satrapy which Herodotus represents as paying its tribute in gold. The sum which he specifies as yielded by it is very large, being four and a half times as much in value as that yielded by the opulent satrapy of Babylonia and Assyria. The region from which the gold was procured is indicated by him, it is

* Herod. iii. 94.
† Ib. iii. 98.
‡ See Rawlinson's Herod.
§ Rennell's Geo. of Herod. p. 309.

believed, with accuracy. "There are other Indians not far distant from the city Caspatyrus, and the region Pactyica." "The mode of life followed by these is similar to that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of all the Indians; and it is these who furnish the gold."* The northern portions of this district embracing the lofty ranges of the Hindu Kush, the Belur-Tagh and Mus-Tagh, Altai, and other places near the sources of the Oxus and Kábul Indus, are said to "abound with the precious metal." This portion of country is, I think, referred to in the book of Genesis,—in connexion with the seat of the garden of Eden and the rivers of paradise. "A river (or watershed, *paṇaloṭ*, or water-roll in the Indian languages, as I venture to interpret it) went out of Eden, to water the garden (probably an extended district); and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads (for actual drainage). The name of the first is ***Pishon*** (or the *Shon* or Indus in this quarter, ***Pi***, the first syllable of the word, as I have elsewhere conjectured,† being the Egyptian definite article, and *Shon* being the Egyptian name of the *Sindhu*, or Indus): that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah (the Campilla of the Indians, as thought by Professor Lassen), where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdolach and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon (admitted by all geographers to be the Oxus): the same is it that compassed the whole of Cush (translated Ethiopia)."‡ This region, I believe with others, furnished the gold of the

* Herod. iii. 98.

† India Three Thousand Years Ago.

‡ Gen. ii. 10-12.

Solomonic commerce, referred to in the books of Kings and Chronicles, which was exported from ports on the Indus, in the province denominated by Ptolemy *Abiria*, and by the Periplus, *Sabiria* and *Iberia*,—the land of the *A'bhíras*, the Indian Ophir.*

The account given by Herodotus of the method of the acquisition of the gold referred to has afforded much amusement since his day, though it has been substantially repeated by some of his successors.

"Here in this desert (that is the sandy desert already mentioned) there live amid the sand great ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes. The Persian king has a number of them which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking. These ants make their dwellings under ground, and like the Greek ants which they very much resemble in shape, throw up sand heaps as they burrow. Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold. The Indians, when they go into the desert to collect this sand, take three camels and harness them together, a female in the middle and a male on either side in a leading rein. The rider sits on the female; and they are particular to choose for the purpose one that has but just dropped her young; for the female camels can run as fast as horses, while they bear burdens very much better. When the Indians therefore have thus equipped themselves they set off in quest of the gold, calculating the time so that they may be engaged in seizing it during the most sultry part of the day, when the ants hide themselves to escape the heat......When the Indians reach the place where the gold is, they fill their bags with the sand, and ride away at their best speed; the ants, however, scenting them, as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit. Now these animals are so swift, they declare, that there is nothing in the world like them; if it were not therefore, that the Indians get a start while the ants are mustering, not a single gold-

* See Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. p. 539. Josephus (Antiq. 1. 3. 3.) and many of the Christian Fathers made the Pishon the Ganges.

gatherer could escape. During the flight the male camels, which are not so fleet as the females, grow tired, and begin to drag, first one and then the other; but the females recollect the young which they have left behind, and never give way or flag. Such, according to the Persians, is the manner in which the Indians get the greater part of their gold ; some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is scanty."*

In this narrative there are doubtless proofs both of imposition practised upon Herodotus by his informers, and of the simplicity and credulity of the historian. Even in its absurdities, however, heightened though they have been by the fears of the gold-finders lest their occupation should be interfered with by interlopers, there is a substratum of truth. The late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson is of opinion that the story may have arisen from the fact that the gold found in the plains of little Thibet is commonly called Pippílika or "ant" gold, from the belief that the colonies of ants, by their wonted operations, are instrumental in bringing the gold to view. A better conjecture, in my opinion, has been made than this. It is that the animal which is said to burrow in the sands is the Pengolin, or ant-eater (the Manis crassicaudata), called by the natives of the Maráthá Country the Kauvaḷí mánjar (or tiled cat). The habits of this animal in burrowing in the sands are well known; and it is abundant in many places of India. It is one of the most remarkable of the Edentata mammals; and as its familiars are not recognized by the natives of India, they give very fabulous accounts of its powers and capacities, especially of its alleged ability to kill a man by the sweep of its tail, which bears a greater proportion to the

* Taylor's Herodotus, p. 494.

size of its trunk than is found in any other quadruped. In certain of its aspects, as looked at by the rude children of nature, it has some resemblance to an ant. It is so curious altogether that it is not unlikely that specimens of it may have been sent to the king of Persia. It is a mistake of our countrymen in India, to say that food cannot be provided for it in a state of captivity. I nourished a specimen of it for a couple of months, by giving it milk and eggs; and it died only in consequence of a fall which it had of about twenty feet.

Of the tribes of India, Herodotus remarks that they are "numerous," and that "they do not all speak the same language." The A'ryan conquerors of India, who spoke the Vedic language (called Sanskṛita when afterwards it had the benefit of grammatical culture), were not, as we have seen in former parts of this work, the first immigrants into India. They found that they had been preceded not only by tribes remotely cognate with themselves, but by many Scythian, Turanian, and Hamitic tribes, whose languages they but little understood. About the time of Herodotus, the Sanskrit was about to cease to be a spoken language. Such of the tribes of India as laid aside their own Turanian dialects, had then formed a great many provincial dialects, in their attempts to make themselves intelligible to the dominant people. This diversity of language was not unknown even in what must have been the Persian India. There are several Indus dialects (as there are great diversities of tribes) on the banks of that river even in the present day. It is an extremely curious fact that the language of the Brahuis, a people there to be found, is cognate not so

much with the languages of Northern as with those of Southern India.

Of a certain tribe or class on the banks of the Indus, Herodotus says:—"They who dwell in the marshes along the river, live on raw fish, which they take in boats made of reeds, each formed out of a single joint. These Indians wear a dress of sedge, which they cut in the river and bruise; afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast-plate." Rude Ichthyophagi of this character have been associated with many countries, but partially known. Some have supposed that the reed out of which their boats were constructed were bambus; but the fabrication of boats from a single joint of a bambu was impossible.

"Eastward of these Indians," our author goes on to say, "are another tribe called Padœans, who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh. This tribe is said to have the following customs:—If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death, because they say his flesh would be spoilt for them if he pined and wasted away with sickness. The man protests he is not ill in the least, but his friends will not accept his denial—in spite of all he can say they kill him, and feast themselves on his body. So also if a woman be sick, the women who are her friends take her and do with her exactly the same as the men. If one of them reaches to old age, about which there is seldom any question, as commonly before that time they have had some disease or other, and so have been put to death—but if a man notwithstanding comes to be old, then they

offer him in sacrifice to their gods and afterwards eat his flesh."

On the cannibalism here referred to, the following note is given in Rawlinson's lately published translation of Herodotus—a work of great merit, and generally edited with critical carefulness and accuracy. "The same Custom (of cannibalism) is said to have prevailed among the Massagetæ and the Issidonians; and a similar one is mentioned by Strabo as existing among the Caspians and the Derbices. Marco Polo found the practice in Sumatra in his own day. "The people of Dragoian," he says, "observe this horrible custom in cases where any member of their family is afflicted with a disease. The relations of the sick person send for the magicians, whom they require, on examination of the symptoms, to declare whether he will recover or not. If the decision be that he cannot, the relations then call in certain men whose peculiar duty it is, and who perform their business with dexterity, to close the mouth until he is suffocated. This being done they cut the body in pieces in order to prepare it as victuals, and when it has been so dressed the relations assemble, and in a convivial manner eat the whole of it, not leaving so much as the marrow in the bones.' According to some modern writers (Elphinstone's Cabul, vol. i. p. 45, 2nd ed.) cannibalism continues in the countries bordering on the Indus to the present day."*

To this I would add, that the word Padœan may perhaps have been derived from the Indian *Paháḍí*, or "mountaineers," against whom the charge of cannibalism is not yet extinct, even in parts more to the east and south than

* Rawlinson's Herodotus.

the Indus. In an account of the Bandarwars by Lieut. Prendergast, we find the following statement :—

"In May, 1820, I visited the hills of Amarkantak, and the source of the Narbadá river, accompanied by Capt. W. Low of the Madras Army, and having heard that a particular tribe of Gonds who lived in the hills were Cannibals, I was anxious to ascertain the truth of the assertion, and made the most particular enquiries (assisted by my munshi, Mohan Sinha, an intelligent and well informed Káyath) as to their general habits and mode of living. We learned, after much trouble, that there was a tribe of Gonds who resided in the hills of Amarkantak, and to the S. E. in the Gondwáḍá country, who held very little intercourse with the villagers, and never went among them, except to barter or purchase provisions. This race live in detached parties, and have seldom more than eight or ten huts in one place. They are Cannibals in the real sense of the word, but never eat the flesh of any person not belonging to their own family or tribe ; nor do they do this except on particular occasions. It is the custom of this singular people to cut the throat of any person of their family who is attacked by severe illness, and who they think has no chance of recovering, when they collect the whole of their relations and particular friends, and feast upon the body. In like manner, when a person arrives at a great age, and becomes feeble and weak, the Halál-khor operates upon him, when the different members of the family assemble for the same purpose as above stated. In other respects, this is a simple race of people, nor do they consider cutting the throats of their sick relations or aged parents any sin ; but on the contrary an act acceptable to Kálí, a mercy to their relations, and a blessing to their whole race."*

This matter deserves to be inquired into. It was the charge of infanticide against the Indians brought by Colonel Wilford on the alleged authority of the Greeks and Romans, which led Jonathan Duncan to discover the awful custom of infanticide among the Rajputs. Our actual acquaintance with the inhabitants of the forests of India is a great deal more limited than it ought to be at the present

* Alexander's E. I. Magazine, 1831, p. 140.

time. Let India look to itself, as well as devote its enter-prizing officers to the work of African discovery.

The antipodes of the cannibals with Herodotus were the parties who entirely abstained from animal food. "There is another set of Indians," he says, "whose customs are very different. They refuse to put any live animal to death, they sow no corn, and have no dwelling houses. Vegetables are their only food. There is a plant which grows wild in their country, bearing seed about the size of a millet-seed in a calyx; their wont is to gather this seed, and having boiled it, calyx and all, to use it for food. If one of them is attacked with sickness, he goes forth into the wilderness, and lies down to die; no one has the least concern either for the sick or for the dead." Herodotus wrote about the times of the Buddhists; but even before their day great tenderness to animal life had been deve-loped in India, as a consequence of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which however is not to be found in the Védas, which in many places exemplify the use of animal food, even of that of the cow afterwards so sacred throughout the country. The first limitation as to animal food with which I am acquainted is in by far the most modern of the Védas, the Atharvana. It occurs in a command (already referred to) not to kill the "inedible cows of the Bráh-mans," and seems to have in view only the preservation of their pets.* The avoidance of the use of the cereals by the vegetarians hinted at by Herodotus is explained partly by the injunctions in Manu against the destruction of seeds, the germs of life, as exemplified in the complaints made against an oil press.† Why any seed should have been used by the

* See before, p. 141. † Manu, iv. 85.

vegetarians, scrupulously avoiding corn, does not appear. The dying in the wilderness without the care of friends may have a reference to the case of the *Vánaprasthas*, whom we have already noticed in this work.

The informers of Herodotus respecting India were certainly not friendly to its diversified tribes and tongues, if they had opportunities of actually observing their social state. "All the tribes I have mentioned," he says, "live together like the brute beasts." They were mistaken, too, when they said that all the tribes of India "had the same tint of skin, which approaches that of the Ethiopians." This language requires to be very considerably qualified, even when it is applied to the more southern tribes, which Herodotus must have heard of in the general, for he adds, "Their country is a long way from Persia towards the south, nor had king Darius ever any authority over them."

We have thus exhausted the general, and somewhat meagre, notices of India found in Herodotus. Nothing more of this country worthy of attention was learned by the Greeks till about one hundred and fifty years after Herodotus, when Alexander the Great, in his attempt to subdue the Persian empire to the dominion of Macedon, reached its northern borders. A great flood of light was doubtless then thrown on India, revealing its peculiarities to intelligent inquirers; but it has been only dimly reflected to us in the present day. The body of information obtained respecting it was soon lost for historical purposes. The letters of Alexander himself, sent from its borders, which are sometimes referred to by Pliny and Plutarch, have long ago disappeared, while those bearing his name, addressed to his tutor Aristotle,

bear evident marks of forgery. The writings of Callisthenes, who was taken to the East by Alexander to write his history, have also perished. We know of Clitarchus, another of Alexander's followers, only from a few references made to him by Plutarch and others. Orthagoras, who is said to have written nine books about Indian affairs, is not even quoted by Alexander's historians. Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet, wrote a history of his own movements; but we have not his work to compare it with the charges made against it by Strabo in his Geography, and by Arrian in his Expedition of Alexander. Arrian himself,—who was a disciple of Epictetus and flourished in the reign of the Emperor Adrian,—is our chief authority respecting the observations and deeds of Alexander and his army in India, though interesting gleanings are to be got from Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

Alexander's march from Bactria to the Indus, as described by Arrian,* is interesting principally in a geographical point of view. Attempts have been made, with considerable success, to reduce the names of places and persons found in it from their Greek to their Indian forms. The result warrants the application to the Greek visitors of India of the remark made by professor H. H. Wilson on our first English surveyors and geographers in India:—"It may be doubted if any of them have been conversant with the spoken language of the country: they have consequently put down names at random, according to their own inaccurate appreciation of sounds, carelessly, vulgarly, and corruptly uttered."† For

* Arriani Expeditionis libro quarto, et seq.

† Vishṇu Purána, pp. 178-9.

example, the Greek *Kóphén* (a river) is the *Kubhá* ; the *Choe* is the *Khonar* ; and the *Goraia* or Gorœas is the *Gáuri*. The *Aspasii* are probably connected with *Ashvaka* ; *Massiga* is *Mashaká* ; and *Peucolaitis* is *Pushkalavatí*.* It is interesting to notice that Alexander's experience of the courage of the mountaineers must have been somewhat similar to our own. "The Indians of that province," it is said, "far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits ;" and, after a trial of their mettle, he was glad to engage them as mercenaries, though he soon found, "that they would not fight against other Indians." The cattle of the district attracted his particular attention. "Alexander chose the best and largest (of them), that he might send them into Macedonia for a breed, for they far excelled the Grecian cattle both in bulk and beauty."† "The existence of the vine and ivy in the country and probably the worship of Shiva, the God "of increase," were viewed by the hero and his companions as an indication that it had been visited by Dionysus (or Bacchus). The Greeks were perhaps confirmed in their conjectures about this matter by the Indians, in whose genealogical tables a *Dévanahuṣha,* a divine personage of the Lunar race, makes an early appearance. The Indians begged for the saving of their city *Nysa*, alleging

* To no person are we more indebted for a scientific identification of many of the geographical names connected with the Indian movements of Alexander than to Professor Lassen. See Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. p. 116, et seq.

† Perhaps the bulk and beauty of some of the breeds of Indian cattle (with their prominently developed dewlaps and humps, which appear represented on the oldest coins,) as well as their utility, may have contributed to their deification by the Bráhmans.

that it had been built by *Dyonysus* ; and they got off from a demand for one hundred of their magistrates (their principal Shéts) for three hundred horses, and Alexander's deference to Bacchus, whom it was his desire to excel in the extent of his conquests. Arrian well understood the pretences which were made on both sides in this case, for he says, that " The things which the ancients have published in their fables concerning the Gods, ought not to be too narrowly searched into ; for whenever the truth of any story seemed to be liable to be called in question, some God was immediately summoned to their aid, and then all was plain and immediately swallowed." Mount Méru, even, was summoned to give testimony for Bacchus, its name sounding like that of the Greek word Μήρος (the upper part of the thigh), which fitted in with the western legend that Bacchus had been shut up in the thigh of Jupiter. Connected with the remarkable rock *Aornos*, Alexander began to hear of the alleged exploits of a God (Kriṣhṇa, as we shall afterwards see), whom they identified with their own Hercules. He enjoyed in the contiguous mountains and forests an elephant hunt, a fact which shows the wide dispersion of that gigantic pachyderm in his day.

On arriving at the Indus, probably at A'ṭak, Alexander received presents of submission from Taxiles, an Indian prince, so called from an Indian town, *Takshashilá*, to which he belonged. This prince he did not deprive of his territories when he reached his capital. On the contrary, he enlarged them, though he made Philip, the son of Machetas, governor of the province in his own name. Alexander's passage of the *Hydaspes*,

the *Vitastá* of the Indians, was opposed by the patriotic and valiant *Porus,* (or *Puras,*) who probably derived his name from *Pura* a city in general, but given to a capital and its lord in this district by way of distinction, according to a usage prevailing to the present day. This was at the summer solstice, when the river was at its height, and its passage was effected with great difficulty. Much fighting followed, which issued in the defeat of Porus, the death of his two sons and of the governor of the province, and the infliction of wounds on his own person. When Porus came to Alexander, to express his submission, both his bearing and appearance made a deep impression on the Macedonian conqueror. He was doubtless an excellent representative of the ancient Indian Kshatriyas, or Rulers.

The next river passed by Alexander was that of the *Acesines,* the *Asiknī* of the Hindus. In advance he came to the Hyd*rao*tes, or *Rávī.* Here he heard of a confederation formed against him by certain free Indians and *Cathaei,* perhaps a Scythian tribe, the progenitors of the *Káṭhís* of *Káṭhíawár* ; by the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli,* the inhabitants of *Mulásthána,* or *Multán* of later times. *Sangala,* or *Shákala,* near Amritasar, lay on his way to the south-east. He was fired with ambition to extend his conquests beyond the *Hyphasis* or *Vipáshá* of the Indians ; but the spirits of his men, with the monsoon storms raging around them and powerful enemies before them, failing them, he was obliged to terminate his onward march and to return to the Hydaspes. By land, and by the river, his forces were conveyed to the junction of the Hydaspes and Acesines, and afterwards to

that of the Acesines and Indus. An encounter with the Malli and the taking of Multán, which nearly cost Alexander his life, were the incidents of this part of his journey. The identification of various places and persons visited, or negociated with, by his army on the Indus is not a matter of difficulty. The *Oxydracæ* were the people of *Uch*, to be distinguished from the *Hydracæ*, the originals of the *Shúdras*, in the neighbouring district; and the *Abastani*, probably *Ambáshṭhas*, whose name appears in various parts of India. The *Xathri*, said to be a free people of India, were doubtless a tribe under the government of the *Kshatriyas*. The *Assadii* were the *Vasáti*. The land of *Musicanus* was near the present *Laḍakháná*. *Sindomana*, the *Sinhavan* of the Bráhmans, was the present *Sehwan*, between Upper and Lower Sindh. *Pattala* at the head of the Delta of the Indus, was the *Páṭalipuri* of the Bráhmans, and must have been near Haidarábád, and not at Thaṭhá as supposed by Principal Robertson.* It is not an object with us at present to notice the perilous journey of Alexander's army through the country of the Gadrosi and other tribes, and through Persia to the banks of the Euphrates. As connected with India, however, we may notice the fact that some of its sages adhered to him during this journey, even eating at his table as *Calanus*,—doubtless an Indian *Kalyáṇaṇ*,—who committed voluntary suicide (or Kámyamaraṇa, forbidden to Bráhmans by Manu)† on the

* See Author's Journal of a Missionary Tour in Sindh, in the O. C. S. 1850, p. 397.

† See before, p. 25. Calanus was probably a Bháṭṭa or Cháraṇa, a eulogist attendant upon kings, like individuals of these classes. *Mandanis* (S. *Maṇḍana*, as in the name of the author of the Amara Kosha) was his companion.

funeral pile, with the ultimate assent and co-operation of Alexander himself, who reckoned his death the crowning act of his strange philosophy.

The information respecting India acquired by the Alexandrine invasion, now briefly referred to, was doubtless very considerable in amount, and interesting in character. It was surpassed, however, in precision and importance by that acquired by Magasthenes, to the fragments of whose writings, as quoted by Strabo, Arrian, and others, we now turn our attention.*

The original position of Megasthenes with regard to India has often of late been overlooked. According to his own statement, found in Arrian,† he was an attaché to Syburtius, governor of the *Arachosii*, who inhabited the *Haraqaiti*, of the Pársís (the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sarasvati)* in eastern Irán.‡ While associated with Syburtius he frequently visited *Sandracottus* (or *Sandracyptus)* king of India. Sandracyptus, as conjectured by Sir William Jones, was the *Chundragupta* of the Hindus, the grandfather of the Emperor Ashoka, the great patron of the Buddhists. It was under Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, who had made a treaty with him about portions of territory west of the Indus, that Megasthenes visited his court at his capital *Palibothra*, or *Pátaliputra*, at the confluence of the *Eranoboas* (or *Shoṇa)* and Ganges, near the modern *Patna*, and which he assures us was eighty furlongs in length and fifteen in breadth, with a ditch thirty cubits deep, and a wall with five hundred and seventy

* These have been collected (but not translated) by Dr. Schwanbeck, in his Megasthenis Indica, Bonnæ, 1846.

† Arriani lib. v. cap.6. ‡ See before, p. 81.

towers and sixty-four gates.* The discovery of a real Indian *datum*, well called by Dr. Max Müller "the sheet anchor of Indian chronology," (the only date which promises in any good degree an adjustment of any portion of our Indian genealogies), is the consequence of this recognition. Justin† tells us that Sandracottus had seized the throne of India (from the last of the Nandas, it appears from the Indian account) after the prefects of Alexander had been murdured (317 B. C.) Seleucus found him sovereign of India when, after the taking of Babylon and the conquest of Bactria, he passed on to India, to make secure arrangements with its emperor. It was then he concluded the treaty with him, which must have been before the year 312, for after his return to Babylon, he founded the era which bears his own name, the Seleucidan era. It is concluded from this that Chandragupta became king about B. C. 315. It must have been about the year 312 that Megasthenes first visited his court.‡ It is on the people of India that the information which he communicates to us principally turns.

Megasthenes, as is well known, divides the population of India into seven principal divisions or classes (μέρη, a word which does not necessarily mean Castes). These are those of the Philosophers, the Agriculturists, the Shepherds and Hunters, the Artizans, Hucksters and Bodily Labourers, the Warriors, the Inspectors, and the Counsellors and Assessors of the king. Those who have

* For the identification of Palibothra and Pátaliputra, we are indebted to Major Rennell. Robertson's dissent from Rennell (Note xiv. to Disquisition) is groundless.

† Justin xv. 4.

‡ See Max Müller's Hist. of Sans. Lit.

viewed these divisions as indicating Castes, looked to either from a Brahmanical or a Buddhist point of view, have been much puzzled with this classification, for it is really not reconcilable with any specific classification of Castes noticed anywhere in the Indian literature. The classification, it appears to me, is either that of Megasthenes himself, or of the political authorities of Palibothra with whom he came in contact. After referring to the Philosophers, as in a position entirely peculiar, it rises from the Husbandman,—whom he views with much regard,—to the Royal Counsellors, next in authority to the king himself. Notwithstanding this peculiarity of the classification of Megasthenes, the information which his notices of the classes embraced by him afford is of great value, and throws considerable light even on the Caste system prevalent in his day. It is deserving of attention in all its details.

1. Of the *Philosophers*, Megasthenes thus writes (I quote from him as cited by Strabo,* who is more copious in his quotations than Arrian):—

"Among the classes, the first in honour, though in number the smallest, are the philosophers. People who offer sacrifice or perform any sacred rite have the services of those persons on their private account; but the kings employ them in a public capacity at the time of what is called the Great Synod, where at the time of the new year all the philosophers repair to the king at the gate, and any useful thing which they have committed to writing, or observed, tending to improve the production of fruits or of animals, or of advantage to the order of the state, is then

* Strab. Geog. lib. xv. 1. et seq.

publicly set forth. And whoever has been detected in thrice giving false information is enjoined silence by law for the rest of his life; but he who has made correct observations is for the rest of his life exempted from cess and tribute."* The employment of the philosophers for sacrifice and domestic religious rites has a plain reference to the Bráhmans and the rites which they were accustomed to celebrate; while the congregating of wise men in annual assemblies seems to point to arrangements of a Buddhist character. The observational powers of the Buddhist mendicants, accustomed to visit towns and villages and to travel through the country, would doubtless be greatly developed and improved by the enlargement of their experience, while the state would profit by their annual reports of discovery. The arrangements thus acted on, however humble in character, were somewhat similar in principle to those of the British Association in our own day, when there are exchanges of congratulation in the brotherhood of science, and when the public tenders its approbation to those who in science and practical art have successfully laboured for the public good. It is curious to observe the discipline of the Indian assemblies, embracing both punishments and rewards. Silence for life for false reporters and incorrect observers three times erring (though it may have been limited to a deprivation merely of the right of public speech) was a heavy punishment, while exemption from tax and tribute was a great boon bestowed on the lovers of truth and accuracy. This exemption was a great improvement of the laws, afterwards embodied in the code of Manu, exempting Bráhmans from all taxation.†

* Strab. Geo. lib. xv. 1.

† See before, p. 39.

Megasthenes, I may here mention, in connexion with the Philosophers, refers to those of the mountains (probably worshippers of the mountain-god Shiva,) as in favour of the alleged visit of Bacchus to India.* He recognizes the inhabitants of the plains, however, as addicted to the worship of Hercules. This so-called "Hercules" was undoubtedly the Indian Kṛiṣhṇa, whose fabulous achievements, so much resembling those of Hercules, were about this time brought to notice, while his worship was only locally prevalent. "Hercules," writes Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes, "the Indians tell us was a native of their country. He is particularly worshipped by the *Suraseni* [the *Shúrasénas* of the Hindu literature] who have two great cities belonging to them, *Methoras* [which we cannot fail to identify as *Mathurá*, a favourite residence of Kṛiṣhṇa] and *Klisoboras*," [probably a corruption of the name *Kṛishnapura*]. The district referred to is evidently that of the legends of the Hindus at the time of Megasthenes respecting Kṛiṣhṇa, a modern god, whose name is not once mentioned in the ancient Védas. Megasthenes adds respecting Hercules, evidently having Kṛiṣhṇa in his eye, that "he took many wives, and begot a great number of sons, though but one daughter whom he named *Pandæa*,"† a name in which we find an indistinct trace of the Páṇḍava dynasty of the Mahábhárata. Kṛiṣhṇa was only a deified king, whose name appears at the close of the Yadu branch of the Lunar race.

In treating of the Philosophers, Megasthenes recognizes both the *Bráhmans* and the Buddhist *Shramaṇas*.‡ "Megasthenes," says Strabo, "divides the philosophers into two

* Strab. Geo., xv. 1. 58. † Arr. Hist. In. cap. viii.

‡ See before, p. 295.

kinds, the *Bráchmanes* and the *Garmanes*.* The Brachmanes are held in greater repute, for they agree more exactly in their opinions. Even from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men, who go to the mother, and seem to perform some incantation for the happiness and welfare of the mother and the unborn child, but in reality they suggest prudent advice, and the mothers who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After the birth of the children, there is a succession of persons who have the care of them, and as they advance in years, masters more able and accomplished succeed."† The Bráhmans he here sets forth as of greater repute than the Shramaṇakas. He represents them as objects of care from their very conception, having probably received some indistinct account of the antenatal *Sanskáras*, or sacraments of the Hindus. He seems to have been aware of the formalities of their tutelage under a succession of teachers, according to the Hindu institutes. The self-denial of these philosophers he distinctly notices. "The philosophers," he says, "pass their time in a grove of moderate area, living upon straw pallets and on skins, abstaining from animal food, and from sexual intercourse with women, engaging themselves in grave discourses, and communicating with those inclined to listen to them. But the hearer is not permitted to speak or to cough, or even to spit on the ground; otherwise he is expelled that very day from their society, as having no control over himself. After living thirty-seven years in this manner, each retires

* *Sarmanas*, Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 305.

† Strab. Geog. lib. xv. 1. 59. Falconer's Translation, iii. p. 109.

to his own property, and lives with less restraint, wearing robes of fine linen, and rings of gold, but without profusion on the hands and ears. They eat the flesh of animals, but not that of those which assist man in his labour, and abstain from pungent and seasoned food. They practise polygamy for the sake of abundant offspring. If they have no servants, they supply their place by their own children, for the more nearly any person is related to another, the more is he bound to attend to his wants." Megasthenes seems to have had in view in this section principally the third and fourth áshramas of the Bráhmans, (of which the fourth is the milder,) though he concludes it by a reference to the second, that of the Householder.* The Bráhmans, he goes on to say, (in conformity with what we find in the Hindu literature) do not suffer their wives to attend their philosophical discourses. The reasons alleged by him for this reserve are the danger of the divulgence of secrets, the assertion of independence by instructed females, and their desertion of their husbands—reasons which, with some, are alleged to the present day against female instruction.

Of the doctrine of a future state as taught by the Bráhmans, Megasthenes had but partial notions. "They discourse," he says, "much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one conceived in the womb, and that death to philosophers is birth to a real and happy life." He was better informed about the non-recognition by them, under certain courses of teaching, of the absence of good and evil in the accidents of life. He rightly speaks of many of their notions of natural phenomena being founded merely on fables. He notices the

* See before, pp. 28-35.

opinion of the Bráhmans that the earth is spherical, from which it would appear that something had been said to him of the *Brahmaṇḍa,* or egg of Brahmá, and that there is a fifth element, doubtless the *ákásha* of the Indian sages. The "most honourable" of the *Garmanes,*—whom in the gross we recognize as principally the Buddhist *Shramaṇas,*—he declares to be the Hylobii. The word *Vánaprastháh* ("dwellers in the forest") is the literal rendering of Hylobii, and the technical designation of the parties in the fourth A'shráma of the Bráhmans; and these he may have erroneously classed with the Buddhist *Shramaṇas,* more particularly as they had not a monopoly of this name, though it was applied to them by way of distinction.

Of the Physicians Megasthenes thus writes:—"Second in honour to the Hylobii are the Physicians; for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are of frugal habits, but do not live in the fields, and subsist upon rice and meal, which every one gives when asked, and receives them hospitably. They are able to cause persons to have a numerous offspring and to have either male or female children, by means of charms. They cure diseases by diet rather than by medicinal remedies. Among the latter the most in repute are unguents and cataplasms. All others they suppose partake greatly of a noxious nature. Both this and the other class of persons [the Bráhmanical devotees?] practise fortitude as well in supporting active toil as in enduring suffering, so that they will continue a whole day in the same posture, without motion. They are enchanters and diviners, versed in the rites and customs relative to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. There are others who are

more civilized and better informed than these, who inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which according to their idea tend to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them, abstaining at the same time from sensual connexions." This, certainly, mainly applies to the Buddhist devotees among whom were females as well as males.*

Megasthenes further correctly mentions that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers (applicable to themselves), and that those who committed the act were reckoned fool-hardy.

2. Respecting the *Husbandmen*, Megasthenes says, "The second class is that of the Husbandmen, who are the most numerous and mildest, as they are exempted from military service and cultivate their land free from alarm. They do not resort to cities, either to transact public business, or take part in public tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, one body of men are in battle array, and engaged in contests with the enemy, while others are ploughing or digging in security, leaving the soldiers to protect them. The whole of the territory belongs to the king. They cultivate it on the terms of receiving as wages, the fourth part of the produce." This deference to agricultural pursuits by the Indians in times of war has more or less continued to the present time. As the cultivation of the land is here mentioned as a distinct employment and separated

* Clitarchus had probably Buddhists in view when he represents them under the name of Pramnœ as opposed to the Brachmanes. Strab. Geo. xv. 1. 70.

from the rearing of cattle, and the practice of merchandise associated in the law-books with the caste privileges of the *Vaishya*, it is perhaps not erroneous to infer that the term Vaishya was applied to parties separately following either of these occupations.

3. Respecting the *Pastors and Hunters*, our informant writes :—" The third class is that of the Pastors and Hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, to sell and to let out for hire beasts of burden. In return from freeing the country from wild beasts and birds, which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life, and dwell in tents. No private person is allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other is a royal privilege, and persons are appointed to take care of them."* The distinction of cowherds, shepherds, and hunters, from other portions of the Indian population, continues to the present day.

4. Of the *Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers*, Megasthenes thus writes :—" After the Hunters and the Shepherds, follows the fourth class, which consists of the Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers. Some of these pay taxes and perform certain stated services. But the Armour-makers and Ship-builders receive wages from the king, for whom only they work. The general-in-chief furnishes the soldiers with arms, and the admiral lets out ships for hire to those who undertake voyages and traffic as merchants."

* This is followed by an account of the taking the elephant, partly correct and partly inaccurate. Our author also repeats the story of the ants and the gold-finding, much in the form of Herodotus.

5. Of the *Military*, he says:—"The fifth class consists of fighting men who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking, and are maintained at the charge of the king. They are ready whenever they are wanted to march on an expedition, for they bring nothing of their own with them except their bodies." These troops, it is interesting to notice, were embodied as a standing army. It is not apparent that in caste they were necessarily *Kshatriyas*. They seem not to have been much troubled with what the Romans reckoned "impedimenta viæ."

6. Of the *Inspectors*, he says:—"The sixth class is that of the Ephori or Inspectors. They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on; and it is their duty to report privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the city courtezans; and the inspectors of the camp, the women who follow it. The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector." All this may be correct. It is part of the duty of a king, as laid down in the Law-books, to deal with spies and emissaries after sunset.* Glimpses of Inspectors may be got even in the older literature of the Indians.†

7. Of the *Counsellers and Assessors of the king*, he says:—"To these persons belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs." This is pretty much in accordance with what Manu tells us of the royal counsellors. In connexion with this part of

* See before, p. 41.

† See some corresponding designations in the Purusha Médha, ut supra. pp. 127-132.

his subject, Megasthenes brings to notice two of the actual principles of caste :—“ It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste,* nor to change from one profession or trade to another, nor for the same person to undertake more than one, except he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of his dignity.”

Returning to the ruling class, Megasthenes says:—“ Of the Magistrates *(Archons)* some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have the charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as woodcutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads and place a pillar at every ten stadia, to indicate the bye-ways and distances.” In all this there is pleasing testimony to advancement in economic civilization.

The most curious arrangements noticed by Megasthenes, in this connexion, respect the governors of cities. He tells us they are divided into six Pentads *(panchakas)*, Committees-of-five, with very special duties attached to each pentad. The first pentad superintended the fabricative operations, being a sort of Committee of Public Works. The second had charge of the relief of strangers, the burial of the friendless dead, and the care of their

* Γένος, the word which at p. 13 of this work is used as the Greek equivalent of *játi*. The word above translated “ class” is μέρος.

property. The third took cognizance of births and deaths, with a view to revenue purposes, which may explain the aversion of the natives of India to statistical inquiries. The fourth discharged the duties of the Bázár-masters, attending to weights and measures, and doubling the tax when the shopkeeper dealt in a variety of articles. The fifth took cognizance of manufactured articles and their sale, distinguishing old articles from new ones. The sixth collected the tenth of the price of the articles sold, inflicting death on parties guilty of fraud in this matter. This division of labour did not supersede the common consultation and responsibility of the general body of the pentads.

An equally minute division of labour was apparent in connexion with the management of military affairs, connected with which there were also six Pentads. The first of these acted under the naval superintendent, and its members were consequently miniature Lords of the Admiralty. The second managed the Commissariate and Transit Department, under a president, having charge of the bullock-trains for the military engines, baggage, instruments of music, grooms, mechanists, and foragers, whom they rewarded or punished according to their deserts. The third had charge of the infantry; the fourth, of the horses; the fifth, of the chariots; the sixth, of the elephants. In connexion with the notice of these arrangements, Megasthenes makes the following precise statements:—"There are royal stables for the horses and elephants. There is also a royal magazine of arms; for the soldier returns his arms to the armoury, and the horse and elephant to the stables. They use the elephants

without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen. The horses are led by a halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed and inflamed, nor their spirit damped by drawing chariots. Besides the charioteer, there are two persons who fight by his side in the chariot. With the elephant are four persons, the driver and three bowmen, who discharge arrows from his back."

These details all bear witness to what we have often noticed, the division of labour among the ancient Indians, and show the existence in the time of Megasthenes of parties with designations similar to those contained in the lists already introduced into this work.

Several miscellaneous notices of the Indian people, bearing on the social state of the Indians, are introduced by Strabo and Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes in a somewhat digressional form. The whole country of India was divided, it is said, into a hundred and twenty-two nations, an estimate probably not below the truth. The people were frugal in their mode of life, using no wine except in sacrifices (the reference is probably to the Soma), and their food being principally of rice. They were fond of ablutions and unctions; of the frictional rubbing of the body; and of ornaments of the precious stones and metals. They were remarkable for their regard for truth; their polygamous alliances, effected through purchase and favour; their tolerance of professional whoredom; their early marriages in the case of girls, who might be espoused when seven years old; their sacrificing with their heads uncovered; their killing animals by suffocation, in order to avoid bloodshed; their punishing crimes by maiming (as enjoined in the

Law-books); their care of the persons of the kings by slave-girls; their demands on kings for labour and recreation during the day; and other customs known to be consistent with Indian history. They are spoken of as ignorant of letters, or writing; and as conducting public business memoriter, without an accessible body of law, and without the use of seals. This may have been really the case with the body of the Indians in the time of Megasthenes, for the oldest known form of the Indian alphabets bears evidence of a Grecian and Phenician origin, and was not unlikely devised after the invasion of Alexander the Great.*

Megasthenes is accused of deviating into fables when he speaks of Indian dwarfish races of five or three spans in height, and without nostrils, but with breathing orifices about the mouth; of Enocoitœ, who slept on their ears which hung down to their feet; of tribes with heels in front, and instep and toes turned back; of Ocypadœ, so swift of foot that they left horses behind them; of Monomati, who had only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead, with hair erect and shaggy breasts; of Amycteres, without nostrils, with the upper part of the lips projecting; and of various other curious and hideous monsters. The absurdity of his narrative in regard to these matters needs no exposure; but it is interesting

* Clitarchus, as well as Megasthenes, testified to the Indian ignorance of writing. On the probable non-use of literal writing among the ancient Indians, see notice by the author in "India Three Thousand Years Ago," pp 34-36; and more particularly Max Müller's Hist. of Sans. Lit. pp. 500-524, compared with Goldstücker's Introduction to the Mánava Sútras, pp. 15-67.

to know that the more uncivilized tribes of India are characterized in this strange manner even in the classical Hindu literature. Professor H. H. Wilson, when quoting from the Mahabhárata the dig-vijaya of the Bhishma Parva, inserts the following note, on the mention of the people called *Naikaprishthas* (having-more-than-one-back) "probably some nickname or term of derision":—"Thus we have in the Rámáyaṇa and other works, enumerated amongst tribes, the *Karṇapravaraṇas*, those who wrap themselves up in their ears; *Ashtha-karṇakas*, the eight-eared; or *Oshtha-karṇakas*, having lips extending to their ears; *Kákamukhas*, crow-faced; *E'kapádukas*, one-footed, or rather one-slippered: exaggerations of national ugliness, or allusions to peculiar customs, which were not literally intended, although they may have furnished the Mandevilles of ancient and modern times with some of their monsters."* Even in the Védas, human monsters are alleged to exist.†

An interesting portion of the fragments of Megasthenes is that which refers to the Indian genealogies. It is difficult to identify the few Indian names which he indicates. Yet, with Lassen and others, all Indian scholars must see *Svayambhuva* (the self-existent) in his *Spartembas; Buddha*, in his *Budyas; Pururavas*, in his *Prareuas*, supposed to have been written for *Kradeuas*—the present reading. His names, with the exception perhaps of the last, are those of divinities heading the

* Wilson's Vishnu Purána, p. 187. See, also, on the names of the Indian monstrous people Schwanbeck's Megasthenis Indica, pp. 64, et seq.

† See before, p. 96.

genealogies, partly of the Solar and partly of the Lunar Dynasties, confounded by him together. Megasthenes says that the Indians reckon from Bacchus (whom they made the contemporary of Spartembas) one hundred and fifty-three kings, reigning during the space of six thousand and forty-two years. The statement agrees with none of the genealogical lists possessed by the Hindus, even when they are viewed as including their fabulous personages. The only safe conclusion is, that genealogical lists were actually recited by the natives at the time of his visit to India. We get no chronological help from him, except in the mention of the name of Sandracottus (Chandragupta), which affords us the valuable historical datum already alluded to.

We have before noticed the fact that the Greeks confounded Shiva and Kṛishṇa with Bacchus and Hercules, in the concept and legends of whom there is certainly some analogy. They were nearer the truth, when, as Strabo says, they related that the Indians worshipped Jupiter Ombrius, the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country.* In Jupiter Ombrius we doubtless find the Indian Indra, by whose influence it was supposed the clouds shed down their watery treasures. Indra was worshipped of old by all classes of the Indians, though he was reckoned the special deity of the Kshatriyas.

It must be apparent from the notices now given, that though the Greek accounts of India are, from the form in which they have reached us, not all that could be desired,

* Strab. Geog. xv. 1. 69. I have throughout this chapter referred to Megasthenes, as quoted in this chapter of Strabo, and in Arrian's Indian History, chapters vi-xvi.

they are really of a valuable and interesting character, from the light which they cast on the social state of the Indians at the times of which they treat. They afford no proof, however, that the Greeks recognized their relationship to the ruling tribes of India, or discovered the fact that the Greek and Sanskrit are cognate languages. They became known to the Indians, under the name of *Yavanas* (Ἴωνες), by which the Greco-Bactrians were afterwards distinguished. By the Greco-Bactrian, Greco-Indian, Indo-Scythian and Parthian Kings, whose coins have of late years been brought to light, and whose dominions extended to the northern provinces of India, important local modifications were doubtless made in Indian caste and customs ; but of these no historical notices are to be found. India became greatly indebted to Bactrian art, the indications of which are not wanting in the Buddhist remains of Western India ; and this obligation would not be unnoticed by the hereditary limners, painters, sculptors, and architects of India, and by those, who, under the Buddhist relaxation of Caste, felt at liberty to adopt occupations suited to their own genius and inclinations.

It may be here mentioned, though by anticipation, that our obligations to Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (of the second century after Christ) for the identification and localization of many of the peoples and tribes of India are great indeed. A few of these identifications and localizations have been already incidentally referred to in the preceding pages.* Others of them will be noticed when I review the Hindu Castes as they at present exist.

* See before, pp. 55, 57, 111, 155, 170, 227.

IX.—Caste in the Law-Books and Later Indian Literature.

Both the *Smártta* Sútras (or Sútras founded on the *Smṛiti* or "what is remembered") and the *Smṛitis* themselves having the same origin, form what are called the Hindu *Dharmashástras*,* or Law-Books. They do not claim an origin similar to that of the Védas or even that of the Bráhmaṇas, A'raṇyakas, Upanishads, and Shrauta Sútras, associated with the Védas, to which we have already appealed. Yet their authority is scarcely of a secondary character. They are practically all-prevalent in the Indian community. The more ancient of them contain the record of the laws and customs held to have been long current in the Indian community, and learned either by simple tradition, or from interpretations made of Védic works, by supposed Ṛishís in whose behalf it is asserted that they were perfect from their birth, and possessed of divine vision. It is generally maintained by the Hindus that Védic authority is wanting to them in any respect, only because portions of the Védic works, (Bráhmaṇas and Sútras) on which they were originally founded, have altogether perished. They are written in shlokas, a peculiar versification, or "measured prose" as it is denominated by Sir William Jones, but are not poetical in the proper sense of the term. More comments have been written upon them, and digests made of them, than in the case of any other Indian writings. The personal, and social, and civil, and religious

* From *Dhárma*, law, and *shástra*, institute.

affairs of the Hindus have been conducted according to them for many generations. They are held to be superior in authority both to the two works of *Itihása* (the Ramáyaṇa and Mahábhárata) and to the Eighteen Puráṇas.

The Hindus of Western India speak of Eighteen Smṛitis and Eighteen Upasmṛitis. The classifications of them under these heads, however, do not agree. The following is an alphabetical list of the best-known Smṛitis without reference to this distinction :—

1. *Atri*, of 115 Shlokas, treating of Dána (largesses to Bráhmans) and Penances.

2. *Angiras*, of 165 Shlokas, treating of ceremonial Defilement and Penances.

3. *A'pastamba*, of 200 Shlokas. This work is very similar to that of Angiras.

4. *A'shvaláyana*, of about 1000 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies of the Bráhmans, the Sixteen Sanskáras, the Shráddhas, the Daily Homa, the general Duties of the Castes (treated of as in other parts of this work), and the Death Ceremonies.

5. Baudháyana, of 1100 Shlokas, treating of Purity and Impurity, and Atonements.

6. *Bháradvája*. This work is now very rare.

7. *Brihaspati*, of 50 Shlokas, treating of Dána.

8. *Budha*, of 22 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskáras, and the Duties of the four Principal Castes.

9. *Daksha*, of 150 Shlokas, treating of the four Bráhmanical A'shramas, and of Daily Ceremonies and Duties.

10. *Dévala*, of 90 Shlokas, treating of the four Principal Castes, their Daily Duties, Defilement, Purification, and Penance.

11. *Gautama*, of about 450 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskáras, the relative Position and Duties of the four Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, and Penance.

12. *Háríta*, of about 125 Shlokas, treating of Penance and Funeral Ceremonies.

13. *Jábáli.*

14. *Jaimini.*

15. *Jamadagni.*

16. *Káshyapa.*

17. *Kátyáyana*, occupying twelve leaves in Calcutta edition in Bengalí character.*

18. *Kaushakí*, of about 300 Shlokas, treating of *Doṣha* (stains) and Penance.

19. *Kokila*, of 306 Shlokas, treating of Shráddhas

20. *Laugákshí.*

21. *Likhita*, of about 100 Shlokas, treating of Dána, Penance, and Funeral Ceremonies.

22. *Manu*, of 2685 Shlokas, as counted by Sir William Jones. The following is its own summary of contents :—
The Creation of the World, Laws of the Sanskáras, Observances, Ablutions, Marriage, the great Sacrifices, Funeral Ceremonies, Occupations, Family Rules, Things to be Ate and not-Ate, Defilements, Purifications (of men) and Utensils, the Duty of Women, the Practice of the Yoga, Tapa, Moksha, and Sanyása, the Duty of Kings, Decision of Cases, Taking of Evidence, and Examination, Law of Husband and Wife, Inheritance, Gambling, Punishment of Criminals, the A'chára (or Dutiful Walk) of Vaishyas and Shúdras, Origin of the Mixed Castes, the Duties of all Classes in times of Distress, Rules of Penance, Escape

* See Bibl. Sansk. of Gildemeister, p. 127.

from Worldly Connexion, Enjoyment of the three kinds of Fruits of Works, Liberation, the Knowledge of Good and Evil, the Duties owed to One's Country, to One's Caste, to One's Family, Heretics, and Companies of Traders).*

23. *Náráyaṇa.*

24. *Paráshara,* of 3,300 Shlokas, treating (after the *Upodghúta,* or Introduction) of the Daily Ceremonies, the Four Ashramas, Sacrifice, Marriage, Funeral Ceremonies, Purity and Impurity, Penance, Touch, Eatables and Non-Eatables, Largesses, Rendering of the Planets, Houses, Temples, etc. Propitious, Duties of Kings. This Smṛiti also appears in an abridged form, of 541 Shlokas.

25. The *Prajápati* or *Brahmá,* of 200 Shlokas, treating of the ordinances for Shráddhas.

26. *Sanvarttaka,* of 216 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies, Largesses, the Castes, the A'shramas, and Penances.

27. *Shátátapa,* of 200 Shlokas, treating of Penance.

28. *Shaunaka,* of 204 Shlokas, treating of Sacrifice.

29. *Shankha,* of 200 Shlokas, treating of Deeds that are Right or Wrong (*Dharmádharma*), Purity and Impurity, Daily Ceremonies, and Funeral Ceremonies.

* Manusmṛiti, i. 111-118. The contents of the twelve chapters are thus expressed by Sir William Jones. I. On the Creation; with a Summary of the Contents. II. On Education; or on the First Order. III. On Marriage; or on the Second Order. IV. On Economicks, and Private Morals. V. On Diet, Purification, and Women. VI. On Devotion; or on the Third and Fourth Orders. VII. On Government; or on the Military Class. VIII. On Judicature; and on Law, Private and Criminal. IX. On the Commercial and Servile Classes. X. On the Mixed Classes, and on Times of Distress. XI. On Penance and Expiation. XII. On Transmigration and final Beatitude.

30. *Ushana*, of 150 Shlokas, treating of Purity and Impurity, the Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, Buying and Selling, and Penance.

31. *Vámana*.

32. *Vashishtha*, a favourite of the Vaishṇavas, whom it supports from a sectarial point of view.

33. *Vishṇu*. Of this I have seen only the Laghu, or abridged form, which consists only of 110 Shlokas, treating of the Sacraments, A'shramas, and Castes.

34. *Vriddhashátátapa*.

35. *Vyása*, of 84 Shlokas, treating of the Castes, A'shramas, and Largesses.

36. *Yájnavalkya*, of 1200 Shlokas. The first Division of this work, entitled A'charádhyáya, (the A'chára chapter) contains thirteen sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Pupilage, Marriage, the Castes, the Duties of a Householder, the Duties of the state intervening between Pupilage and Marriage, Food permitted and forbidden, Purification, Largesses, Funeral Ceremonies, the Worship of Gaṇapati, Propitiating the Planets, etc., the Duty of Kings. The second, entitled the Vyavahárádhyáya, contains twenty-three sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Payment of Debts, Oral Evidence, Written Evidence, Trial by Ordeal, Partition of Heritage, Boundary Disputes between Master and Servant, Sale of what has no Owner, Reversal of Gifts, Repenting of Sale or Purchase, Service by Contract, Opposition to Customs or Bye-Laws, Non-payment of Wages, Gambling, Abuse by Speech, Assaults, Violence, Reversal of Sale, Partnership, Theft and Robbery, Fornication and Adultery, Miscellanies. The third, entitled the Práyashchitádháya, treats of

the Atonements for Impurity, for Compromises in Times of Difficulty, for a Vánaprastha, for a Parivrája, for Compromises in case of Disease, for killing Bráhmans, for killing Cows, for various kinds of Slaughter, for Spirit-drinking, for Theft, for breaking Caste, for Debauchery of Women, for Eating at Funeral Ceremonies, for Inferior Sins, for Eating Things forbidden, for Wearing Blue Clothing, etc.

It will be observed, on looking to this list, that most of these Smṛitis are exceedingly brief. Some of them appear to me to be made up of the collected quotations ascribed to their respective authors, and not to be distinctive works, forming either individual treatises, or a Code of Laws. As to an arrangement of them, founded either upon their age or matter, the Hindus are not agreed. Vijnáneshvara, the author of the great commentary on Yájnavalkya, mentions twenty-four of them in the following order:—Manu, Atri, Vishṇu, Hárita, Yájnavalkya, Ushana, Angirá, Yama, A'pastamba, Sanvartta, Kátyáyana, Bṛihaspati, Paráshara, Vyása, Shankha, Likhita, Daksha, Gautama, Shatátapa, and Vasishtha.* He does not, however, consider this list exhaustive.

* Mitákshara, i. 1. (p. 2, Cal. Ed. of 1813). Nílakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa (in the Sanskára Mayukha 1. p. 1.) after quoting this list of twenty-one authors of Smṛitis gives the following other list on the authority of Paithína :—Manu, Angirá, Vyása, Gautama, Atri, Ushana, Yama, Vasishtha, Daksha, Sanvartta, Shátátapa, Paráshara, Vishṇu, A'pastamba, Hárita, Shankha, Kátyáyana, Guru (alias Bṛihaspati), *Prashéta, *Nárada, *Yogi, Baudháyana, Pitámaha (alias Brahmá or Prajápati), Subantu, Káshyapa, *Babhru, *Paithína, *Vyághra, *Satyavrata, Bháradvája, *Gárgya, Katyáyana (name repeated in the MS.), Jábáli, Jamadagni, Laugákshi, *Brahmasanbhava. To the Smṛitis in this list not mentioned above, I have prefixed an asterisk. Nilakaṇṭha gives the preference to Manu of all the Smṛitis.

Copies of the minor Smritis are now rather rare, the Hindus being generally satisfied with the references made to them in their Digests of Law. The following is the substance of that of *Angirá*. It treats of various Penances for Caste and other offences, and is intimately connected with the subject of Caste under our notice.

Repeat the Penances (prescribed) in the case of the A'shrámas, and all the Varnas. A Bráhman drinking out of the vessel or well of a Chándála is to perform the Sántapana;* the Kshatriya, the Prájápatya;† the Vaishya, half the atonement of the Kshatriya; and the Shúdra, the half of that of the Vaishya. The water of a Chandála ought to be outvomited by these classes as soon as swallowed, and the Prájápatya Penance performed. If the water has remained for some time in the stomach, the Bráhman has to perform the Krichchhra,‡ and Sántapana. If water from the vessel of a Chándála be drunk in consequence of thirst, cow's urine must be drunk for three days. If any Dvija (twice-born) person [a Bráhman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya] do not wash his hands after relieving nature, after eating, or after touching a dog, he has to bathe and twice repeat the Gáyatri. If a Bráhman drink of a well polluted by ordure, he has to perform the Krichchhra and Sántapana, for three days. A person who looks on or touches a crane, a Bhása,§ a vulture, a rat, an ass, a Baka,‖ a jackal, a sow, has to perform three A'chamanas [thrice to sip water and spurt it out.]. If a Bráhman eat of these animals he has to perform the Krichchhra, Sántapana, and the Prájápatya. Eating of the flesh of a dog or cock, he has to perform the Chándráyana.¶ If a Bráhman speak when

* Fasting for a night and day, and taking the *panchagavya*, the five products of the cow, milk, butter, curd, dung, and urine.

† Fasting for three days, eating once for three days, abstaining from asking anything for three days, and fasting for three days.

‡ Abstaining from water for twenty-one days.

§ Supposed to be a kind of water-bird.

‖ Ardea Garzetta. Sykes.

¶ Eating the first day of the moon one mouthful; the second day, two; the third day, three; and so on till the full moon, when the supply is to begin to be lessoned by a mouthful daily till a new moon occurs. This is the Yavamadhya Chándráyana. In the Pipíliká, the reverse form of eatings practised.

relieving nature or when eating, he should touch another Bráhman. [Such, it is here added, is also the dictum of Shankha and Likhita.] If on any cotton matrass, or ornamented or red clothing, any defiling fluid fall, then let the article be purified by drying it and sprinkling it with pure water.* If a Dvija touch a Washerman, a Charmakára (shoemaker,) a Naṭa (player), a Dhívara (fisherman), or a Buruḍa (worker-in-bambus), he has to perform an A'chamana with water. If any of these castes touch a Dvija when he is *uchchhishṭa*,† he has to remain for a night without eating, contenting himself with drinking. If any Dvija eat of the leavings of the forementioned castes, he has to fast for three days; and, if he be a Bráhman, he has to perform the Sántapana, while the Kshatriya has to perform three-fourths of it, the Vaishya two-fourths of it, and the Shúdra one-fourth. If a Bráhman go to the wife of a Shvapáka,‡ he has to bathe with all his clothes, and take a draft of clarified butter. If he do this without the desire of the woman, he has to bathe seven times; and if he does this with her desire, but without his own, he has to bathe ten or eleven times. If any woman under a vow become impure (through her courses) her vow is not destroyed, but to be implemented after four days. If a Bráhman touch the water of a Cháṇḍála, he has to perform the Prájápatya and Kṛichchhra. [So also says Sumanta.] If a Bráhman eat the food of a Chaṇḍála or outcasted person, he has to perform the Paráka§ penance; and a Shúdra, the Kṛichchhra. If any person go to the wife of an outcast or eat with her, or accept anything at her hands, he has to abstain for a month from grains, or perform the Chándráyana penance. If the flesh of a dog, an elephant, an ass, or a man fall into a well or tank, the whole water should be taken out, and the well or tank cleaned. If any Bráhman partake of water in which a corpse has fallen, he must remain awake for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Or he must perform the Chándráyana or Tapta-krichchhra.‖

* This is to prevent injury and inconvenience by a regular washing as in ordinary cloth, which is to be washed entire.

† In the state of impurity, following eating without washing.

‡ Literally a "dog-eater," a designation applied to several of the low castes.

§ Fasting for twelve days.

‖ Drinking hot-water, milk, and ghí for three days each.

There is no fault incurred by wearing what is blue at the time of sporting with women ; but there is at the time of Sandhyá, (the morning and evening ceremonies,) Snána (ablution), Japa (meditation), Homa (burnt sacrifice), Svádhyáya (reading the Védas), and Pitṛitarpana (pouring out water to Ancestors,) and Yajna (sacrifice), which would be rendered useless by it. A Bráhman dealing in indigo becomes an apostate ; or he must perform three Kṛichchharas. If a Bráhman wear a blue dress, he should remain awake for a night and a day, and swallow the Panchagavya. If a Bráhman pass through a field of indigo, he has to do the same. If a Dvija eat of grain raised in a field in which indigo had before been sown, he has to perform the Chándráyana. Fields in which indigo has been sown are purified after being kept fallow for twelve years. The husband of a widow remains in hell while he wears cloth dyed with indigo.*

A woman performing any fast or vow (in her own behalf) while her husband is alive shortens his life, and goes to hell after death. A woman is impure to the fourth day after her illness ; and if she die in the interval no Sanskára is to be performed for her till after this interval.

If a person be impure in a crowd, his impurity does not attach to others. The metal mixture Kása† is purified by ashes. It is cleansed from spirits by being washed and dried. The Kása vessels from which Shúdras drink are purified by touching with them a cow. A vessel touched by a dog, or a crow, is purified by an application of ten kinds of salt. Golden and silver vessels are purified by the wind and the rays of the sun and moon. Vessels of Kása are pure for the washing of hands and feet, and not for eating or drinking. Golden and silver vessels which may have been six months in the ground are purified by water. Copper vessels are purified by acid substances. A woollen cloth touching a corpse is not defiled.

If a man go between a husband and wife, or between fire and a Bráhman, or between a cow and a Bráhman, he must fast for a day and night.

* It is difficult to account for this hostility to indigo. Perhaps, the Bráhmans, who had established white as their religious colour, were afraid of the introduction of new fashions when their progress to the south of India brought them in contact with the Aborigines using indigo.

† Bell-metal, or an amalgam of zinc and copper.

No fruit occurs for ablution performed without the Darbha-grass; or for largesses given without water;* or for Japa performed without counting. The placing the half instead of the whole of the foot upon an A'sana (sacred seat) and speaking while eating, are faults equivalent to the eating of beef. If any man drink water or eat food that has fallen on the ground, he has to perform the Chándráyana. Dry rice is (fully) digested after seven nights; and vegetables ate with rice after fifteen nights. Milk and curds are digested after a month; clarified butter, after six months; and oil, after a year. A person taking the food of a Shúdra for a month remains a Shúdra, and after death becomes a dog *(sic!)*. A person who becomes fat by eating the food of a Shúdra has no future good issue. Issue begotten after eating Shúdra's food is of the Shúdra caste. A person who dies with Shúdra food in his stomach becomes a village pig, or is reborn in a Shúdra's family. A person who sacrifices after eating with Shúdras is forsaken by Pitṛis and Dévas, and goes to the Raurava (dreadful) hell.† The wisdom of a Bráhman looking to a Shúdra (with expectation) becomes powerless. Food ought to be given on the ground to such a Bráhman, as to a dog. If a Shúdra make a Namaskára‡ to a Bráhman, and a Bráhman accept it, the Shúdra first goes to hell, and then the Bráhman. If an Agnihotri Bráhman (a Bráhman maintaining the sacred fire) continue to eat the food of a Shúdra his five acquisitions,—his soul, his Brahma, and three fires,—are destroyed. A Bráhman, according to A'pastamba, is not to eat anything which may have been in his hand when he touched a Shúdra. A Bráhman ought to eat the food of a Bráhman daily, that of a Kshatriya on the Parvas,§ and on occasion that of a Vaishya, but never that of a Shúdra. The food of a Bráhman is (to the Bráhman) like ambrosia; that of a Kshatriya, like milk; that of a Vaishya, like food (properly so-called); and that of a Shúdra,

* The reference here is to the necessity of dipping presents in water, or applying water to them, when giving them to Bráhmans. See before, p. 27.

† For an account of the Hindu hells and the sins said to lead to them, see Wilson's Vishnu Puráṇa, pp. 207-8.

‡ A form of salutation to be given only by the Dvijas and to one another.

§ "*Parva* is a term for particular periods of the year, (as the equinoxes, solstices, etc.) A name given to certain days in the lunar month, as the full and change of the moon, and the 6th, 8th, and 10th of each half month."—Molesworth's Maráthí Dictionary.

like blood. The Bráhman's food is holiness ; the Kshatriya's, like an animal ; the Vaishya's, like a Shúdra ; and a Shúdra's, like hell. The sin of a man is acquired by the eating of his food ; he who eats his food eats his sin. If a Bráhman or Brahmachárí eat or drink (without bathing) in ignorance of his impurity from a birth (*sútaka*) which has occurred, let him take the Panchagavya ; and fasting three days he will be clean. A Bráhman becomes pure in ten days after a birth in his own class, a Kshatriya in six days, a Vaishya in three days, and a Shúdra in one day. The birth into which a Dvija will go after eating of the food of a Shúdra, while he (the Dvija) is in a state of impurity from a death or birth is to me (Angiras) unknown. Manu says he will be a vulture for twelve births ; or a pig for ten births ; or a dog for seven births. No defilement from birth or death occurs when the party concerned is practising the Homa, celebrating a marriage, or erecting a tabernacle for sacrifice. If a fly or a hair be found in food at the time of eating, water is to be applied to the eyes, and a little of (the sacred) ashes sprinkled on the food. If nature be relieved in a forest or place in which there is no water, or where there is the fear of tigers or thieves, there is no defilement from the disuse of water. It is sufficient ten times to touch the ground. If a party become impure while eating, he has to put out his mouthful, and perform ablution. If he has swallowed his mouthful, he will become pure by fasting a day or night ; but if he has completed his meal he will become pure by fasting three nights. If he has ate improper food while seated in his Pankti (line), he should fast for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Divisions in Panktis are caused by fire, ashes, pillars, doors, water, and roads. After sitting in one Pankti no one should touch that of others. The Sparsha (defilement by touch) is not communicated to those in one's own Pankti, but it is communicated to those of others. A Bráhman is not freed from sin and impurity by repeating the Védas, but from knowing the meaning of the Smṛiti. If a man repent of his sin and resolve not to repeat it, he becomes pure by that repentance, and by reading the Védángas. As fire consumes living trees, so one skilled in the Védas consumes his own sins. Sin does not occur from confidence in God, but from ignorance and inadvertence, on which account only it is consumable....

In the house of a king, in a cow's fold, and in the presence of a God or Bráhman, and at the time of worship and eating, shoes ought to be pulled off. A religious king ought to cut off both the feet of any person who will sit with his Pádukas (wooden-slippers) on his seat. An Agnihotri, a Tapasví, and a person learned in the Védas may always wear Pádukas; no other person ought so to do without punishment. The Chándráyana penance ought to be performed by all who eat in the house of a woman promised in marriage to one person and given to another; in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before marriage; and in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before she is ten years old; and in the house of a woman who has forsaken her husband and become an adulteress. Hell is the consequence of eating in the house of a woman without offspring. They who live on the property of a woman (*Strídhana*) go to hell. He who takes away the food of a King, the food of a Shúdra, or the glory of a Bráhman, or the food of a person labouring under the Sútaka, eats the sin of the world. He who touches a female Cháṇḍála at night, becomes pure by touching in the morning, the water brought by day, by bathing in it, and by drinking it. A Dása, Nápita (barber), Gopála (cowherd), Kulamitra (common cultivator, literally a friend of the family), and an Ardhasíri (a cultivator giving up half the produce), may eat with a Shúdra. If a Dvija eat with a Shúdra he has to perform the Chándráyana. There is no atonement for a man who has intercourse with a Vṛishalí (a woman who has her courses before her marriage). He who touches from inadvertence an Ajápála, a Mahishya, a Vṛishalípati, has to perform ablution of his person and dress (*sacheilasnána.*) An Ajápála is the husband of a barren woman. A Mahihya is a man who forgives the adultery of his wife. A Vṛishalipati is the husband of a girl who had her courses before being married. The father, mother, and elder brother who tolerate a girl in her courses before marriage go to hell. A Bráhman who will marry such a girl is not to be spoken to or admitted into society. The ancestors who look on a Mahishya in front; on a Vṛishalípati, in the middle; and on a usurer behind, go into despair. Ancestors, Gods, and Ṛishis go into despair on seeing a person with spots on his body, a leper, a person with injured nails, and a person with black teeth. The gods do not eat in the house of a backbiter, a liar, or a man in subjection to

his wife; or in the house in which a paramour is found. The ancestors eat the clarified butter of the person whose nails and hair are good, who does not wear red-clothing, and whose ears are larger than two fingers. As long as the food is hot, and no conversation takes place, the ancestors feed with the eaters. The qualities of the clarified butter are not to be spoken of till the ancestors are satisfied. Whatever mouthfuls at a Havyákavya (Shráddha)* are ate by the Bráhmans are ate by the ancestors. No Vrata (service in consequence of a religious vow) avails till the Bráhmans are satisfied with gifts of food and gold. Purification from any impurity thrown on the body by a crow or a crane is obtained by washing the stain. By six nights' drinking of the juice of the Lotus, Udumbara, Bilva, Kusha, Ashvatha, and the Palásha,† the stain incurred by participating of articles forbidden to be eaten, drunken, or tasted, and of blood, urine, and fœces, is removed. If this is not done, let three Krichchhras, or three Chándráyanas, or the repetition of the sacraments upwards from the Játakarma.‡ [Here follows a repetition of a verse before occurring.] In doing penance let respect be had to country, time, convenience, property, fitness, and condition. There is no defilement from water or grass occurring on a road; for they become pure by the rays of the sun and the wind. An infirm person is purified by the touch of a person making an ablution in his behalf. [Here follows a statement of the methods to be adopted to obtain ceremonial purification after touching a woman in her courses.] Purity is obtained by ablution after touching a corpse, or hearing of a birth or death. This virtue is in water, because the sun sees it, because it is heated by fire, and because the constellations observe it at night. Water is always holy, whether still or flowing, whether in a well or reservoir, or river; so says Vákpati (Bṛihaspati). Angirá muni has said that water (if defiled) is purified by waving a stick over it, or by casting a clod of earth into it, or applying cow's dung to it. Milk, dung, urine, curds, whey, and butter, and the tail of a cow are always holy. Everything has now been

* Oblations to the Manes of ancestors, performed by clarified butter and food.

† The *Udumbara* is the Ficus glomerata; the *Kusha*, the Poa cynosuroides grass; the *Bilva*, the Ægle marmelos; and the *Palásha*, the Butea frondosa.

‡ See before, p. 61.

communicated to you, O intelligent one. If a cow is made to fall, a Krichchara has to be performed ; if it fall on a stone, two Krichcharas ; if it fall into a large well, half a Krichchara ; if into a ditch, a quarter of a Krichchara. If it be struck by an instrument, three Krichcharas have to be performed by the killer ; if by a stick, two ; if by a clod of earth, one ; or the Prájápatya. One has not to speak with a [strange] woman or sing with her. One must not go at night into a cowpen or perform any Védic ceremony. For cutting or twisting the tail (of a cow), two-fourths (of a Krichchhara) are prescribed ; for cutting off a foot, a shaving with the exception of the Shikha (tuft) ; and for felling, the shaving of the Shikha, are prescribed. The shaving of a woman, to the extent of two handbreaths of her hair, is prescribed for a similar offence. Let a man who is purified and undefiled by touch walk (on his way) without speaking. He who is touched by a person not (ceremonially pure), becomes pure in three nights. If during the Sútaka of a person mourning a death, he receive tidings of a birth, his Sútaka closes after the tenth day ; but if his Sútaka is in the first instance for a birth, and he afterwards hears of a death, the days of each Sútaka must be fulfilled [i. e. it must be completed in twenty days]. If a Sútaka is commenced for one birth and another be heard of, or if a Sútaka be commenced for a death, and another be heard of, one Sútaka is sufficient, and no sin occurs from the arrangement. If a Sútaka occur during a *Vrata*, let the Vrata be completed, and a dinner given to the Bráhmans. Whoever repeats this Shástra declared by Angiras becomes free from all sin.*

On looking at the preceding list of the Smritis, it will be observed, that most of the works noticed are exceedingly brief. They appear to me to be made up, in some instances, of the collected quotations ascribed to their reputed authors,—who were principally Rishis of the Védic times, who had nothing whatever to do with their composition,—and not to be distinctive works forming either individual treatises or a Code of Laws, properly so-called.

The Smritis in most repute throughout India in general

* Angirásmriti, 1-165.

are those bearing the names of *Manu*, *Yájnavalkya*, and *Paráshara*. The best commentary on Manu is that of the Karnátakí Bráhman *Kullúka Bhaṭṭa*, usually printed with the text; and that on Yájnavalkya, that of the Shaiva Dandí *Vígnáneshvarí*, called the *Mitákshará*. The best digest of all the Smṛitis and of the interpretations made of them is that entitled *Mayúkha*, (the concentrated Rays of Light) a work of twelve divisions and thirty-six thousand Shlokas, written by *Nilkantha Bhaṭṭa Káshíkar*, a Déshastha Bráhman who flourished considerably upwards of three centuries ago. The best digest of the privileges and duties of the Shúdras, forming the great mass of the Indian community, as set forth in the Law-Books, is that entitled the *Shúdra Kamalákar* by *Kamalákar Bhaṭṭa*, also of Káshi, who was somewhat posterior to the author now mentioned. Numerous other digests of Hindu Law are in use in the different provinces of India.* Of these the *Nirṇaya Sindhu*, treating more of religious than secular matters, is often referred to in the Maráthá Country.

The work bearing the name of *Manu* is sufficiently well-known by the translation of Sir William Jones. The original text of it has been repeatedly printed, and sometimes with the commentary of Kullúka Bhaṭṭa. It has the best claim of any Hindu Law-Book to the title of a Code, though it is by no means a homogeneous or self-consistent work. It commences by a professed recital by Manu (the primitive Manu, the all-knowing and all-powerful) to the assembled sages, of the doctrine

* Of these the largest list (founded however more on hearsay than precise research) is to be found in Steele's Report above referred to.

of the evolution or formation of the universe, and all its inhabitants, animate and inanimate, according to the speculative system which it is intended to support. This Code of Laws (Shástra), it tells us, Manu learned from the Deity himself, and afterwards communicated to Maríchi and the other nine Prajápatis or Lords of Creation.* Manu, it adds, requested *Bhṛigu* to recite the Code, which is consequently announced in his name. The claims for its great antiquity, first proposed by Sir William Jones, in his Introduction to his translation of it, have of late years been abandoned by all orientalists; and others of a more moderate character are now urged in its behalf. There are allusions in it not only to the three sacrificial Védas, but to the Atharva Véda; to the Bráhmaṇas; to the Upanishads; to the Vedángas; and to the Shrúti, etc.† Professor Lassen shows that at least portions of it are older than the Buddhist Sútras, which contain the name of the god Shiva, not to be found in it. Parts of it, too, as the same author shows, must have been written when the A'ryas knew but little of the nations of the South of India, of which only the *Odras* (of Orisa,) the *Draviḍas* (of the south-east of the peninsula,) the *Avantyas* (of Ujjayaní,) and the *Sátvatas* (of the Sátpuḍa range) are mentioned by it.‡ The collecting, and probably the making, of some of the laws of the Code, however, must have been a work of later times. Heretics and their books are sometimes mentioned in it in such a keen way as to make us believe that they had an organiza-

* Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachétas, or Daksha, Vashishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nárada. These names are principally those of the Védic poets, elevated to the rank of Prajápatis.

† Manu xi. 33; iv. 100; etc. ‡ Manu, Chap. x. 44, 21, 23.

tion hostile to that of the Bráhmans, such as first appeared among the Buddhists.* Female devotees, unknown to Bráhmanism, and said by Kullúka, the commentator, to belong to the "Buddhist sect," are alluded to.† The reference to the *Chinas* would lead us to infer that portions of the work were made after the origination of the dynasty of *Tsin* (B.C. 260), taking its name, however, perhaps from an older tribe; and to the *Yavanas*, that the same portions were written subsequent to the advent of the Greeks to the north of India.‡ The distinctions between Mantras and Bráhmaṇas and between *Shruti* and *Smṛiti* are recognized by it.§ The Smṛitis of Atri, Shaunaka, and Vasiṣhtha, etc. are quoted by it.‖ Reference is made in it to *Shúdra* kings (probably late authorities among the A'ryas) though only to condemn them.¶ It takes notice of the art of writing, and the recording of evidence on certain occasions.** Dr. Max Müller thinks that it has received the name of the *Mánava-dharmashástra*, from its being the law-book of the *Mánavas*, a subdivision of the sect of the Taittiríyas.†† The date of the oldest Smṛiti collections is probably not to be extended beyond the second century before Christ. It is evident, from many of their portions, that they originated in a dark period of Indian history, as far as Bráhmanism is concerned.‡‡

* Manu, ii. 10-11; xi. 66.

† Manu, viii. 363.

‡ See passage quoted before, p. 60.

§ Manu, iv. 19; ii. 10-11; vi. 89.

‖ Manu, iii. 16; viii. 140.

¶ Manu, iv. 61.

** Manu, viii. 261.

†† Hist. of Sans. Lit. p. 61.

‡‡ For the opinion of Sir William Jones on the faults of Manu, see before pp. 42-3.

I have already drawn copiously on Manu for illustrations of the Caste system in the first sections of this work, which treat of the sphere and authority of caste; of the orthodox view of the four original castes; and of the orthodox view of the mixed castes. The following abstract of important matters not already noticed, however, may be here advantageously made :—

Manu, who speaks of the formation, as has been shown, of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra from the head, arms, thighs, and feet of the godhead, according to the orthodox view of caste,* does not consistently adhere to this theory. He speaks of Brahmá becoming half male and half female, and as forming Viráj in that female; of Viráj forming Manu; of Manu forming the ten Prajápatis; of the ten Prajápatis forming seven other Manus and Dévas, and Maharshis of boundless power, and various other creatures, including apes, fishes, birds, beasts, deer, and *Men*.† Mr. Muir appropriately asks, "If the castes had been previously created by Brahmá, what necessity existed for their being formed at another stage of the creation by the Maharshis, the third in succession from Brahmá?" And he appropriately adds, "It would seem as if the legend of the distinct creation of castes had been part of a separate and perhaps later tradition, engrafted on the other account."‡ But this is not all. We have already seen the doctrine laid down in Manu, that the Kshatriya was formed from particles of eight gods specified. § Afterwards referring to the three *guṇas* or qualities of Deity, according to Hindu speculation, Bhṛigu speaks of *Shúdras* and *Mléchchhas* (like the ravenous animals) being of the middle quality of *Tama*, or darkness; of *Cháraṇas*, Suparṇas, hypocrites, Rákshasas, and Pisháchas being of the highest conditions to which the Tama quality can extend; of *Jhallas*, *Mallas*, *Naṭas*, those who live by the use of weapons, and gamblers, and drunkards, being of the lowest forms of the *Támasí* quality; of *Rájás*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Purohitas*, and of men skilled in controversy, being of the middle state of the *Támasí* quality; of Gandharvas Guhyakas, Yakshas, Vidyádharas, and Apsarasas being of the highest

* Manu, i. 3. See before, pp. 62-3.

† Manu i. 32. 39.

‡ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 16.

§ See before, p. 37.

of the quality of *Raj*, or passion; of the practisers of *tapa*, Yatis, Vipras, the hosts of the (lower) heavens, the Nakshatras, and the Daityas, being of the highest of the forms of the quality of truth, *Satva;* of sacrificers Rishis, Deities, the Védas, the fixed stars, the years, the Pitris (Manes of ancestors), being of the middle forms of the quality of goodness; and of Brahmá, the Creator of the universe, virtue, the Great One, the Unapparent One, being the highest forms of the quality of goodness.* "Here," as remarked by Mr. Muir, "we see Kshatriyas and king's priests (*purohitas*) who of course are Bráhmans, in the same grade, while other Bráhmans of different sorts rank in two of the higher classes. The highest class of Bráhmans rank with the Rishis and the Védas, while the Védas themselves are only in the second class of good (*sáttvika*) existences, and lower than Brahmá, their alleged author."†

Of the spread of the A'ryas over India, first after their settlement on the banks of the Indus and its affluents, and secondly, after their settlement between the rivers Sarasvatí and Drishadvatí, in what was called *Brahmávartta*, Manu gives us some interesting information. "As far as the eastern, and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains [Himavat and Vindhya just mentioned] lies the tract which the wise men have denominated *A'ryavartta* [the abode of the A'ryas]." Included in this general region was the region of the *Brahmarshi*, comprehending Kurukshétra, Matsya, Panchála, and Shúraséna; while the country which lies between the Himavat and the Vindhya, to the east of Vinashana, and to the west of Prayága [the junction of the Ganges and the Yamuná] was distinguished as the *Madhyádésha* or middle country. All these regions, it will be observed, were north of the Vindhya range. They formed, at the time at which the portion of Manu in which they are mentioned was written, the land of Bráhmanism. "From a Bráhman (*agrajanma*) born in that country (*A'ryavartta*), let all men on earth learn their several usages." "That land, on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performances of sacrifices; but the land of Mléchchhas differs widely from it." "Let the three first classes invariably dwell in those before mentioned countries; but a Shúdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses."‡

* Manu xii. 43-50.

† Muir's Texts, i. p. 18.

‡ Manu ii 17 24.

Though the Hindus are aware of the extension of the privileged country to the whole of India they still act in the spirit of these last quotations, and generally oppose foreign travel. The river Aṭak (the name of which etymologically means "obstruction," is the boundary of journeying allowed by caste. A passer over the sea (samudrayáí) is among the parties "inadmissible into company at a repast," and to be avoided at Shráddhas.*

The great scrupulosity of Caste in regard to certain kinds of food is thus explained by Manu, on the principle of the metempsychosis. "These (animals and vegetables before mentioned) enshrouded in multiform darkness, by reason of (past) actions, have internal consciousness, and are sensible of pleasure and place."†

The teaching of the code of Manu is confined by him to Bráhmans (1. 103).

In accordance with statements already made, Manu declares that "the Véda, Smṛiti, pure usage (exemplified), and self-satisfaction are the quadruple indications of Duty" (ii. 12). With this dictum all the lawbooks agree.

The account of the *Sanskáras*, or Sacraments‡ given by Manu is briefer than that found elsewhere. Parties neglecting the *Upanayana*, or investiture, are held to be *Vrátyas* (members of the profanum vulgus) who are degraded from the Gáyatrí, and with whom no connexion whatever is to be formed by any Bráhman. The following caste distinctions are recognized :—"The *yajnopavíta* of the Bráhman is to be of cotton, to be put over his head in three strings; that of a Kshatriya, of flax; and that of a Vaishya, of woollen thread." (ii. 27-44). The ceremony of *Késhánta*, or cutting off the hair, (in the sixteenth year of a Bráhman, in the twenty-second of a Kshatriya, and the twenty-fourth of a Vaishya) prescribed by Manu (ii. 65), is not now attended to.

In connexion with Bráhmanical discipleship, Manu uses very strong language about the benefit of pronouncing the Gáyatrí and its prefixes (the triliteral syllable AUM or combinedly OM, and the *vyáhṛitis)*.§ A thousand repetitions of the Gáyatrí by a Dvija "releases him in a month from a great offence, as a snake from his slough." "The Bráhman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya, neglecting the Gáyatrí meets

* Manu iii. 167.

† Manu, i. 49.

‡ A list of the Sanskáras is given above, pp. 60-61.

§ See before, p. 146.

with contempt from the virtuous." It is the "mouth (or principal part) of the Véda." Whoever practises the daily repetition of it for three years "approaches Brahma, moves as freely as air, and assumes an aerial form." All rites pass away, but it remains. "By the sole repetition of the Gáyatrí, a Bráhman may indubitably obtain beatitude, let him perform, or not perform any other religious act." (ii. 76-87.)

[Here is the wonderful Mantra deriving its name from the measure (in three lines) of the Súkta of the Véda from which it is taken:—

ओं भूर्भुव : स्वः
तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

Om! bhur bhuvaḥ sváḥ!
Tat savitur varēṇyam bhargo dévasya dhímahi;
*dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayát.**

—Om! Earth! Sky! Heaven!—We contemplate that praiseworthy Sun (*Savitṛi*), of divine lustre; may he direct our intellects!]

This Gáyatrí, it is afterwards enjoined, must be repeated several times at dawn and dusk (which form with the noon the three daily times of *Sandhya* with the Hindus), on the penalty of the Dvija being excluded, like a Shúdra, from the sacred observances of the twice-born (ii. 101-3).

The Bráhman disciple must acquire his knowledge of the Véda from his preceptor, lest he should prove a thief and sink to the region of torment (ii. 116), yet in times of difficulty he may learn the Véda from other sources (ii. 241). Neglect of the prescribed form of returning a salutation deprives him, like a Shúdra, of the right of salutation (ii. 126).

Wealth, kindred, age, conduct, and learning entitle men to respect. "The seniority of Vipras," however, "is from knowledge; of Kshatriyas, from valour; of Vaishyas, from wealth and grain; and of Shúdras from (the priority of) birth" (ii. 136, 157). A Bráhman neglecting the study of the Védas becomes, with his descendants, like a Shúdra (ii. 168). He is not allowed to pronounce sacred texts, till his new birth occurs, before which he is on a level with a Shúdra (173). A *Bráhman* student, but not a *Rájanya* or a *Vaishya*, must be a mendicant (190).

* Rig-Veda, iii. 40, in which, however, the words *Om bhur bhuvaḥ svaḥ* do not occur. The selection of the Gáyatrí for distinction as a Mantra seems to have originated in the prevalence of solar worship among the ancient Indians.

When treating of the married state Manu thus ordains :—" Only a *Shúdra* woman ought to be the wife of a *Shúdra ;* she and a *Vaishya*, of a *Vaishya ;* they two and a *Kshatriya*, of a *Kshatriya ;* those two and a *Bráhmaṇí*, of a *Bráhman*." (iii. 13.) Marriages, however, must now be confined to parties belonging to each caste respectively.* Manu mentions also the eight kinds of Indian marriages allowed in his day† (iii. 21, 41). The minute and strange rules for the intercourse of married persons (iii. 45, 50) I pass over.

In domestic management there are five places of extinguishment of life,—the hearth, the millstone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, and the water-jar ; but penance for the stain thus occasioned is performed by the five great sacrifices ;—reading the Véda ; offering cakes and water to the manes of ancestors ; offering oblation to fire in behalf of the deities ; giving food to animals ; sacrificing for departed spirits (*bhútas*), and practising hospitality for men. (iii. 68-90.) A Bráhman may be a guest in the house of a Bráhman, but not a Kshatriya, unless he eat after the Bráhmans (100, 110, 111).

The following parties, among others, are to be avoided by Bráhman householders in connexion with their daily rites :—Bráhmans guilty of theft, atheists, gamblers, those who perform many sacrifices for the vulgar, physicians, *Dévalaka* (dressers of images), and flesh-sellers. The following parties must all be shunned :—a messenger, a person with bad nails or blackish teeth, an opposer of his preceptor, a phthisical man, a feeder of cattle, a younger brother married before the elder, an elder brother not married before the younger, a dependant on the wealth of relatives, a dancer, an *Avakírṇí* (a person of the first or fourth A'shrama who has violated chastity,) a *Vṛishalípati*,‡ the son of a twice-married woman, a man blind of an eye, one in whose house an adulterer dwells, a teacher of the Védas for hire, one who has given hire to such a teacher, the pupil of a Shúdra and a Shúdra preceptor, a rude speaker, and a *Kuṇḍa-golaka* (the son of an adulteress either before or after the death of the adulteress), one who eats with a Kuṇḍa, a seller of the Soma-plant, a traveller by the ocean, a *Bandí*,

* See Mitákshará, i. 3. (p. 7 of Cal. ed.) † See before, p. 239.

‡ See before, p. 365. But Kullúka Bhaṭṭa makes the Vṛishalípati an individual (of the Dvija) who instead of marrying in his own caste marries a Shúdra.

an oilman, a drinker of spirits, a seller of liquid, a maker of bows and arrows, a father instructed in the Véda by his son, a leper, etc. The following parties must be shunned with great care—tamers and keepers of animals, a Bráhman living as a Shúdra, a sacrificer to the Gaṇas, one who does not practise *áchára*, the husband of a twice-married woman, and the remover of dead bodies. (iii. 150-166.) The alleged penalties for neglecting these injunctions are, in some instances, of an alarming character. "Food given to the seller of the moon-plant becomes ordure in another world; to a physician, pus; to a *Dévalaka* (dresser of images), offal; to a usurer, infamous" (181).

Minute information and directions about the Shráddhas to the manes of ancestors and to deities follow. The most favourable place for a Shráddha is some unfrequented place. If there be no consecrated fire into which some of the oblations may be dropped, they may be dropped into the hands of a Bráhman, who is the equivalent of fire (212). The Bráhman must be very careful about his manner of eating. What he eats with his head enveloped, with his face to the south (the habitat of the Rákshasas), with his sandals on his feet, the demons assuredly devour. He should not be seen eating by a Chaṇḍála, a pig, a cock, a dog, a woman in her courses, or a eunuch. The fool who gives the residuum of the Shráddha to a Shúdra falls into the hell *Kálasútra*. The superfluous *piṇdas*, or lumps,* may be given to a cow, to a Bráhman, to a kid, or to fire. Not only are the ministrant Bráhmans satisfied, but the manes themselves. They are satisfied, according to the code, for a month by the common grains and pot-vegetables; for two months, with fish; for three months, with the flesh of the antelope; for four, with mutton; for five, with eatable birds; for six, with the flesh of the kid; for seven, with that of the spotted deer; for eight, with that of the black-antelope; for nine, with that of the ruru (nílgái?); for ten, with that of the boar and buffalo; for eleven, with that of hares and turtles; for a year, with cow's milk and the food cooked of it; for twelve years, with that of the long-eared white goat; for ever with the *kálashák*a (the enduring vegetable), with the flesh of a rhinoceros, and of the iron-coloured kid, with honey, and with foreign grains eaten by hermits. (iii. 238, 239, 249, 260, 267, 271).

* Often rendered funeral cakes.

Animal food, however, is now generally abstained from at Shráddhas, according to the following smṛiti :—

अग्निहोत्रं गवालंभं संन्यासं पलपैतृकं ।
देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिः कलौ पंच विवर्जयेत् ॥ *

"The Agnihotra, the slaughter of cows, Sannyása, (the use of) flesh at the feast for the Pitṛis, the raising of offspring by the brother of (a deceased) husband, are five things forbidden in the Kali (Yuga)". Of these the Agnihotra and Sanyása, however, are still in practice, having been said to have been restored by Shankara A'chárya.

When treating of the means of subsistence for the Bráhman householder, Manu, as we have seen, allows him to live by truth or falsehood, but not by hired service.† A Bráhman, when hungry, may beg from a king, the institutor of a sacrifice, or his own pupil, but from no person else. He has ever to pay respect to objects esteemed sacred. He must not step over a string to which a calf is tied, nor run when rain [the gift of Indra] falls, nor look on his own image in water. He must pass a *mṛidanga* (a kind of drum,) ‡ an object of worship, a Bráhman, clarified butter, honey, a place where four paths meet, or large trees, with his right hand towards them. Particular rules, stated with disgusting particularity (and much dwelt on in the principal law-books) he has to observe when relieving nature. He must not dwell in a city governed by a Shúdra king, nor in one abounding with persons of low-caste. He must not stand with Cháṇḍálas, Pukkasas, or Antyávasáyins, or give spiritual advice or read the Védas to Shúdras. He is never to despise a Kshatriya, a serpent, or a Bráhman. He has to wear no marks which do not belong to him. He is forbidden to eat polluted food, and that offered to him by persons of other castes, the legislation of Manu on these matters being similar to that of Angiras already noticed. A cultivator, a herdsman, a Dása, a barber, etc. may, however, eat the food of their superiors. (iv. 33, 39, 79, 99, 130, 135, 210, 253.)

It is not necessary to repeat what is said by Manu on the diet of Bráhmans§. In addition to former notices, this may be given :—The

* Laugákshi, quoted in the Nirṇaya Sindhu, iii. 1.

† See before, p. 21.

‡ Sir William Jones translates this, a mound of earth.

§ See before, pp. 32–3.

man who performs annually, for a hundred years, an ashvamédha, (or horse-sacrifice,) and the man who abstains from flesh-meat have equal merit (v. 53).

The institutes of Manu on the subject of purification are similar to those of Angiras, though somewhat more extended. Those referring to purification for the dead occupy a chief place in the code. When a child is born, or when he dies in maturity, all his kindred are impure. By a dead body the *Sapiṇḍas* (the seven orders of descent in the kin, entitled to eat the *piṇḍa* or lump together) are impure for ten days, or for three days, when the bones have been gathered up (before the knowledge of the death has been acquired), or for one day only in the case of distinguished Bráhmans. *Samánodakas*, those entitled to make the oblation of water together, and embracing all known relatives not included in the *Sapiṇḍas*, become pure by simple ablution. Matters are the same in the case of births, for those who seek absolute purity. In practice, however, a mother is unclean for ten days after a birth, while a father becomes pure by bathing; *Sapindas* become pure in ten days after touching a corpse; *Samánodakas*, in three. The pupil of a Bráhman preceptor becomes pure in ten nights, after attending the preceptor's funeral. For the death of a vender of the whole Véda, a man dwelling in the same house with him is impure for three nights. A subject is impure for a day or night on the death of a king. In the cases in which a Bráhman becomes pure in ten days, a Kshatriya is purified in twelve, a Vaishya, in fifteen, and a Shúdra, in a month. He who touches a *Divákírti* (one like a Chaṇḍála), a fallen one, a woman in her courses, a new-born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse, is purified by bathing. A Bráhman touching a human bone moist with oil is purified by bathing; touching a bone not oily, by touching a cow, or looking at the sun, after performing an *áchamana*. There is to be no giving of funeral water for Vrátyas and those who belong to the mixed castes, for female devotees, etc. A king on the throne is always pure. So is a Kshatriya dying in battle. (v. 58, 59, 61, 65, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 94, 98.)

As to the purification of inanimate objects, Manu agrees with Angiras, enumerating, however, more instances of defilement. He gives the following mitigations, however, of the bondage in which the doc-

trine of *Shaucha* and *Ashaucha* places the Indian community. To Bráhmans, are pure what has been defiled without their knowledge, what in cases of doubt they sprinkle with water, and what they commend with their speech. Waters are not defiled by cows quenching their thirst in them. The hand of an artist, the food got in begging by a Brahmachárí, the mouth of a woman, fruit pecked by a bird, an animal sucking, a dog in catching deer, animals killed by hunters, all the cavities above the navel, flies, the drops from the mouth of a speaker, the shadow of an object, a cow, a horse, the sun-beam, dust, earth, air, and fire, are all pure even when touching and touched. (v. 127-133.)

To remove natural impurities various ceremonies are resorted to. (v. 134-139.)

Shúdras regardful of religion have to shave once a month, to observe the laws of purity like Vaishyas, and to eat the orts of the Dvijas. (140.)

The laws respecting women found in Manu, I here pass over, with the intention of onwards referring to them.

The *Vánaprastha* and the *Sannyásí* are to be as observant of purity as the householder. To the latter the following injunction is addressed.—"Let him advance his foot purified by looking (at what is before him); let him drink water purified by cloth; let him utter pure truth; let him keep his heart pure." (vi. 46.) Here the ceremonial and moral are combined. His dishes must have no fracture, nor be made of bright metal. Their purification must be only with water, as in the case of sacrificial vessels. A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen dish, and a basket made of bambu, are the vessels proper for the reception of his food. As a penance for his unknowingly killing animals, he has to make six *práṇáyámas* (suppressions of breath) daily. (53, 54, 69.) Notwithstanding the commendation given to ascetics, the áshrama of the householder, who observes the Véda and the Smṛiti, and supports the other orders, is the chief. (89.)

Much of the legislation recorded in Manu regarding the Kshatriya, or ruler, is more of a civil than a religious character, though this distinction, properly speaking, is not admitted in the Hindu writers. Caste partialities are not wanting in the prescription of the duties of a king, as has been already shown in a former part of this work.* In his administration of law, he has to regard not only what is

* See before, pp. 37-44.

alleged to have been revealed, but the peculiar customs of countries, tribes, castes, etc. (viii. 46.) Regard is to be had by him to the dignity of the several castes in the administration of oaths. He has to examine Bráhmans, however, who act as herdsmen, traders, artizans, dancers, singers, and hired servants, as if they were Shúdras (viii. 102). A Bráhman, he has to swear by his veracity; a Kshatriya, by his conveyance and weapons; a Vaishya by his cows, grain, and gold; and a Shúdra by the imprecation of all kinds of sins. (113.) The three lower classes he may fine, as well as banish for falsehood, but Bráhmans he must simply banish. (123.) The awful severity of punishments prescribed for parties insulting Bráhmans has already been noticed.* For theft (the meanness of which seems to have been prominently in the view of the Hindu legislators) a Bráhman is to be more severely punished by fine than others. The fine of a Shúdra in this case is eight-fold; of a Vaishya, sixteen-fold; of a Kshatriya, thirty-two-fold; and of a Bráhman, sixty-four-fold, or even more.† (338.) Touching a married woman on (the breasts) or any place which ought not to be touched, and enduring complacently the improper touch of a woman, are to be viewed as a species of adultery. (359.) Women guilty of adultery are to be most severely punished. A woman polluting a damsel is to get her head shaved, two fingers chopped off, and to be paraded on an ass. An unfaithful wife of high family is to be devoured by dogs, while her paramour is to be burned to death on an iron bed well heated. (371-2.) Committing adultery with a guarded Bráhmaṇí, a Shúdra has to suffer death; a Vaishya, has to lose his wealth; and a Kshatriya has to be fined a thousand *panas* and shaved with the urine of an ass. (374-375.) A Vaishya committing adultery with an unguarded Bráhmaṇí is to be fined five hundred, and a Kshatriya, a thousand (paṇas); but committing this crime with a guarded Bráhmaṇí, they should be punished as Shúdras, or be burned in a fire of dry grass or reeds. (376-7.) Yet ignominious tonsure is the only punishments for Bráhmans in a case of this kind, whose death in punishment a king must not even imagine.‡ More of this partial legislation in the case of adultery is found in the context. (381-5.)

* See before, p. 22.

† A Bráhman, however, may take the property of his Shúdra. See pp. 21, 23.

‡ See before, p. 22.

Exemption from taxes is granted to persons conferring great benefits, and to Bráhmans of eminent learning, as in the case of the blind, idiotic, lame, and aged. (394.)

The supremacy of the king in all market charges, prices, measurements, and tolls is distinctly laid down. Bráhman students, and religious mendicants, and some other classes of the community are exempt from toll. (398-409.)

The king has to order the Vaishya to practise trade, or money-lending, or agriculture, or attendance on cattle; and to cause the Shúdra to serve the twice-born. (410.)

A wealthy Bráhman may contribute to the support of a Kshatriya and Vaishya, assigning them their respective duties. His power over a Shúdra in the matter of service is unlimited. (413-414, 417.)

The ninth chapter of Manu treats in the first instance of Females, whose position in caste and religion we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. It then passes on to the matter of Inheritance, which is connected more with general jurisprudence than with caste, to which, however, some of its injunctions directly refer.

If there be four wives of a Bráhman in the direct order of the classes, and sons are produced by them all, this is the Smriti of partition: the chief servant in agriculture, the bull of the herd, the riding horse or carriage, the (family) ornaments, and the principal messuage shall be deducted from the inheritance, and given to the Bráhman son together with a large share by way of pre-eminence. Let the Bráhman have three shares of the residue; the son of the Kshatriya wife, two shares; the son of the Vaishya wife, a share and a half; and the son of the Shúdra wife, one share. (ix. 149-151.) An alternative arrangement, however, is also sanctioned. (152-156.) This legislation from the progress of time, and the change of usage, is now obsolete in the Hindu community. The marriage of the Dvija of any of three Varṇas to any female not of his own caste is forbidden in the Kali Yuga.*

For a Shúdra is ordained a wife of his own class, and no other: all produced by her shall have equal shares, though she have a hundred sons. (157.) A son begotten through lust by a Bráhman on a Shúdra

* See quotation from the Bṛihan Náradíya, in the Nirṇaya Sindhu, chap. 3, near the end.

is like a corpse though alive, and thence called in law a living corpse, or *párashava*. (178.)

The property of a Bráhman dying without heirs near of kin or distant relatives (*sapindas* or *samánodakas*) is to be given to Bráhmans who have recited the three Védas, and who are of purity and subdued passion, and who have to present water and the funeral cake to the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather whom they thus represent. The property of a Bráhman (contrary to the rule in other castes) is never to be made an escheat by the king. (186-189.)

Eunuchs and outcastes, persons born blind or deaf, madmen, idiots, the dumb and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage, though entitled to food and raiment. (201-2.)*

Those who neglect the duties of their caste, are with public dancers, singers, heretics, etc. to be banished by the prince. (225.)

A Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shúdra may discharge his debt by labour.† A Brahman is to discharge it by degrees. (229.)

The slayer of a Bráhman, a drinker of ardent spirits, the stealer of the gold of a Bráhman, and the violator of the bed of his father (natural or official) are criminals in the highest degree. (235.) Such parties who may not have performed an expiation are to be branded in a particular way, and to be treated as outcastes. With none to eat with them, with none to sacrifice with them, with none to be allied by marriage to them, abject and excluded from all social duties, let them wander over this earth: branded with marks they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations, treated by none with affection, received by none with respect. (238-9.) The Bráhman guilty of any of these crimes is to be banished; while the offender of other classes, even though the offence may have been unpremeditated, shall be corporally or even capitally punished.

* With this agrees the doctrine of Yájnavalkya and of the other authors of the Smṛitis. Mitákshará. ii. 10-1, etc.

† *Karmma.* In 1835, I witnessed, at Dváraká, a curious application of this principle, under the administration of the agents of H. H. the Gáikawád. A Hindu tailor, who had attached himself for the sake of companionship to my servants on the road to that wild part of India, took a *darshan* (religious view) of the god Raṇchoḍ without paying the established fee of nine rupees. He was apprehended in consequence, and condemned to ply the needle for a month and a half, (conveniently) to the repair of the clothing of all the officials concerned.

A virtuous king must not appropriate the wealth of a Mahápátaka, a sinner in the highest degree. He ought to throw the fine inflicted (on such a person) into the waters as an offering to Varuṇa, or give it to a learned Bráhman. (243-4.)

A person of low caste (avaravarṇa) giving pain to Bráhmans should receive a terrific punishment from the prince. (248.) Horrible punishments, indeed, are ordered to be inflicted on other classes of offenders. Special hate is manifest to the goldsmith, who is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors when guilty of fraud. (276-292.)

The king is cautioned against incensing Bráhmans, who could destroy him with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars. (313.)*

On Vaishyas and Shúdras is enjoined the discharge of the duties specially assigned to them.†

The tenth chapter of Manu treats principally of the Mixed Castes. I have already extracted its substance.‡ Some caste arrangements are intimated in connexion with the alleged genesis of the different castes and the occupations assigned to them.

The Chaṇḍála and Shvapáka must live exterior to towns, be denied the use of entire vessels, and have as their sole wealth dogs and asses. Their clothes must be those of the dead, their dishes broken pots, their ornaments rusty iron. Continually must they wander from place to place. Other classes must have no intercourse with them. They must not walk by night in cities and towns. They must carry the corpses of those who die without friends. Their duty is to slay criminals under the king's warrant, and their privilege is to receive their clothes, beds, and ornaments. (51-6.)

The offspring of a Bráhman from a Shúdra woman shall be raised to the class of the father in the seventh generation. The same is the law as to the offspring of a Kshatriya and of a Vaishya by a Shúdra woman. (64-5.) But these dicta are now obsolete, as the wives of the Dvija must now be of their own class.§ They are worthy of notice, however, as indicating corruption in the Brahmanical blood in ancient times. It is curious to mark in connexion with them, the following extraordinary law :—" As by virtue of the father's issue the descendants of

* See in connexion with this the quotations, made at p. 24, above.

† See before, p. p. 44-50. ‡ See before pp. 53-60. § See before p. 377.

animals have become reverend and celebrated Ṛishis (exemplified says Kullúka Bhatta in Ṛishishringa, in the Rámáyaṇa), so (it isseen) that the paternal side prevails. (72.)

In noticing the occupations in which the Dvijas may engage when straitened for subsistence, there is a great discouragement of agriculture, destructive of animal life ; of the sale of liquids, dressed grain, tila seeds (unless for sacred purposes), stones, salt, cattle, men, women, cloth dyed red, cloth made of Saṇa, Kshumá-bark, wool (even though not red) ; of fruit, roots, drugs, water, arms, poison, flesh-meat ; of the Soma, milk, honey, clarified butter, oil (of tila), sugar, and the Kusha grass ; of forest beasts ; of ravenous beasts, spirits, indigo, lákshá (lac), and beasts with uncloven hoofs. "By selling flesh, lákshá, or salt, a Bráhman instantly becomes an apostate ; by selling milk for three days, he becomes a Shúdra." (86-92.) The sale of some of these articles is interdicted because of their supposed sacredness, because of the loss of animal life in their production, or because of their alleged impurity or liability to ceremonial defilement.

The advantage of each caste seeking to discharge its own duties is illustrated by the following statute and maxim :—

वरं स्वधर्मो विगुणो न पारक्यः स्वनुष्ठितः।
परधर्मेण जीवन् हि सद्यः पतति जातितः॥

"One's own imposed duty though worthless is paramount,—not that of another party, though well instituted ; the person living by a strange course-of-duty falls instantly from Caste." (97.)* The Bráhman in distress, however, may receive gifts from any quarter (atonements being at hand). To save life forbidden food may be taken, as illustrated in the alleged cases of Ajígarta, Vámadeva, Bharadvája, and Vishvamitra often referred to in the Hindu literature † (102-8.)

* This is somewhat like what we find in the Bhagavad-Gítá (iii. 35) :

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात्।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः॥

"One's own religion, though worthless, is better than a strange religion, however well instituted , death in one's own religion is good ; that (the religion) of another beareth fear."

† See above pp. 150, et seq.

A Kshatriya may take the fourth part (of a crop or income) in time of distress. (118.)

Attendance on Bráhmans is the best work of a Shúdra; whatever else he may perform will be fruitless to him. (123.)

"There is no guilt in a Shúdra (who eats garlic and other forbidden articles). He is not fit for the Sanskára (of initiation). He has neither the right of practising *Dharma* (duty), nor is any restraint placed on him in regard to *Dharma*."* (126.) Moral duties, however, are obligatory upon him.

The eleventh chapter of Manu is devoted principally to penance and expiation. It begins, however, with certain laws as to largesses. Alms are to be given to Bráhmans seeking to marry, to sacrifice, to travel; to those who have expended their wealth on sacred rites, and who desire to maintain their guru, father, or mother; to those who are Brahmácháris, and those who are afflicted with disease. These nine classes of Bráhmans are *Snátakas* (purified-ones). Jewels of all sorts are to be given to Bráhmans knowing the Védas. What is necessary to complete a sacrifice may be taken from any person, even from a Shúdra if a Vaishya (or other Dvija) be not near, since the Shúdra has no business with sacrifice. A Bráhman, without being held guilty of theft, may take a day's food from the party who for three days has failed to supply his wants. A Kshatriya must never seize the wealth of a Bráhman. He gains from the Bráhman whom he protects a sixth part of his righteousness. A Bráhman begging from a Shúdra becomes in the next birth a Cháṇḍála. Misappropriating what he has begged for a sacrifice, he becomes a Chása, or a crow, for a hundred years. The person who robs the Bráhmans feeds on the orts of vultures in the other world for a hundred years. A Bráhman skilled in the law may chastise those who injure him without appealing to the king. He may use the Shruti of Atharván (the Atharva Véda) revealed to Angiras, for speech is the weapon of a Bráhman to destroy his enemy, as arms in the case of a Kshatriya, and wealth in the case of a Vaishya and Shúdra. (xi. 1-31.)

Neither a girl, nor a young woman, nor a man of little learning, nor a dunce, nor a diseased person, nor the uninitiated, is permitted

* This verse, which I have partially supplemented according to Kullúka Bhaṭṭa, has given much trouble to modern commentators.

to sacrifice. Only one who has read all the Védas must officiate at an oblation to fire. (57-8.)

No man must sacrifice without bestowing liberal gifts. (40.) A priest who keeps an agnihotra, and neglects his fire, must perform the chándráyana for one month, his neglect being equal to the slaughter of a son. (41.)

Proceeding to enter more formally on the doctrine of penance, Manu repeats the following noticeable dicta :—" The wise say penance (is effectual) for involuntary sin ; and others say that it is available, from the evidence of the Shruti, even for a voluntary offence. A sin involuntarily committed is purged by Védic repetition ; but an offence committed intentionally, through infatuation, by various special penances." (45-6.) For certain offences deliberately committed, there is now no available penance.

Morbid changes in the body are said to occur for sins committed in the present birth, or in those by which it has been preceded. To escape these, penances ought to be resorted to. (48-54.)

Some sins are thus classified :—

I. *Maháṕátakas* (Great Sins).

Brahmacide, Surápána (drinking of spirits), theft (of a Bráhman's gold), adultery with the wife of a guru, and associating with parties guilty of these crimes.

II. *Pátakas* (Sins) :—

1.—False pretension (as to caste), bringing a false charge before a king, falsely accusing a guru,—which are nearly equal to killing a Bráhman.

2. Forgetting the Brahma (the Véda), showing contempt for the Véda, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating what is forbidden, or what is unfit to be tasted,* which six (faults) are like spirit-drinking.

3. Appropriating a deposit, and stealing a man, a horse, silver, a field, a diamond, or any other gem, are nearly equal to stealing (the gold of a Bráhman).

4. Carnal dealing with sisters of the same womb, with a little girl, with women of the low castes, or with the wife of a friend or son, —which are said to be nearly equal to the violation of the bed of a guru.

* गर्हिता नाद्य योर्जग्धि.

III. *Upapátakas*, (Sins of a lower degree):—

Cow-killing, sacrificing for outcastes (*patitáḥ*), adultery, selling oneself; deserting a mother, a father, a guru, the reading of the Véda, the (sacred) fire, or a son; the marriage of a younger brother before the elder, or the omission of the elder to marry before the younger; giving a daughter to either of them, or performing their nuptial sacrifice; defiling a damsel, usury, breaking one's vow (of chastity as a student); selling a tank, a garden, a wife, or a child; becoming a Vrátya (by neglect of initiatory rites); abandoning a kinsman, teaching the Véda for hire, learning it from a hireling, selling articles not to be sold, having property in mines, putting large machines to work, destroying medicinal plants, living by (the harlotry of) a wife, preparing charms to destroy, cutting down green trees for fuel, performing rites for self-interest, eating prohibited food (once without a previous design), neglecting the (sacred) fire, theft, non-payment of debts, having dealings with untrue Shástras,* excessive attention to music or dancing, stealing grain, the base metals, or cattle, intercourse with a drunk woman; killing a woman, a Shúdra, a Vaishya, or a Kshatriya, atheism.

IV. The Caste destroying sins (in addition to the preceding, to which they are inferior):—

Giving pain to a Bráhman, smelling spirituous liquor or anything unfit to be smelt, cheating, unnatural practices with a male.

V. Sins reducing a person to a mixed caste:—

Killing an ass, a horse, a camel, an antelope, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a snake, or a buffalo.

VI. Sins excluding from social repasts:—

Accepting presents from blameable persons, engaging as a merchant (in the case of a Bráhman), serving a Shúdra-master, and speaking unturth.

VII. Sins causing defilement (mala):—

Killing an insect, a bird, or a worm; eating what has been carried with liquor; stealing fruit, wood, or flowers; and discomposure of mind. (55-70.)

This classification of sins and offences, it will be noticed, is made altogether on the principles of Caste, which are most remarkable for

* असच्छास्त्राधिगमनं. The reference is probably to Buddhist works.

their partiality. Killing a Bráhman and stealing his gold are of course the greatest offences which can be committed. In a similar category is placed the drinking of spirits by a Bráhman. The reason is stated onwards. "A drunk Bráhman may fall on something impure, or may when intoxicated make a Védic utterance, or perform some unlawful act." (97.) Eating things prohibited is more heinous than incest and unnatural crime, or killing a woman, a Shúdra, a Vaishya or a Kshatriya. Even giving pain to a Bráhman causes a loss of caste.

The penances for the offences committed, so far as they are available, are regulated on the same caste principles. A Bráhman killing a Bráhman (inadvertently) may dwell in a forest for a dozen of years, feeding on alms, and contemplating the skull of the slain. A Kshatriya doing this, has to make himself a mark to archers or cast himself thrice headlong into blazing fire. A king, doing it, has to perform (with great presents) one of the six great sacrifices. Alternatives are also allowed, among which is the surrender, in the case of the rich, of property to a Bráhman learned in the Védas; or walking to the source of the river Sarasvatí. The preservation of a cow or Bráhman atones for brahmacide. The stealer of the gold of a Bráhman has (either to the destruction of his life or otherwise) to be struck by a king with an iron mace ; but if the offender be a Bráhman he can get off by the performance of tapa. Caste lost by the offences above specified voluntarily committed is recovered by the *sántapana*, and involuntarily, by the *prájápatya*. For exclusion from society the *chándráyaṇa* is available. For killing a Kshatriya the penance asked is only the fourth part of that required for killing a Bráhman; for killing a Vaishya, an eighth ; for killing a Shúdra, a sixteenth. If a Bráhman kill a cat, an ichneumon, a *Chásha* (the Indian blue jay), a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he has to perform the same penance as for killing a Shúdra, that is the *chándráyaṇa*. (70-132.) A Bráhman having connexion or eating with a Cháṇḍála, or other low-caste woman, or receiving gifts from such a person, loses his own caste if he acts unwittingly, and sinks to a level with them if he acts wittingly. (175.) The associate for a year of a fallen person falls like him ; and must perform his prescribed penance. (176.)

After noticing these and other penances, Manu treats of the method of excluding from caste. The Sapiṇḍas and other relatives of the

patita must offer (to his manes as if he were dead), in the evening of an unlucky day, a libation of water,—his connections, an officiating priest (Ṛitsik), and his guru being present; a slave-girl breaking the pot (of water); and the kinsmen remaining impure for a day and night. They must afterwards cease to speak or to sit with him, withhold all inheritance and property from him, refuse him common attentions, and deprive him of his rights of primogeniture. Other parties also must cease to have any intercourse with him. A similar course is to be observed in the case of outcasted women, who may be permitted, however, to be humbly fed, clothed, and lodged in huts near the family residence. (183-6-9.) Manu contemplates the possibility of restoration to caste after this formidable ejection (187-8); but this restoration by penance, after the breaking of the pot, seldom, if ever, now occurs in Indian society.

Manu, as reported, again returns to the subject of penances, the last laws found in the Sanhitá ascribed to him not fitting in appropriately with those already noticed.

Neglecters of the Gáyatrí and the sacred string (at the appointed time) are admissible to them after penance.

A person saying humph! to a Bráhman must bathe, fast for a day, and clasp the feet of the offended party. (205.) For striking a Bráhman with a blade of grass, tying him by the neck with a cloth, and overpowering him in argument, the offender must fall prostrate before him. (207.) A person intending to strike a Bráhman with intent to kill remains in hell a hundred years, actually striking him, a thousand. Every drop of a Bráhman's blood shed and attracting particles of dust, demands a thousand years' torment for each of these particles. (206-7.)

The prescribed penances are next explained, and those of the Prájápatya, Sántapana, etc., but in a way somewhat different from that stated in the notes above appended to Angiras, which correspond with the prevalent Brahmanical interpretation. (211-226.) The alleged benefits of penance and repentance are stated at length. *Tapa* is declared to be all-prevalent. (240.)

Even in connexion with the future world, the subject principally treated of in the twelfth, or last, chapter of Manu, Caste is made to appear with all its pretensions and partialities.

When treating of the three qualities of *Satva, Raja,* and *Tama* (purity, passion, and darkness), said to be inherent in the productions as well as in the essence of Deity, and their connexion with transmigration *(janmántara),* and their division into their conditions of the lowest, the mean, and the highest, he places *Shúdras* and *Mléchchhas,* with elephants, horses, lions, tigers, and boars in the middle condition of the Támasa quality;—only worms, insects, reptiles, etc. being below them; while *Cháranas,* Suparṇas, and "deceitful men," and even the devilish Rákshasas and Pisháchas, are put above them in the highest place of this quality. (xii. 41-44.) *Jhallas, Mallas,* and *Naṭas* (said by the commentator to be Vrâtyas of the Kshatriyas,) Manu places in the Rájasa condition, above all the parties above mentioned. Of course the *Bráhmans* are placed in the condition of purity, according to their own grades;—devotees (Tapasvís), mendicants (Yatis), and common Bráhmans (Vipras) arriving at the lowest state of purity; sacrificers and Rishis, at the middle; and Brahmá and the Bráhmans participating in creation (the Prajápatis) at the highest. (xii. 48-50.)

The slayer of a Bráhman must enter the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat, a sheep, a stag, a bird, or of a *Chaṇḍála* or *Pukkasha.* (55.) The stealer of the gold (of a Bráhman) must pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, snakes, etc. (57.) Individuals of the four Varṇas for omitting their peculiar (Caste) duties must enter sinful bodies, and become slaves to their foes. A *Bráhman* making this omission becomes an Ulkámukha, (with a mouth like a flame of fire,) and devours what is vomited; a *Kshatriya,* a Kaṭapútana, and eats ordure and dead bodies; a *Vaishya,* a Maitrákshajyotika, and feeds on pus; and a *Shúdra,* a Chailáshaka, and feeds on lice. (70-2.)

The Bráhmans, from their caste position and the possession of the knowledge of spirit (átmájnána) and of the Véda are said to have peculiar facilities for the attainment of future bliss. (82-87.) As fire consumes with its own power living trees so he who knows the Védas consumes the taint of his own (sinful) acts. (101.)* On the failure of ocular inspection of the Védas, of inference, and of the Shástra, that which instructed Bráhmans propound is to be held to be indubitable law. (105, 109.)

* This sentence is a Brahmanical proverb. We have met it before in Angiras (shloka 102).

The contents of the larger portion of the *Yájnavalkya Smriti* and of the comment upon it of Vijnánéshvara, contained in the Mitákshará, are given by the late Mr. Borrodaile, of the Bombay Civil Service, in the Appendix to His Reports of Civil Causes decided by the Bombay Court of Sadar Adálat.* Better Indices (in Sanskrit) are contained in the Calcutta edition of the work published in 1813, and in the Bombay lithographed edition of 1863. After the extracts now made from Manu, it is not necessary for the objects of this work that the references to that Law-book should be very numerous.

The Shruti, Smriti, pure A'chára, love of one's soul (or self), and good desires are thefoundations of religion. (i. 1-7.)

The mantras, or sacred texts, in the Sanskáras, or Sacraments, are to be used by Dvijas, but not by Shúdras.

The teacher should instruct his disciple in Shaucha and A'chára, (ceremonial purity and observance) before teaching the Védas. (1.2.7.)

A Bráhman should receive the *Upanayana* in his eighth year from conception or birth; a Kshatriya, in his eleventh; and a Vaishya, in his twelfth. A Bráhman not receiving it before his sixteenth year, a Kshatriya before his twenty-second year, and a Vaishya before his twenty-fourth year, are to be esteemed *Vrátyas* and fallen from the Sávitrí. (i. 6. 29.)

During eating, silence has to be maintained; and water has to be drunk before and after eating.

In connexion with the duties of a householder the following instructions are given. The purification and relief of the body are to be attended to. The teeth are to be rinsed. The Homa is to be performed morning and evening. The Védas and Shástras are to be studied. The worship of God is to be conducted. Water is to be poured out to the gods and ancestors. The Védas, Puránas, Itihásas and what treats of the Soul, are to be repeated. Balikarma (sacrifice to ghosts), Svadhá (sacrifice to ancestors), Homa (sacrifice to the gods),

* Printed for Government in 1821.

Svádhyáya (sacrifice to Brahmá), and hospitality to men, are the five daily great sacrifices. A portion of the food used in these sacraments is to be thrown to dogs, Cháṇḍálas, and crows. Then, husband and wife, after other inmates of the family are satisfied, have to eat what remains. (i. 5. 1-30.)

The following are said to be the common duties universally of all men:—Abstinence from killing, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, (ceremonial) purity, the control of the senses, the imparting of gifts, selfcommand, compassion, endurance.* (15. 26.)

A Bráhman sacrificing with what he has begged from a Shúdra becomes a Cháṇḍála; and not sacrificing with what he has got for a sacrifice, he becomes a *bhása*, or a crow. (1. 5. 31.)

No intercourse is to be maintained by Snátakas with hypocrites, or heretics. (1. 6. 2.) They are to dress in white clothing. (ib. 3.) Nature is not to be relieved in rivers (which are esteemed sacred). The couch, stool, garden, house, or conveyance of any other party is not to be used by a Snátaka. He is to take no food from a party not using the sacred fire. (ib. 32.) As stated by Angiras, the Dása, Cowherd, Kulamitra, Ardhasírina, and Barber may eat with the Shúdra. (ib. 38.)

The legislation of Yájnavalkya on the subject of eatables and non-eatables is similar to that of Manu. Flesh procured for profane purposes or with hair or maggots; food prepared for another party, or prepared on a preceding day and left by another, and touched by dogs or a woman in her courses, breathed on by cows, left by birds, or touched by a foot, is not to be ate. Food of ghrita or other liquids, wheat, barley, and cow's milk, though prepared beforehand, may be taken. The milk of the cow is not to be taken till the tenth day after the calving. For eating intentionally the flesh of the jay, of red-footed (birds), and of fishes, fasting is to be observed for three days. The Chándráyaṇa is to be performed for eating onions, village-pigs, mushrooms, village-fowls, leeks, and carrots. Of certain five-clawed animals he may eat as already intimated (i. 7) by Manu.† But, in the case of

* अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिंद्रियनिग्रहः।
दानं दमोदया क्षांतिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम्. ॥

† See before p. 32.

Bráhmans, all use of animal food is now discouraged, though it is resorted to by certain classes of them.

On the purification of articles, the legislation of Yájnavalkya is similar to that of Angiras. (i. 8.)

The section on Dánadharma (or largesses) opens with the praise of the Bráhmans, who are to be the objects of the liberality prescribed. The gift of a cow with the calf half-born is the best of all gifts ; it is like that of the earth itself. The giver obtains by it a year of heavenly bliss for every hair of its body. Gold, tila-seeds, lamps, grains, trees, horses, chariots, couches, etc., etc., are suitable gifts. (i. 9.)

For the performance of Shráddhas, either on the occasion of births, deaths, eclipses, or the (ninety-six) established occasions in a year connected with days and months, Bráhmans learned in all the Védas, skilled in the knowledge of Brahma, and various relatives, are to be called. Bráhmans diseased, blind of an eye, of loose character, of adulterous origin, with bad nails, with black teeth, imperfectly clothed, of evil speech, practising merchandise, teaching for hire, without manhood, practising fornication, disaffected to friends, backbiters, sellers of the Soma, abandoners of gurus or parents, eaters with Kuṇḍa-golakas, holders of intercourse with outcastes, thievish, of bad conduct, and of bad report, are not to be invited. (i. 10 3-8.)

The propitiating of Gaṇapati and of the planets, which is treated of at some length, is the duty of all castes, though particularly binding on the prince. (i. 11, 12.)

The duties of the prince are laid down, somewhat after Manu, with certain variations. When he gives land to Bráhmans, the deed of gift should be on cloth or on copper-plates, with his seal and the names of himself and ancestry attached. (i. 13. 10-12). He is encouraged to give in charity of the fruits of his valour ; and he is assured that paradise (*svarga*) will be the result of his death in battle. (ib. 15-16). He has to preserve the *désháchára* and *Kulasthiti* (the customs of countries and families.) (ib. 35.)

In the second chapter, which treats of *Vyavahára*, or the Law of Common Life, in which the legislation is of a character superior to that of the first, —there is but little directly connected with Caste. Yet some important matters are to be noted in it. In discharge of debt, the claims of the Bráhmans, and next in order those of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and

Shúdras respectively, are to be regarded. (ii. 2. 5.) The convenience of Bráhmans is to be consulted in the payment of their debts. (ib. 7.) A son should pay the debts of a father not heard of, or deceased, or incapacitated [according to Vijnánéshvara, on the authority of Nárada, when he has the power of administration on becoming sixteen years of age.] Corporal punishment is not be inflicted on Bráhmans. (ib. ii. 3. 12.) Double or triple punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Pratiloma Castes,* while only half punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Anuloma. The revilers of Bráhmans, kings, and gods are to be punished according to the *uttama sáhas* (in the highest degree, with a fine of 1,000 paṇas); of the other castes, with the *madhyama sáhas*, (the middle degree, of 500 paṇas; and of towns and countries with the *prathama sáhas* (the first degree, of 250 paṇas). (ii. 16-1-8.) A person not a Bráhman giving pain to a Bráhman should lose the member by which he has offended him; threatening a Bráhman with an upraised weapon, he should suffer the prathama sáhasa; and merely touching a weapon in the thought of using it against a Bráhman, he should suffer the half of this punishment. (ii. 17-4.) A man committing adultery in his own caste is to be punished according to the highest scale; with a person lower than his own caste, according to the middle class; and with a person, higher in caste than himself, with death, while the woman is to be deprived of her ears and nose. Persons carrying off girls of higher caste than their own are to be punished with death. A person of high caste having intercourse with a low caste woman desiring it is guiltless; but having intercourse with such a person not desiring it he is blame-worthy. (ii. 22. 4-6.) A person of caste having intercourse with an antyaja woman, is to be stamped with a mark, or abandoned in disgrace. A Shúdra having intercourse with an antyaja woman becomes an antyaja. An antyaja having intercourse with an Aryan woman is to be put to death. (ii. 22-12.) Any person defiling a Bráhman by an article forbidden to be ate is to be punished with the highest fine; thus defiling a Kshatriya, with the middle fine; thus defiling a Vaishiya, with the low fine; and thus defiling a Shúdra with the half of the low fine. (ii. 23. 2.) A Shúdra, assuming the marks of a Bráhman should be fined eight hundred paṇas. In this legislation, there is only a general

* See before pp. 63-64.

agreement with that of the other Smṛitis. For much of Vijnánéshvara's Commentary on Yájnavalkya there is no foundation in the text. The annotator, as he proceeds, draws copiously on other authorities.

A child dying before the completion of its second year is to be buried and not burned. (iii. 1. 1.) The ceremonies needful on burning the dead are not to be repeated in the case of Brahmachárís and the degraded, or in the case of heretics, the unprotected, fratricides, sensualists, drunkards, or suicides. (ib. 5-6.) The great source of comfort held out to the bereaved is the fact that death is the resolution of the body into the five elements. (9.) Persons who may have carried the dead to be burned should not be touched for a day. (16.) Parents are ceremonially unclean for three or for ten days after the death of a child not older than two years. (18.)* A Kshatriya is impure for twelve days, a Vaishya, for fifteen, and a Shúdra for thirty, (while a Bráhman is impure only for ten days), on occasion of the death of an adult relative. (22.) No Shúdra should attend the burning of a Dvija ; and no Dvija, that of a Shúdra. A king does not become impure by the death of his relations ; and no impurity arises from those who die in defence of cows and Bráhmans. (27.)

In times of distress, a Bráhman may follow the Dharma of a Kshatriya or of a Vaishya (iii. 2. 1), abstaining, however, from selling forbidden articles (2-4).

The origin of the four castes is stated according to the orthodox view. (iii. 4. 71.)

Atonements for various offences are prescribed as in Manu. (iii. 6.) In the case of Mahápatakas a Shúdra has not the privilege of *jápa* (repeating mantras) and some other ceremonial observances of the higher castes; but by using the other means prescribed for twelve years, he may make an atonement for his offences under this heading. (iii. 7.1.)

A thousand oxen or cows are to be given for the homicide of a Kshatriya, or a Vrata for the slaughter of a Bráhman, observed for three years;† a hundred cows for that of a Vaishya, or a Vrata for

* The difference about the time of impurity in this instance is attributed to the different teachings of the authors of the Smṛitis. Manu mentions ten days for its continuance.

† In the case of the inadvertent slaughter of a Brahman, the penitential Vrata (begging with a skull in hand) has to last for twelve years. (iii. 6. 37.)

one year ; ten cows for that of a Shúdra, or a Vrata (a voluntarily imposed penance) of six months. (iii. 8. 2-3.)

For the slaughter of a bad wife of a Bráhman, a leather skin for drawing water has to be given ; for that of a Kshatriya, a bow ; for that of a Vaishya, a goat ; for that of a Shúdra, a ram, (iii. 8. 4); and for the slaughter of a good woman what is given for the slaughter of a Shúdra. (5.)

The benefits of hearing or repeating the Smṛiti of Yájnavalkya are said, at the close of the treatise, to be great indeed. It makes a Bráhman venerable, a Kshatriya victorious, and a Vaishya rich and prosperous. The poor Shúdra has to be satisfied with the information he may get of it from the Dvijas, according to his exigencies as they may occur.

In the *Paráshara Smṛiti,* the general contents of which I have already noticed,* no regular arrangement is observed. The work is reckoned a great authority in the Kali Yuga ; and it is evidently more modern than some of the other law collections of its class. It gives the following list of Smṛitis at its commencement :—those of Manu, Garga, Gautama, Vasiṣhṭha, Kashyapa, Gopála,† Atri, Viṣhṇu, Sanvartta, Daksha, Angiras, Shátátapa, Hárita, Yájnavalkya, A'pastamba, Shankha and Likhita, Kátyáyana, Prachétá, and Shrutirája (Paráshara?). Manu, it is added, prevailed as an authority in the three first Yugas, while the A'chára of the three Yugas is not for the present Kali Yuga. *Tapa* was the highest duty in the Kṛita Yuga; knowledge, in the Tréta; and sacrifice in the Dvápára ; while the giving of largesses is the highest duty in the Kali. The Dharma (religious law) of Manu was for the Kṛita ;

* At p. 357.

† In the copy referred to by Dr. Stenzler (Ind. Stud. i. 232) the name of Ushanas here occurs for that of Gopála.

that of Gautama for the Tréta; that of Shankha and Likhita for the Dvápára; and that of Paráshara is for the Kali. The party guilty of a fault infected a country in the Kṛita Yuga; in the Tréta, a village; in the Dvápára, his family; and in the Kali, himself. A person became *patita* (fallen from caste) in the Kṛita, by conversation; in the Tréta, by contact; and in the Dvápára, by eating (forbidden) food; while in the Kali, by deeds. In the Kṛita largesses were taken to the house (of the party to be benefited by them); in the Tréta, by calling him to receive them); and in the Dvápára, by simply relieving the asker; while in the Kali, they are to be bestowed only for service. In the Kṛita, the práṇas (five vital airs) were in the elements (of the body); in the Tréta, in the flesh; in the Dvápára, in the blood; while, in the Kali, they are in the food. The Dvijas are not to be blamed for the peculiarities of the respective Yugas. In the Kṛita, curses took immediate effect; in the Tréta after ten days; in the Dvápára, after a month; while in the Kali Yuga, after one year.* Pure religion and truth in the Kali have only a fourth part of their proper dimensions. Life is shortened (in this Yuga) by eating forbidden things. Dharma and tapa are practised only for ostentation. There will be much false speaking for the sake of wealth. Little milk will be yielded by cows? The earth will yield but little grain. Woman will bear only females. The intercourse of the sexes will be only for pleasure. Princes (Bhúpálas)

* Professor Monier Williams correctly says, in his excellent Inaugural Lecture, that the curse of a Bráhman is always supposed among the Hindus to take effect sooner or later.

will be subjected to Dasyus. Shúdras will have the A'chára of Bráhmans; and the Dvijas that of Shúdras. The high castes (ádyavarṇas) will earn their livelihood like the lowest (antyajas). The Kṛita Yuga was for the Bráhmans; the Trétá for the Kshatriyas; the Dvápára for the Vaishyas; and the Kali is for the Shúdras. Women of the lower castes will not be married with the higher according to the law which permitted the Dvijas to add to the wife of their own class one from each of the lower of the four Varṇas. Duty and sin will be commingled. The merit which was of a million degrees of fruit in the Kṛita was of a hundred thousand in the Trétá, of ten thousand in the Dvápára, and will be of a hundred in the Kali. (i. 1-13-39.) Specific legislation follows this general account of the modifications caused by the Yugas.

The Dvijas should live where the black antelope moves, between the Himavat and the Vindhya, where the ocean-going rivers flow, where the great tírthas are found, and where the Ṛishis dwell. This is the land of purity; but Shúdras may live where they are inclined. The country is bad where things not to be drunk are drunk, not to be eaten are eaten, and where unlawful connexions are formed. (i. 1-40-45.)

A Bráhman may give food to a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shúdra visiting him at the time of a meal. (i. 6. 12-13.)

The general duties of the four Varṇas are laid down as in Manu and the other Smṛitis. It is declared, however, to be a sin, even on the part of a Shúdra, to sell spirits or flesh. (i. 7. 1-14.)

The water thrown (for consecration) on the horn of a cow is sixteen times better than that of all the *tírthas* of the rivers and oceans of the earth. (i. 8. 28.)

If a Dvija eat food on the last day of the moon (*chandrakshaya* vulgo *amávásyá*) he will lose his merit for the month. (i. 8. 37.)

The áchára of families and countries is strongly inculcated on all classes of people, as their supreme duty. (i. 9. 200.)

A Shúdra is in the matter of *dána* to be reckoned like a fool, to whom nothing is to be given. (i. 9. 217.)

A Dvija eating of the food of a person not on the right road, or of a mean person, becomes instantly like a Shúdra ; and after death he becomes a village-pig (*viṭashúkara*). He who eats the food of a usurer, or of a shepherd, or of a person who has lost caste, goes to hell. A Dvija eating from the hands of a Shúdra wife goes to the Raurava hell. (i. 9. 284.)

Dvijas should not perform any religious services or sacrifices to get gifts from Shúdras, on the penalty of becoming cháṇḍálas. (i. 9. 293)

Animal food may be ate at Shráddhas and sacrifices, and in times of famine. (i. 9. 317.)

The following classes of Bráhmans are not to be employed at Shráddhas:—The blind of an eye, he who has broken a contract of marriage, a diseased person, a backbiter, a usurer, an ungrateful person, a wrathful person, a hater of friends, a person with bad nails or black teeth, one wanting a limb or having a superfluous limb, a eunuch, one of bad report, one of bad speech, one who teaches for hire, a polluter of virgins, a shopkeeper, a seller of the Soma, one ruled by his wife, one of illegitimate birth, a forsaker of his parents, a thief, a *vrishalipati*, one ignorant of his own duties, one who has a wife who has been before married, a goatherd or keeper of buffaloes, one accuséd of evil deeds, a receiver of unlawful presents, one who habitually lives on alms, an astrologer or a messenger, one who, after eating on the burning-ground on the eleventh day after the death, has not taken the prescribed atonement, etc., etc. (v. 1-12.)

Arrangements should be made to prevent Bráhmans at Shráddhas imitating the sound of Shúdras, swine, cocks. (v. 58.)

A Bráhman begging regularly from low caste people, from Mlénchhas, and distillers, is pronounced a Baka, or heron. (v. 53.)

In the case of death or birth there is no impurity to the liberal, to those who are addicted to making vows, to poets, to sacrificers, to Agnihotṛis, to the skilled in the six-Angas (of the Védas), to a king, to a persons skilled in the shruti. In the kali (yuga) there is no impurity except what may be removed by immediate ablution. A Bráhman attending the funeral of a Shúdra is impure for three days. (vi. 11-12)

If a Dvija be touched by a Cháṇḍála when making water, he must

fast for six nights. If a Bráhman when eating be touched by another Bráhman, he must sip water and repeat the names of Vishṇu; if a he be touched by a Kshatriya, he must fast till night; if, by a Vaishya, he must in addition to this fast, swallow the five products of the cow; if by a Shúdra, or a dog, he must fast for a day and night; if by a washerman, or other low castes, he must perform the half of the prájápatya penance. If a Bráhman when eating be touched by a woman who is impure from a birth or restraint, or by a Mlénchha, he must fast till sunset, and bathe in water kept for a day. (vi. 48-57.)

Shabaras, Pulindas, Kíkaṭas (aboriginal tribes), and Naṭas are like washermen. If a Vaishya go to a woman of the washerman caste, he has to take cow's urine, and half-ripe barley for six days, or perform a double kṛichhra. (vi. 312-314.)

The rules for defilement in eating given by Paráshara are similar to those of Angiras.

Food cooked in the house of a Shúdra may be ate at a river when sprinkled with its water, accompanied by a repetition of the Gáyatrí. Unboiled grain, flesh, clarified butter, honey, oil, and different kinds of fruits are impure while they are in the vessels of Mlénchhas, but pure, when taken from them.* Milk, curds, and clarified butter are pure when in the vessels of the Abhíras (viewed as cowherds). Market wares are pure while in the hands of the venders. (vi. 315-324.) The rules for the cleansing of vessels are like those of Angiras and Manu.

A Brahman is not to accept gifts when in a state of impurity from births or deaths. When he receives gifts from a Bráhman, he has to acknowledge them in a loud voice; from a Rájanya, in a gentle voice; from a Vaishya, in a whisper; and from a Shúdra, in his own mind. With a Brahman, he has to commence by saying *Om*; with a king he has to utter thanks without the *Om*; with a Vaishya, to whisper thanks; and with a Shúdra, to wish thanks, imagining himself to say, *svasti* (this is good). (vii. 82-88.)

The whole administration of *Shánti*, or propitiation, of the gods,

* From the specification of the Mlénchhas, or Barbarians, in connexion with these products, it seems to be warrantable to infer that the articles were sometimes imported into India at least from the neighbouring provinces.

elements, devils, etc., and of houses, temples, tanks, etc. is in the hands of the Bráhmans (ix, passim).

The work concludes with a statement of the doctrines and practices connected with the Yoga.

The best digest of Hindu law, all things considered, is probably to be found in the *Mayúkha* of Kamalákara Bhaṭṭa, to which reference has already been made. Its twelve Rays, or divisions, are not always arranged in the same order. With a view to indicate the application of these divisions to such of the social customs of the Hindus as are more or less connected with Caste, I notice their contents, at greater or less length, as needful for the objects of this work.

(1.) In the *Sanskára Mayúkha*, after some general references to the authoritative literature of the Hindus, we have notices of eleven of the sixteen Sacraments, in connexion with which the peculiarities of the four A'shrámas of the Bráhmans, and the general duties of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shúdras, and women are treated of. In this department of the work, however, there is nothing which we have not already noticed.

(2.) In the *Shánti Mayúkha*, which treats of the propitiation of the gods and other objects of fear, we have the following principal sections:—

The worship *(pujá)* of Gaṇapati.

The ablution *(snápana)* of Vináyaka (Gaṇapati).

Sacrifice to the Planets.

Characteristics (for good or evil) of the Planets.

Characteristics of Gaṇapati and of the Lokapálas (guardians of the Cardinal Points).

Directions for the Homas (burnt-sacrifices) of 100,000, 1,000,000, or 100,000,000 *áhutis*, or oblations.

The Pújá of Houses.

The Pújá of the Arches of Gateways.

The Pújá of objects resembling the Deities, as of Nandí, Garuḍa, etc.

The Propitiation of the Grahayogas (conjunctions of the Planets).

The Propitiation of the Planets, in their individuality.

The Propitiation of Ráhu and Kétu, (the ascending and descending Nodes), but viewed as devils seizing the sun and moon, and causing their eclipse.

The Arka-Viváha, the third marriage of a Bráhman, made first to the Asclepias gigantea, and afterwards to the bride.*

The Shánti of a woman's courses.

The Shánti of the birth of a calf.

The Shánti of new teeth.

The Shánti of a birth occurring on the fourteenth day of the decrease of the moon.

The Shánti of the full-moon, and of the last day of the moon.

The Shánti of a birth occurring on the day of the new moon.

The Shánti of the Nakshatras (Lunar Mansions).

The Shánti of a birth occurring during an eclipse.

The Shánti of the Visha-Ghaṭiká (the Poisonous or unlucky Ghaṭiká of the thirty ghatikás in a day and night).

The Shánti of the Gaṇḍánta-Yoga (an unlucky conjunction of the Nakshatras).

The Shánti of disgusting occurrences.

The Shánti of the entrance of the sun into particular signs of the zodiac.

The Shánti of falling into fevers, etc.

The Shánti of days specified in the Sútras of A'shvaláyana.

The Shanti of eclipses.

The Shánti of injuries to receptacles of water and fire.

The Shánti of the falling of great walls.

The Shánti of disease in trees.

The Shanti of the falling of lizards.

The Shánti of village and wild animals, as of the dove, crow, horse, and elephant.

(3.) The contents of the *Vyavahára Mayúkha* are

* Has this custom originated from the shame of third marriages, prevalent among the oldeu Hindus?

so similar to the chapter on the same subject of the Mitákshára of Yájnavalkya, to which we have already referred, and bear so little on caste observances, that we have little to notice connected with them.

When enjoining the preservation of the customs and laws of country, caste, and family (for the content of the people), it mentions that the Dvijas of the South take the daughter of a mother's brother in marriage; that those of the Middle-country act as artizans and eat kine; that those of the East eat fish and have wives who are prostitutes; and that those of the North drink intoxicating liquors, and approach their women when they should not be touched: and it holds that they are not deserving of punishment on these accounts.*

The evidence of parties connected with particular *Vargas* (classes) is to be taken in cases in which these Vargas are concerned. The evidence of foreigners and women is to be taken, too, in their special affairs. The evidence of a person fallen from caste is not to be taken.†

Outcasted persons have no share in inheritance.‡

Caste-communion, it is maintained according to injunctions of the Smṛitis already noticed, is not to be held with a person who has passed the sea in a ship, even though he may have performed penance for it; and therefore connexion with such a person in this Yuga is reprehensible.

Nárada is quoted as saying that a woman left to her own will (*svairiṇí*) who is not a Bráhmaṇí, may have connexion with a man of higher caste than herself, though not of a lower, though the man himself is reprehensible.§ Yáma is quoted as teaching that a Bráhmaṇí, having connexion with a Shúdra, is to be devoured by dogs, and having connexion with a Kshatriya or a Vaishya is merely to have her head shaved and to be carried round on an ass.‖

A creditable translation of the Vyavahára Mayúkha was published by Mr. Borrodaile of the Bombay Civil

* Vyavahára Mayúkha, i. 1.1 3. † V. M. ii. 3. 6-7.

‡ V. M. iv. 11. 3. This law of inheritance is now disavowed under the British Government.

§ V. M. iv. 29. 11. ‖ V. M. iv. 19. 12.

Service in 1827. The work, too, was translated into Máraṭhí by Raghunátha Shástrí Dáté.

(4.) In the *Práyaschitta Mayúkha*, after general statements on the nature and objects of atonements and penances, prescriptions are made for sins committed in a former birth, (indicated by diseases, ailments, etc.) ; directions are given for ablutions by sand and by water ; the specific acts of general penances are mentioned ; and the distinctions of offences are enumerated. Penances are prescribed for a party falsely accused of offences ; for a man cut short in his days ; for drunkenness ; for eating what is forbidden ; for eating flesh ; for taking food with a person engaged with a sacrament ; for eating food injured by keeping ; for theft of gold ; for intercourse with low-caste women ; for adultery ; for intercourse with beasts ; for gambling ; for familiarity with parties guilty of offences ; for touching the leavings of meals ; for minor sins ; for sacrificing for the unworthy ; for abusing virgins ; for abandoning the household fire ; and for miscellaneous faults.

(5.) In the *Shráddha Mayúkha* the general doctrine and practice of Shráddhas is treated of. But this subject, as far as caste is concerned, has been already exhausted in the preceding pages.

(6.) The *Samaya Mayúkha*, which treats of the times and seasons of religious services, and the duties of days and months, does not bear upon Caste, though it strikingly illustrates the formality and bondage in which the Hindu worshipper is constantly kept. The Manu Sanhitá, it tells us, prevails in the Kṛita Yuga; the Gautama, in the Tréta ; the Shankha and Likhita

in the Dvápára ; and the Paráshara in the Kali. The following laws, formerly current, it also tells us, have been repealed in the Kali Yuga.

The law permitting the raising up of issue upon the widow of a deceased brother.

The law allowing a girl mentally intended to be given to a particular husband to marry another husband should he die.

The law allowing Bráhmans to have four wives, (one of each of the primitive castes), Kshatriyas to have three, and Vaishyas to have two.

The law allowing the killing of Bráhmans in the act of attempting murder.

The law allowing Dvijas who may have passed over the sea to be received into caste on their performing penance.

The law allowing the performance of *Satradíkshá* (sacrificing) for all classes of men (not lower than Shúdras).

The law allowing the carrying of a water-pot (the emblem of entering into the Sanyásáshrama.)

The law allowing *Maháprasthánagamana* (walking on pilgrimage, in the direction of the Himálaya, till the pilgrim be carried off to heaven).

The slaughter of a bull for sacrifice.

The drinking of spirits, even at the Sautrámaṇí (the sacrifice to Indra).

The law allowing entrance into the *Vánaprastháshrama.*

The law forbidding the capital punishment of Bráhmans deliberately committing a Mahápátaka.

The law requiring the exaction of atonements for familiarity *(sansarga)* with sinners.

The law requiring penances for sins committed in secret, with the exception of theft.

The law allowing the use of flesh in Shráddhas.

The law permitting filiation by other ways than by birth or adoption.

The law requiring the abandonment of a wife for common sins (smaller than adultery).

The law requiring one to give up his own life in the protection of cows and Bráhmans.

The law allowing the sale of the Soma juice.

The law requiring the killing (by officiating Bráhmans) of animals in sacrifice (the deed being now done by Shúdras).

The law allowing a householding Bráhman, on a long pilgrimage, in difficulties, to eat from a Dása, Gopála, Kulamitra, Ardhaśíri.

The law allowing Bráhmans to obtain a livelihood in times of difficulty by doing the work of Kshtriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras.

The law allowing a Sányásí to beg and receive Dakshiṇá from all castes, to stay ten days anywhere as a guest, and to lodge wherever he might be found at sunset.

The law forbidding the wandering of Bráhmans.

The law forbidding a Bráhman to blow into fire with his mouth.

The law interdicting the giving of evidence in cases between a father and a son.

The law requiring the Brahmacharya A'shráma to last for forty-eight years (from the binding of the sacred string, being twelve years for the study of each Véda).

The law allowing the marriage of maternal cousins.

The law allowing the killing of cows.

The law allowing the sacrifice of men and horses.

The law allowing the re-marriage of females.

The gift of a larger share (in inheritance) to the eldest son.

The law sanctioning the performance of the Rájasúya.

The law ordering the practice of ordeal (which some nevertheless think advantageous).

These thirty-four instances of repeal very decidedly prove the mutability of the Hindu laws, a fact which should not be overlooked by native reformers.* In qualification of the repeal of the laws respecting Agnihotra and Sanyása, it is added that they may be practised while the distinctions of Caste and the Védas are acknowledged.

(7.) In the *Níti Mayúkha* the duties of kings are treated of much as in the Law-book ascribed to Manu.

* The list here given is considerably larger than that found in the General Note appended to Sir William Jones's translation of Manu.

(8.) The *Pratishṭhá Mayúkha* treating of the consecration of temples, houses, fortifications, images, etc., deals with religious and not caste observances.

(9.) The *Utsarga Mayúkha* treats of celebrations connected with shrines, idols, tanks, wells, etc.

(10.) The *A'chára Mayúkha* treats of the practical religion of life, and is very extensive and comprehensive. Much of it is devoted to caste-matters, but to caste-matters more as they affect individuals than as they affect social intercommunion. The following are the principal subjects of which it treats, drawing its materials principally from the Smṛitis and the Puráṇas :—

How the Dvija should get awake at the Bráhma Muhúrtta (the last Muhúrtta of the night).

How the natural evacuations should be effected; how the parties seeking relief should turn to the north during the day, and to the south during the night; how silence should be observed, and solitude sought; and how cleansings should be effected by water or earth, etc.

How *áchamana* (the sipping of water, and spitting it out again) should be performed—on relieving nature; on dining; on touching the leavings of food; on the passing of wind; on being touched by cats, and other impure animals; on uttering falsehood; on commencing any religious work; on seeing a crow, a washerman, a musician (véna), a fisherman, or a dancer; on speaking with a chanḍála or mlénchha; on speaking with a woman or Shúdra; before washing the hands after dinner; on shedding tears or blood; on touching a place where cows, Bráhmans or women are killed; on dreaming; on sneezing or spitting; on seeing persons defiling themselves; on falling before a guru; on eating leaf and betelnut; on putting on new clothes; and on touching a woman during her sútika (of ten days after a birth). The number of áchamanas needed on particular occasions is also stated.

How, and when, and with what kind of wood, the rinsing of the teeth is to be performed, and not performed. The stick of a Bráhman

ought to be of twelve finger breadths; of a Shúdra, Vaishya, and Kshatriya, of six finger-breadths ; and of a woman of four finger-breadths. Particular woods used are lucky, and others unlucky.

How the *pavitra*, or ring of Kusha grass, to be worn on the fourth finger, is to be worn at certain religious and other services. A Bráhman should use four blades of grass; a Kshatriya, three; and a Vaishya, two.

How ablutions should be performed. They are classed into the necessary, the voluntary, the occasional, those needful for cleanliness, and the secondary. The first season for them is the morning. The gradation of merit of waters rises as follows :—still waters, flowing waters, the ocean, tirthas, the Ganges. The face should be turned to the east in bathing. After ablution a Bráhman should clothe himself in white vestments; a Kshatriya, in red; a Vaishya, in yellow; and a Shúdra, in blue. The Dvijas should use mantras in bathing, but Shúdras should not use them. Ablution should follow the touch of a Cháṇḍála, a woman in her courses, an out-caste, a Sútiká, a corpse, or the touch of a person defiled by touching any of these objects, a Dévalaka (dresser of images) when out of a temple, a Buddhist, a Páshapata, a follower of Kapila (according to some testimonies), an ill-behaved Dvija, any person who should not be touched, one shedding tears, and a newly shaved person.

How the *tilaka*,* or religious mark, is to be applied to the body. The clay to be preferably used is to be that of the top of a mountain, of the bank of a river, of the Bráhmakshétra, of the coast, of the sea, of an anthill, of the roots of the Tulasi plant, and of Gopichandana from Dváravatí (Dváraká). It is to be daily applied for the destruction of sin. A black tilaka is favourable to peacefulness ; a red one, to bringing parties into one's power; and a yellow one, to wealth. The Vaishṇavas (sectarial followers of Vishṇu) ought to have a white tilaka. The application of the tilaka by the thumb, produces fatness; by the middle-finger, water or heaven; by the next finger, food; and by the fore-finger, liberation (from births). According to the Vaishṇavas, there are twelve places for applying unguents,—the forehead, the belly, the region of the heart, the neck, the two sides of the belly, the middle arms, the tips of the ears, the elbows. When applying them to the forehead,

* The root of this word is *tila*, to be unctuous.

(during the brightening half of the moon) the name Késhava is to be pronounced; when to the belly, Náráyaṇa; when to the heart, Mádhava; when to the throat, Govinda; when to the sides, Vishṇu and Vámana; when to the arms, Madhusúdana; when to the ears, Trivikrama; when to the elbows, Shrídhara and Hṛishíkésha; when to the back, Padmanábha or Dámodara; and when to the cerebral region (not mentioned above), Vásudeva. When the unguents are applied during the darkening half of the moon, the preceding names are to be taken in the reverse order. The forms of the unguents should be as follows:—on the forehead, that of an upper arm; on the ear, that of a rod; on the breast, that of a lotus; on the belly, that of a flame; on the arm, that of the leaf of a bambu; on the back, that of the rose-apple. The best tilaka, from the tip of the nose to the hair, is of ten finger-breadths; that of middle worth, of nine; and the lowest in value, of four, three, or two finger-breadths. Without attention to these matters, Karmma (the fruit of works) is lost. Figures of the conch-shell, and chakra (sacred discus) should be applied to the body of the Vaishṇava. The leaves of the tulasí should also be ate by him. These injunctions are said to be according to the Brahmá Puráṇa. [According to A'shvaláyana here also referred to, sectarial marks should not be used during Védic ceremonies.] According to the Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa, the *Urdhva-puṇdra* (the upper marks of Shiva) are to be made by clay, sandalwood, ashes, and water;—after bathing, by clay; after the homa, by ashes; after the worship of the gods, by sandalwood; on doing any ceremony connected with water, by water. If the unguent be by clay, its lines are not to be horizontal, but vertical; if by ashes, they are not to be vertical but horizontal. They are to be used, according to Kátyáyana, at shráddhas, sacrifices, japas, homas, the oblation to the Vishvédévas, and the worship of the gods (suras). The places for applying ashes are the forehead, the breast, the navel, the throat, the shoulder and upper arm, the back, and the head. The Shivamantra or Gáyatrí of the Atharvavéda is to be used when the application is made. A householder should apply the ashes with water; and the Vánaprastha and Sanyási should apply them without water. The horizontal marks of a Bráhman should be six finger-breadths long; of a Kshatriya, four; of a Vaishya, two; and of a Shúdra and others below him, of one. If the (Shaiva) Bráhman make not the *tripuṇḍra*

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(the ternary of lines) he becomes *patita* (fallen). Those who mock the parties wearing these marks are the offspring of Shúdras. From these notices, it is apparent that the tilaka marks are chiefly of a sectarial character.

How and where the ceremonies of *Sandhyá* at morn, noon, and evening are to be performed.

How the *Homa* is to be performed; how charity is to be dispensed: how the five great Yajnas are to be managed; how libations are to be poured out to ancestors, to Bhishma, to Yama, and to the gods.

How *Pujá* (material worship) is to be given to the gods; and what flowers and leaves are acceptable or unacceptable to various gods; and what are the suitable objects and places for *pujá*. In connexion with this matter, it is said that a Bráhman ought to worship Vishnu as Vásudéva; a prince, as Sankarshana; and a Vaishya, as Pradyumna; and a Shúdra, as Aniruddha. A Bráhman ought to have four images; a Kshatriya, three; a Vaishya, two; and a Shúdra, one. The worship of the Sháligráma ought to be confined to Bráhmans. A Shúdra pronouncing the sacred syllable Om, worshipping the Sháligráma, or going to the wife of a Bráhman, becomes a Chándála. A Bráhman, whether pure or impure, ought, according to the Linga Purána, to be the agent in worshipping the Sháligráma. If a Shudra or a woman touch it, its touch will prove like that of a thunderbolt. Women, noninitiated Bráhmans, and Shúdras have no right to touch the emblems of Vishnu or Shiva.

How *pujá* is to be performed. A Bráhman teaching a Shúdra to pronounce the sacred Om or *sváhá*, becomes a Shúdra, and the Shúdra goes to hell.

How the worship of clay images (of the linga, etc.) should be performed.

How at the worship of gurus, gifts should be given to them.

How the *homa* of the Vishvédévas is to be performed.

How the five maháyajnas are to be performed.

How *Bhojanas* (feedings) are to effected. The *mandala* (enclosure) formed by water on the ground for the vessel of a Bráhman, ought to be quadrangular; of a Kshatriya, triangular; of a Vaishya, circular; and of a Shúdra, semicircular. The vessels used ought to be of gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, or of the leaves of the lotus, or the palásha

(Butea frondosa). However, a Brahmachárí, Yati, or widow, should not dine either from bell-metal or the palásha leaf. Nothing is to be ate of animals with five toes. Numerous and minute rules are to be observed in the further proceedings. The three first classes must neither eat nor drink with the left hand. Should a Dvija violate this rule, his offence will be like that of drinking ardent spirits. A Shúdra, however, may drink water with that dishonoured organ of the body. Nothing is to be taken which has fallen from the mouth. Animal food is to be avoided. A Dvija, when eating, should not listen to a Chaṇḍála, an outcaste, or a woman in her courses. The times of eating are midday and the evening. Other injunctions, which we have already extracted from the Law-books, are to be observed.

How the evening is to be spent after lamplighting; how beds are to be arranged; and how *stríkṛitya* is to be performed, except on forbidden days.

What places for sleeping are forbidden;—such as empty houses; graveyards; the place where four roads meet; places under trees; the shrines of Mahádéva and Déví; places frequented by Nágas and Yakshas; mounds of sand or earth; and Darbha grass, when the Díkshá is being performed. Sleep is to be taken during the second and third of the four praharas of the night.

How dreams are to be interpreted, and their bad omens averted.

(11.) In the *Dána Mayúkha*, the duty and privilege of giving gifts, especially to Bráhmans, are amply and keenly treated of. It well proves the fact, which we have already noticed, that the imparting of gifts to the priestly class is quite a science in the institutions of caste.* The following is a general view of its contents:—

What *dána* (donum) is.

Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas have the right of giving *dána* according to the Védas; Shúdras and women, according to the Puráṇas. Gifts to Shúdras should be confined to food and clothing. The merit of giving to Shúdras is of the ratio of one; to Vaishyas, of two; to Kshatriyas, of three; and to Bráhmans, of six.

* See before p. 27.

Of acquisitions made, one-third should be reserved for a livelihood, and two-thirds for dána, according to the work called Shivadharma. Of cows every tenth should be given, according to the Bhárata. Gold, silver, or copper, given to a Yati (Sanyásí) consigns both the giver and receiver to hell. No person who has offspring should part with all his property, or with his wife, a dependent, what is held in loan or pawn, what belongs to other members of a family as well as one's self, a pledge, what is included in *strídhana*, and a son.

Certain times are appropriate for gifts, such as Sundays, the day of the sun entering into a new sign of the zodiac, eclipses, festivals, etc.

Gifts at holy places are peculiarly meritorious; yet those receiving them there (from a spirit of covetousness) have to perform penance.

Both givers and receivers have to perform numerous ceremonies. Gifts from Bráhmans are to be acknowledged in a loud voice; from Kshatriyas, in a gentle voice; from Vaishyas, in a whisper; and from Shúdras, in a silent acknowledgment.

Methods of measuring and weighing in dána, in the cases of money, grain, land, etc., are prescribed.

Mandapas, or tabernacles, when erected by the givers of largesses, are to be of a particular form, and of particular woods. Directions are given for the construction of the sacrificial *Kuṇdas*, or holes, which may be made in these Mandapas, some of them being of the form of the vulvus, triangular, quadrangular, sexangular, lotus formed, etc. etc., the shapes being different according to the castes, a Bráhman's being quadrangular, a Kshatriya's, circular, a Vaishya's, semicircular, and a Shúdra's, triangular. The depth of the Kuṇdas is also prescribed.

The planets, the Lokapálas, or guardians of the eight directions, and Vináyaka (Gaṇapati) and other gods, are to be invoked. Holy mantras are to be recited. Pujá to houses and doors is to be performed. The holy fire is to be kindled. Flowers are to be selected, fitted to please individual gods. Particular mantras are to be repeated, those of the Ṛig-Védí and Yajur-Védí, and Sáma-Védí Bráhmans being different.

When all things are ready, the prince proceeds to bestow his largesses,

on the Bráhmans. The Sixteen-Great-Gifts *(Shodasha-Mahádánáni)* according to the Matsya Purána, are the following*:—

The *Tulapurushadána*, the weight of a man or woman in any of the precious metals, ghí, etc.; the *Hiranyagarbhadána*, a golden fœtus; the *Brahmándadána*, the gift of gold, in the form of the mundane egg; the *Kalpatarudána*, the gift of a golden tree, like that which satisfies all human desires; the *Gosahasradána*, the gift of a thousand cows; the *Hiranyakámadhenudána*, the gift of a golden cow and calf, like the cow which yields what may be desired; the *Hirnayáshvadána*, the gift of a golden horse; the *Hiranyáshvarathadána*, the gift of a golden chariot with (golden) horses; the *Hémahastidána*, the gift of a golden elephant, the *Panchalángaladána*, the gift of five plows of wood, and of gold, with the bullocks added; the *Dharádána*, the gift of gold in the form of the earth, a mountain, etc.; the *Vishvachakradána*, the gift of a golden wheel, or discus; the *Kalpalatádána*, the gift of ten golden creeping plants, with flowers; the *Saptaságaradána*, the gift of seven large oceanic golden vessels, of a cubit in diameter and depth; the *Ratnadhénudána*, the gift of a cow formed of set jewels; the *Mahábhutaghatadána*, the gift of a large golden vessel, of a hundred finger-breadths, filled with milk or clarified butter. Minute rules are laid down about the times and places at which and the methods by which these gifts, so acceptable to the Bráhmans and meritorious before the gods, are to be given.

Besides these Sixteen-Great-Dánas, there are also the Ten-Great-Dánas of the Kúrmma Purána, the *Dashámahádánáni*. They are as follows:—gold, a horse, tila, a nága (cobra serpent in gold), a slave girl, a chariot, land, a house, a daughter, and a tawny-coloured cow.

Other *Dánas* (with notices of some of the preceding) are treated of according to various authorities,—as those of a white horse, of a copper vesselful of sesamum seeds, of a waterpot of a student filled with these seeds, of an elephant, of a chariot, of land, of a house, of sheep, of a shelter, of ten cows (of molasses, ghrita, water, milk, curds, honey, sugarcane juice, sugar, cotton, salt, and gold), of a golden-horned cow, of a cow and a calf when the birth is taking place, (which

* The Shodasha Mahádánas are, with a few variations from the Matsya, treated of in the Linga and other Puránas. See Linga Purána, second part, pp. 56-75. Puná edition.

will secure a safe passage across the infernal river Vaitaraṇí), of a female buffalo, of a goat, of odoriferous substances (from the mountains Gandhamádana, Vipula, and Supárshva), of a *bhadranidhi*, an ocean of happiness, of an ánandanidhi, (an ocean of joy, a vessel of the ficus glomerata, with a silver cover, and filled with gold), of images of the gods and ten Avatáras, of the twelve Adityas, of the Moon and Sun, of the nine planets, of golden images of the donor and of Kuvéra (the god of riches), of golden Sháligrámas, and of the golden image of Kálapurusha Yama (the god of death).

Respecting *Kámyadána* or optional or discretional gifts, much is said. The *Kálapurushadána*, and *Kálachakradána*, made preparative to death, may be of an image with golden eyes, or of a silver discus, silver teeth, etc. They are said to remove the fear of death and pain, to secure the full complement of life, and to merit heaven. Similar in their objects and effects, are the *Yamadánas* and *Puskaradánas*. The *Kṛishṇájinadána*, the gift of the skin of a black antelope, with accompaniments, destroys the sin of seven births. The *Shayadána*, or gift of a bed, confers beauty, riches, a ten thousand years' lease of heaven, and other benefits. The *Vastradána*, or gift of clothes, confers, when the dresses are of cotton, entrance into Svarga; when they are of wool, entrance into the abode of the Ṛishis; when they are of the kusha grass, or of silk, entrance into the abode of the Vasus. The *A'sanadána*, the gift of a seat, keeps disease away, and gives a taste of heaven. The *Bhajanadána*, the gift of vessels, when they are of gold, procures the heaven of Indra; when of silver, the abode of the Gandharvas; when of copper, the abode of the Yakshas and Rákshasas, when of wood, iron, etc., lesser benefits. The *Sthálídána*, the gift of a tray, gives fatness and pleasure. The *Pákadána*, the gift of cooked food, is favourable to the acquisition of power. The *Vidyádána*, or gift of learning, consists principally in presents of books. Those enumerated are the Eighteen Puráṇas (according to the Varáha)—in their adjective names—as follows:—The Bráhma, Pádma, Vaiṣhnava, Shaiva, Bhágavata, Naradíya, Markandéya, Agnéya, Bhaviṣhya, Bráhma-Vaivartta, Lainga, Varáha, Skánda, Vámana, Kaurmma, Mátsya, Gáruḍa, and the Brahmáṇda; the Upapuránas; the Rámáyaṇa, Bhárata, and books of the Tarkashástra (logic), Chanda, Alankára, of the Védas, Mímánsa and Dharmashástra. Power on earth, and glory in heaven,

are the consequences of liberality in this form. *Chatropánadána*, the gift of umbrellas and shoes, will give freedom from scorching heat, and from pain in walking, in the other world. *Annadána*, the gift of grain, (to serve a year) secures freedom from disease and pain. *Támbúladána*, the gift of leaf and betelnut, secures luck. *Gandhadravyadána*, the gift of odoriferous substances, keeps the body in health. *Ratnadána*, the gift of gems, keeps off pain, sin, and secures freedom (from births) at death. *Vidrumadána*, the gift of coral, has similar effects. *Udakadána*, the gift of water, according to many authorities, is very meritorious, giving happiness in heaven for a hundred yugas, etc. *Dharmmaghaṭadána*, the gift of a supply of vessels full of water, is like the gift of a thousand cows, and secures heaven. *Yadnopavítadána*, the gift of the sacred string,* has the merit of the Agnishṭoma. *Yashṭidána*, the gift of a staff to one needing it, keeps off disease, and a beating from Yama. *Agnishtakadána*, the gift of fuel, secures the Brahmaloka. The *Dipadána*, the gift of a lamp, improves the eyes, and gives prosperity, both in this life and that which is to come. *Abhyadána*, the gift of shelter to the fearful, fulfils human desires. *Máseshudánas*, gifts fit for the twelve months, keep the body sound, prevent entrance into Yamaloka, and effect direct entrance into Svarga. *Ashvathasévana*, the care of the holy fig-tree, destroys disease. *Pánthopachára*, feeding travellers, destroys sin, and aids in acquiring wealth. *Goparicharya*, the service of cows, procures felicity in Goloka (the heaven of Kṛishṇa). *Nánádravyadána*, distributing of money in various forms, has many wonderful effects in both worlds.

Notwithstanding the precise nature of the injunctions of the books, on the kinds, seasons, and modes of gifts, there is in modern times much that is arbitrary in the disposal of gifts. The great object of the legislation respecting them is the encouragement of liberality to the Bráhmans by all imaginable ingenious devices, and exorbitant promises both for this life and that which is to come. Though the formalities prescribed are often

* Including the expenses of its assumption.

neglected, they are sometimes attended to, even in dispensing largesses according to the highest scale. Frequently the native princes of India are brought to notice as more or less satisfying the high demands of the parties who have the privilege of seeking alms. The calls made at marriages by Bráhmans, Bháṭs, and Chárans (or family bards) in the case of the Rajputs, were often viewed as inducements to infanticide. Most enormous sums are given away in the hope of getting sons and heirs, throughout the country. "About the year 1794, Chanaghoṣha, a Káyastha of Midnápur," says Mr. Ward, "gave to the Bráhmans an artificial mountain of gold. A little before this Gopála Kṛiṣhṇa, a Vaidya of Rájánagar, presented to the Bráhmans three mountains, one of gold, one of rice, and another of the seeds of sesamum."* These mountains, he adds, need not be very large; but it is necessary that figures of trees, deer, etc., should be seen on them. Sometimes effects not recognized by the Smṛitis, are alleged to follow munificent gifts. "Shúdras," it is asserted, "cannot pass from a lower grade to a higher; but the Rájás of Travankur are always manufactured into Bráhmans on ascending the masnad, an important part in this transmigration being sometimes played by a golden cow, at the mouth of which the Rájá enters a Shúdra, and having crawled along its interior arrangements, emerges under the animal's tail as one of the twice-born: otherwise he bathes in a golden lotus. The gold figures are subsequently divided amongst the officiating Bráhmans.

* Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus. Vol. III. p. 292.

During the last century, two Travankur Bráhmans visited England, thereby, of course, losing their caste, which was only restored by their passing the sacred Yoní made of the finest gold, which afterwards, with many other valuable gifts, were presented to one of the temples."* The Rájá of Mahiṣhur (Mysore), notwithstanding the embarrassed state of his finances, is said to have often given magnificent presents to Bráhmans, as well as to the temples of the gods. Among others mentioned to me by parties acquainted with his country, are a golden maṇḍapa and cradle, with pearls and precious stones, to the chief Vaiṣḥṇava Svámi ; a thousand golden rings set with precious stones, to as many members of the priestly caste; the weight of his own body in silver (on his completing his sixtieth year); and liberal dakshíṇá to learned men. Similar presents have been given in our own day by some of the Maráthá and Rajput princes. Feastings of Bráhmans are reckoned meritorious throughout the country. In expectation of them, and with a view to do justice to them, those of the old school sometimes fast the day preceding them, and eat so copiously that they need few additional supplies the day following.

(12.) The *Shuddhi-Mayúkha* treats of the removal of ceremonial and other impurities. But I have extracted so much on this subject already, from Angirá, Manu, Yájnavalkya, and Paráshara,† that it is not necessary here again to attempt its exhibition.‡

* Day's Land of the Permauls, p. 314. Compare with this Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii. (2nd edit.) pp. 239-40.

† See before pp. 360 *et seq.*

‡ In the examination of the Mayúkhas, I have used my own manuscripts and those of Gaṇpatráo Gádagíl, Inámdár, of Wáí.

By the Smṛitis the Caste-system was brought to its full maturity, and stereotyped for ever, except in so far as it is expected to be influenced by what is held to be the lamentable and destructive progress of the Kaliyuga. In consequence of this circumstance, we need say very little, comparatively, respecting Caste as it appears in the later literature of the Hindus.

X.—Caste in the Harivansha.

The *Harivansha*, which is sometimes called a supplement to *(khila)*, and sometimes a portion of, the Mahábhárata, is generally considered as intermediate between the Smṛitis and the Puráṇas, to which, nevertheless, it is sometimes made to refer. It treats, especially in its earlier portions after its introductory matter, of the glory of Hari, particularly in the form of Kṛiṣhṇa. It contains many curious legends. It is scarcely necessary to say that it recognizes the caste-system in its integrity, though it does not mention it anywhere at any considerable length.

Of Véna, the prince reputed to be so rebellious against the Bráhmans, it is there said that he was laid hold of by the great Riṣhis, who rubbed his left thigh. From this rubbing a diminutive and black man came forth, who, being afraid, remained standing with joined hands. Atri (the Ṛiṣhi) seeing him afraid, said to him, *Nishída* (sit down). He became the establisher (*karttá*) of the race of the *Nishádas*.*

The Harivansha recognizes *Sútas* and *Mágadhas*, in their caste occupations of encomiasts and bards.

It says that Prishadra, originally a Kshatriya, became a Shúdra for killing his guru's cow; and that two sons of Nábhágárishta, originally Vaishyas, became Bráhmans.† It also alleges, like Manu, that the Shakas, Yavanas, Kámbojas, Páradas, Pahlavas, Haihayas, Tálajanghas,

* Harivansha V. *v.* 325 *et seq.* † H. V. xi. *v.* 658-9.

etc., lost their caste of Kshatriyas for rebelling against the descendant of Harischandra.* These traditions, and others of a like character, found in the Puráṇas, deal with the fact that position in Aryan society was not originally wholly dependent on birth.

To the various and contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste, the following is added :—" The renowned Sunahotra [a king of the Lunar race] was the son of Kshatravṛiddha, and had three very righteous sons, Kásha, Shala, and the mighty Ghritsamada. The son of Ghritsamada was Shunaka, from whence sprang the Shaunakas, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras."† Shaunaka is also spoken of in the Viṣhnu Puráṇa,‡ as having " originated the four castes." Perhaps this prince had some hand in framing laws for their distinct recognition, as is onwards said to have been the case with king Bali.§ In the context of the passage now quoted, the Maitréyas are said to have assumed the part of the descendants of Bhṛigu (the duties of the Brahmanhood,) though they had the character of Kshatriyas (as warriors ?).‖ Children of [the Ṛiṣhi Angiras] are also said to have been " born in the family of Bhṛigu, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, three kinds of descen-

* H. V. xiv. See Muir's Texts i. 45. et seq. Mr. Muir thus translates the passage in the Harivansha, to which I refer :—" Aurva having performed Sagara's natal, and other rites, and taught him all the Védas then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon, and attended by an army incensed and fierce, Sagara speedily slew the Haihayas, as if they had been beasts ; and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Shakas, Yavanas, Kámbojas, Páradas, and Pahlavas. But they when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vashiṣhṭha, and fell down before him. Vashiṣhṭha beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of protection. Sagara after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (dharma), and made them change their customs. He released the Shakas, after causing the half of their heads to be shaven ; and the Yavanas and Kámbojas, after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Páradas were made to wear long hair, and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Védas, and from oblations by fire. The Shakas, Yavanas, Kámbojas, Páradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dárvas, Cholás and Kéralas, had all been Kshatriyas, but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vashiṣhṭha."¶

† H. V. xxix. *v.* 1518-20. Muir's Texts, I. 49. ‡ V. P. iv. 8.

§ H. V. xxxi. *v.* 1684. ‖ xxxii. *vv.* 1789-90.

¶ Harivansha, xiv. *vv.* 773-83. Muir's Texts, Vol. i. p. 182.

dants in thousands."* In a neighbouring passage Shúdras are said to have also had the same descent.†

As in the Rámáyaṇa, it is said that in the reign of Ráma the Kshatriyas were subject to the Bráhmans; the Vaishyas to the Kshatriyas; and the Shúdras to the three other castes. ‡

Even the wild *Shabaras*, *Barbaras*, and *Pulindas* are represented as praising A'ryá (the wife of Shiva).§

Of a woman performing the *Umávrata* (the vrata of the goddess Umá, wife of Shiva) it is said that she will give most magnificent presents to a pure Bráhman, such as two suits of clothing, a bed, a conveyance, a house, grain, slaves, male and female, jewels, a mountain of jewels, elephants, horses, cows, etc. etc.‖

The Bráhmans, in other circumstances, are represented as receiving similar presents.¶

The reading of the Mahábhárata should, at its different stages, be accompanied with most liberal largesses.**

Inattention to Bráhmanical institutions is represented as the grand cause of the progress of the evil Kali Yuga, a most conspicuous sign of which is the usurpation by one caste of the duties of another, particularly as far as the four primitive castes are concerned.†† A shrewd guess has been made at the probable issue of the tyrannical system of caste; but this guess is associated with great blunders as to the material depravation of India, of which no sign yet begins to appear.

A mystical origin of the Bráhmans, according to their sacrificial distribution, is thus spoken of (I quote the translation and interposed notes of Mr. Muir, subjoining a note respecting the text):—" The Lord created the *Brahmá*, who is the chief, as well as the *udgátṛi*, who chaunts the Sáma Véda from his mouth; and *hotṛi* and *adhvaryu* from his arms." [The text of the next verse seems to be corrupt, but it appears to refer to four kinds of priests, the *bráhmanáchhansin*, the *prastotṛi*, the *maitrávaruṇa*, and the *pratishtátṛi*.] He formed the *pratihartṛi* and the *potṛi* from his belly, the *adhyapaka* [query *ach-*

* H. V. xxix. *v.* 1596-7.

† H. V. xxxii. *v.* 1754.

‡ H. V. xlii. *v.* 2347-8.

§ H. V. lix. *v.* 3274.

‖ H. V. cxxxviii. *v.* 7805 *et seq.*

¶ H. V. clxxxi. near the end.

** H. V. cclviii. near the end.

†† See H. V. adh. 194-199.

áváka?] and the néshṭri from his thighs, the *agnídhra* and the sacrificial *brahmaṇya* from his hands, the *grávan* and the sacrificial *sunéṭri* from his arms. Thus this divine lord of the world created these sixteen excellent *ritviks*, the expounders of all sacrifice. Hence this Purusha called the Véda is composed of sacrifice; and all the Védas with the Vedángas, Upanishads, and ceremonies, are formed of his essence."* This differs much from former notices of the priestly generation. There is no consistency in the accounts of the origin either of the Bráhmans or of the other castes.

Further proof of this we have in the Harivansha. "Vishṇu, sprung from Brahmá, exalted above the power of sense, and absorbed in devotion, becomes the patriarch Daksha, and creates numerous beings. The beautiful Bráhmans were formed from an unchangeable element (*akshara)*, the Kshatriyas from a changeable substance *(kshara)*, the Vaishyas from alteration (*vikára*), and the Shúdras from a modification of smoke. When Vishṇu was contemplating colors [or castes, the word varṇa having both significations], Bráhmans were fashioned with white, red, yellow, and blue colours. Thence his creatures attained in the world the state of fourfold caste, as Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras:—being of one type, but with different duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy, and acquainted with the means of success in all the works they had to perform. There are declared to be ceremonies prescribed by the Védas for the men of the three (highest) castes. By this union of Vishṇu with Brahmá [?], by wisdom and energy, the divine son of the Prachétasas [Daksha], who was, in fact, Vishṇu, the great devotee, passed, by means of that contemplation, [or union] into the sphere of action. [?] Hence the Shúdras, sprung from vacuity, are destitute of ceremonies, and so are not entitled to the rites of initiation (*sanskára*); nor have

* H. V. adh. cc. *v.* 11858 *et seq.* (Muir's Texts I. p. 36.) My manuscript of the original seems more correct than that of the Calcutta printed edition used by M. Muir. For *Adhyápaka*, it has actually *Achávaka*, which confirms the conjectural emendation of Mr. Muir. For *Sunéṭri* it has *Unnétá* (the equivalent of *Unneṭri)*. The sixteen classes of priests are thus given in the manuscript commentary of Nilakaṇtha Govinda, associated with my copy of the text:—Brahmá, Udgátá, Hotá, Adhvaryu, Brahmanáchhansi, Prastotá, Maitrávaruṇa, Pratiprasthátá, Pratihartá, Potá, Achávàka, Néshtá, Agnídhra, Subrahmaṇya, Grávastotá, and Unnétá.

they a knowledge of the Védas. Just as, upon the friction of wood, the cloud of smoke which issues from the fire and spreads around, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Shúdras spread over the earth (are unserviceable), owing to their birth with all its circumstances [?], to their want of initiatory rites and the ceremonies ordained by the Védas."*

XI.—Caste in the Puranas.

We now proceed to the *Puráṇas* (or *Mahápuráṇas* as they are usually called), which according to the usage of speech are stated to be eighteen, the *Upapuráṇas*, or inferior works of the same class, amounting to the same number.

The following Shloka, which is often quoted by the Pandits, is said to contain the names of the recognized Puráṇas :—

ब्रह्मांअंभोरुह विष्णु शिव भागवत्संज्ञं ततो नारदं,
मार्कंडेयमथाग्नि देवतमिति प्रोक्तं भविष्योत्तरं
तस्माद्ब्रह्मविवृत संज्ञमुदितं स्कंदं वराहं तथा
लैंगं वामन मत्स्य कूर्म गरुड ब्रह्मांडमष्टादशं ॥

These in their order, in the nominal form, are the following—Brahmá, Ambhoruha (Padma or Lotus), Vishṇu, Shiva, Bhágavata, Nárada, Markaṇḍéya, Agni, Bhavishyottara, Brahma-Vaivartta, Skanda, Varáha, Linga, Vámana, Matsya, Kúrma, Garuḍa, Brahmáṇḍa. This list, with one or two differences in the order of the names, agrees with those contained in the Bhágavata,† now a principal authority, especially in the west of India, and in the Vishṇu and Linga Puráṇas.‡ In other

* H. V. ccxi. v. 11815 *et seq.* I have adopted the exact translation of Mr. Muir's Texts, I. p. 35.

† Bhágavata, sk. xii. adh. 7.

‡ Wilson's V. Puráṇa, p. 284.

authorities, as mentioned by Professor H. H. Wilson, there are a few variations. The list of the Kúrma omits the Agni, that of the Agni, the Shiva, for which it substitutes the Váyu; that of the Varáha, the Garuḍa and the Brahmáṇḍa, for which it inserts the Narasinha. The Markandéya, with the Vishṇu and Bhágavata, omits the Váyu. The Matsya, with the Agni, leaves out the Shiva.* Other variations are elsewhere apparent. In the Padma Puráṇa, a list is given of twenty-one Puráṇas, including some elsewhere given as Upapuráṇas, viz., the Brahma, Padma, Vishṇu, Mártanda, Nárada, Markandéya, Agni, Kúrma, Vámana, Garuḍa, Linga, Skanda, Matsya, Narsinha, Kapila, Varáha, Brahma-Vaivartta, Shiva, Bhágavata, Bhavishyottara, Bhavishya. These differences, in a professedly divinely revealed canon, are rather puzzling. The Puráṇas mentioned in the different lists, however, are forthcoming. They are all posterior in their composition (whatever they may be in some of their legendary and speculative materials) to the breaking up of Hinduism into the different modern sects which now prevail throughout the country. Some of them are of a *Vaishṇava*, and some of them of a *Shaiva* character, while some of them favour Brahmá, or the worship of the *Shaktis*, or female principles.†

* Wilson's V. P. p. xiv.

† "It is said in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma that the Puráṇas, as well as other works, are divided into three classes, according to the qualities which prevail in them. Thus the Vishṇu, Náradíya, Bhágavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varáha Puráṇas, are *Sátvika* or pure, from the predominance in them of the *Satva* quality, or that of goodness and purity. They are, in fact, *Vaishṇava* Puránas. The Matsya, Kúrma,

The following Shloka is said to embody the names of the *Upapuráṇas:*

गणेशं नारदीयंच नारसिंहच कापिलं
नान्दिकेयंच वारुण्यं दौर्वाससमथाम्बिकं
कापिलकेयंच मारीचं वौशनसं भार्गवं
माहेश्वरंच सौरंवै पाराशर्यंच मौद्गलं
सनत्कुमारकंचैव कौमारंच प्रजापते
अष्टादश पुराणानि कथितानि समासतः॥

The names here given are in the nominal form as follows:—the Ganésha, Nárada, Narsinha, Kapila, Nandi,

Linga, Shiva, Skanda, and Agni Puráṇas are *Támasa* or Puráṇas of darkness, from the prevalence of the quality of Tamas, 'ignorance,' 'gloom.' They are indisputably Shaiva Puráṇas. The third series, comprising the Brahmánda, Brahma-Vaivartta, Markandéya, Bhavishya, Vámana, and Brahma Puráṇas, are designated as *Rájasa*, 'passionate,' from *Rajas*, the property of passion, which they are supposed to represent. The Matsya does not specify which are the Puráṇas that come under these designations, but remarks that those in which the Mahátmya of Hari or Vishṇu prevails, are *Sátvika;* those in which the legends of Agni or Shiva predominate are *Támasa;* and those which dwell most on the stories of Brahma are *Rájasa.* I have elsewhere stated that I considered the Rajasa Puráṇas to lean to the Shákta division of the Hindus, the worshippers of *Shakti*, or the female principle; founding this opinion on the character of the legends which some of them contain, such as the Durgá Mahátmya, or celebrated legend on which the worship of Durgá or Káli is especially founded, which is a principal episode of the Markandéya. The Brahma-Vaivartta also devotes the greatest portion of its chapters to the celebration of Rádhá, the mistress of Kṛishṇa, and other female divinities." Wilson's V. Puráṇa, pp. xii. xiii. The Brahma Vaivartta Puráṇa was appealed to during the celebrated Mahárája Libel Case, it having been acknowledged as a special authority by Jadunáthji himself. It sets forth Krishṇa (to use the appropriate denomination given by Sir Joseph Arnould) as the "love hero."

Varuṇa, Durvása, Ambá (Devi Bhágavata) Káliká, Marícha, Ushanas, Bhṛigu, Mahéshvara (Shiva), Súrya, Paráshara, Mudgala, Sanatakumára, Kumára, Upapuráṇas. The lists quoted by Professor H. H. Wilson do not altogether agree with this. He is certainly correct, however, in saying that, "Of these Upapuráṇas few are to be procured." Those in his possession were the Shiva, as distinct from the Váyu, (a copy of which I also have,) the Káliká, and perhaps one of the Náradíyas. The Gaṇésha and Nárada are well-known in the West of India; and so, it is said, is the Mudgala. To the list given in the Shloka above quoted, Shámráo Morojí adds the following names:—Atri, I'shvara, Káli, Dévi, Bhava, Mánava, Váyu and Sámba.* The Váyu is often a substitute for the Shiva.

In none of the Puráṇas, whatever may be their character in a sectarial point of view, is there the slightest relaxation of the system of Caste, viewed in its general aspects. Yet occasionally we find in them certain intimations and assertions worthy of notice.

1. In the *Brahma Puráṇa*, the following passage occurs:—Reverence to thee, O tree; the Bráhmans are thy root; the Kshatriyas are thy trunk; the Vaishyas thy branches; and the Shúdras thy bark. The Brahmans with (their) fire issued from thy mouth; the kings (*nṛipas*) from thy arm; the Vaishyas from thy thigh, and the Shúdras from thy feet.†

2. In the *Kriyá-Yoga-Sára* of the *Padma Puráṇa*,

* Granthálaya of Shámráo Moroji, p. 59.

† Pápaprashamanastava of Brahma Puráṇa, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, 1851.

the glory and dignity of the priestly class are most emphatically set forth. "The Brahman is the supreme lord of all the Varṇas. To him should largesses be given with worship and reverence. The Vipra is the sanctuary (*áshraya*) of all the gods, a visible divinity (*tridasha*) on the earth, who ferries across the giver in the difficult ocean of the world." "All Bráhmans are most exalted, and always to be worshipped whether learned or unlearned, of this there being no question. Those excellent Bráhmans who are guilty of theft and the like, are offenders of themselves, not of others. Bráhmans are lords of the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras. They are lords of one another, and to be worshipped, being gods upon earth." "Whatever good man bows to a Bráhman, worshipping him as Vishṇu, is blessed with long life, sons, fame and wealth. But whatever foolish one does not bow to a Bráhman on the earth, Keshava (Vishṇu) desires to strike off his head with his chakra. The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Bráhman's foot has all the sins of his body thereby destroyed. Whoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Bráhman's foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sins. Whatever good man worships a Bráhman going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven Dvípas."* In the *Bhúmi Khaṇḍa* of the same Puráṇa, the duties of the three highest castes are declared to remain obligatory, notwithstanding the progress of the Kali Yuga.†

* Padma P. Kriyá Yoga Sára, xx.

† B. P. Bhúmi Khaṇḍa, adh. 10. Dr. Bháu Dájí's MS.

3. Somewhat contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste are given in the *Vishnu Puráṇa.* These have been evolved by Mr. Muir with his usual accuracy and ability.

" 'While Brahmá was meditating on creation, as formerly at the beginning of the Kalpas, there appeared an inanimate creation, composed of gloom'...This is the first creation of immoveable things. It was followed by the second, that of irrational animals...It was followed by that of the *úrddhvasrotasas* (*i. e.* whose nutriment proceeds upwards) or *Devas*...Brahmá proceeded to create the *arváksrotasas* (so called from the downward current of their nutriment). 'These had abundant illumination both externally and internally; but were also full of darkness and passion....These were *men, and they fulfilled Brahmá's purpose.*' (V. P. 34-8.) [A more ample account has its variations.] 'While Brahma was deeply meditating, his body became pervaded with darkness, and the demons issued from his thigh. He abandoned that body, and took another, when the gods......proceeded from his mouth. He then assumed a third body, also pure, from which sprang the Pitṛis. 'He next took a body distinguished by passion from which were produced *men.*'......From another body were formed sheep from his breast; goats from his mouth; kine from his belly and sides; horses, elephants, etc. etc., from his feet......'These creatures as they are reproduced time after time discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in each previous creation.' [Again another account of matters is given.] 'When Brahmá, meditating on truth, became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness prevailed sprang from his mouth; others in whom passion predominated came from his breast; *others* in whom both passion and darkness prevailed sprang from his thighs. All these, therefore, constituted the system of the four castes, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, who issued from his feet, thighs, breast, and mouth......But the particle of sin created by time increased in their hearts, and they paid no regard to sacrifice. Reviling belief in the Védas, and the Védas themselves, the gods, and all sacrificial and other ceremonies, these obstructors of sacred rites and subverters of all religious action, became wicked, vicious, and perverse in their designs.' From the next verses it would appear that up to this time the duties of the different classes had not been discriminated; the means of subsistence being provided, Brahmá, who had

formed living creatures, established ordinances for them according to their station and qualities, and the duties of the castes and orders, and the future abode of the castes who completely fulfil their duties."*

It is in vain, in cases of this kind, to ascribe the differences to descriptions of different processes in different Kalpas. "This explanation," it is properly stated by Mr. Muir, "can only avail if the Puráṇas themselves declare these discrepant accounts to refer to different Kalpas. Where this is not stated, the details must naturally be understood as relating to the Kalpa now existing." Other discrepancies appear in the same Puráṇa connected with the mind-born offspring of Brahmá, who are said not to have propagated and with the other nine mind-born sages (really Ṛishis of the Védas)—Bhṛigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Maríchi, Daksha, Atri and Vasishṭha, who are said to have afterwards developed the male Svayambhuva, and the female Shatarupa, and their off-spring—the sons Priyavráta and Uttánapáda, and the daughters Prasúti and A'kúti, said to be given to Daksha and to Ruchi [reckoned in some authorities a Prajápati].† Daksha afterwards appears with a different parentage and progeny. "The illustrious prajápati Daksha, who formerly sprang from Brahmá, was born of Márishá to the ten Prachétasas. This illustrious Daksha, fulfilling the command of Brahmá, sunk in contemplation, with the view of creating progeny for himself, produced offspring inferior and superior."

Though the traditions, myths, and legends of this Puráṇa thus differ from one another, they have probably been collected from older sources.

* Muir's Texts, i. pp. 20-21.

† See Wilson's V. P. p. 49, et seq.

The Vishṇu Puráṇa, whatever may be its views of the origin of caste, very warmly maintains its importance, and clearly states its laws:—

"The supreme Vishṇu is propitiated by a man who observes the institutions of caste, order, and purificatory practices: no other path is the way to please him." (Here caste, it will be observed, takes the precedence.) "Janárddana (Vishṇu) is propitiated by him who is attentive to established observances, and follows the duties prescribed for his caste." These duties are laid down as in the Law-books. The Shúdra, however, has the extended privilege (the reason of which is easily understood in the present state of Indian society) of giving presents to Bráhmans, and of offering funeral cakes without mantras.* Bráhmans, though they may be forced by poverty to descend to the functions of the Shúdra, "must at least share the functions of the mixed classes."†

The four A'shramas this Puráṇa describes as in the Smṛitis. The rules laid down for the personal cleanness of the Householder are exceedingly minute and absurd. So are those which pertain to his domestic movements.‡ The monthly and annual Shráddhas are to be conducted with all deference to caste and its customs. The castes must not too much intermingle together. "Remaining in a place where there is too great an intermixture of the four castes is detrimental to the character of the righteous. Men fall into hell who converse with one who takes his food without offering a portion to the gods, sages, the manes, spirits, and guests. Let therefore a prudent person carefully avoid the conversation, or the contact and the like, of those heretics who are rendered impure by their desertion of the three Védas." "Let not a person treat with even the civility of speech, heretics, those who do forbidden acts, pretended saints, scoundrels, sceptics *(haitakas)*, and hypocrites. Intercourse with such iniquitous wretches even at a distance, all association with schismatics, defiles; let a man therefore carefully avoid them." §

Of the passage of persons from one caste to another caste,

* Vishnu Puráṇa, II. 8. Wilson, p. 290-2; 341.

† Wilson's V. P., p. 293.

‡ Wilson, p. 301, 311, etc.

§ Wilson's V. P., pp. 342, 345,

the Vishṇu Puráṇa contains some legends which will be noticed onwards in connexion with the Bhágavata.

4. In the *Shiva Puráṇa*, which has been composed for the purpose of magnifying the god of that name, it is said that Shúdras as well as the three higher castes are entitled to worship him. This is done in the temples only through the Pújá of his emblem the Linga and (subordinately his conveyancer) the bull Nandi.* In the eighth chapter in which the privileges of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra worshipper are brought to notice, their daily duties are summarily stated. I have already referred to the graduation in caste-observances prescribed by it in the relief of nature, and the purification of the body.†

In the Dharma Sanhitá appended to this Puráṇa,‡ the clothing, feeding, and enriching of Bráhmans are held to be proper and meritorious ; and the good castes are to give Dakshiṇá to Bráhmans, when attending readings at the temples of Shiva, and on other occasions.§ The following precious information on Geography in connexion with the castes is given in the same supplement. "The land of (holy) works (karmmabhúmi) stretches

* This fact should be borne in mind in judging of the cave-temples of Elephanta. The groups of figures on the walls are to be considered as there only for the purposes of ornament and illustration.

† See above, p. 48.

‡ The MSS. of this Puráṇa in the possession of Dr. Bháu Dájí and myself seem to agree with that examined by Professor H. H. Wilson. That of Dr. Bháu however has the following Sanhitás appended to it—the Vidyéshvara, Kailása, Dharma, Sanatakumára, and Váyu.

§ Dharma Sanhitá, adh. xx.; xxix. pp. 70, 87, 93 of Dr. Bháu's MS.

9,000 yojanas (of our kroshas or kosas) to the South of the Hemádri range. In the remote thousand yójanas of this district the Kiráṭas and Yavanas are established. In the intervening districts the Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras dwell. In the Plaksha Dvípa, where the áchára of the Tréta Yuga prevails, and people live ten thousand years, the castes exist in excellent state. Of the other Dvípas similar marvels are told.* In this appendix as in the Puráṇa itself it is mentioned that the four primitive castes have the right of worshipping the Linga.†

5. The *Bhágavata* Puráṇa is *de facto* the work of greatest authority among the Hindus of the present day, especially among those of the northern, western, and eastern parts of the country. Its popularity has arisen not only from the superiority of its style, but from its exposition and advocacy of Vedánta doctrines; and from its containing, in its tenth skandha, a summary of all the legends associated with the god Kṛishṇa. Professor H. H. Wilson says of it:—"The Bhágavata is a work of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any other of the Puráṇas."‡ For "Puráṇas" here he might almost have substituted the words "sacred books;" for the majority of the Bráhmans seek to interpret even the Védas and Upanishads according to its teachings. Its importance has been well pointed out by the learned Mons. E. Burnouf, the able translator of its first nine skandhas.

* Dharma-Sanhitá, adh. xxxiii.

† Wilson's Vishnu Puráṇa, p. xxv.

‡ Ib. xxxvi.

" This Puráṇa," he says, " being compiled from ancient documents, has preserved much information which we cannot find elsewhere ; and the genealogical lists which are in it are those which according to the opinion of such able orientalists as Jones, Buchanan, and Colebrooke, are most to be depended upon. In fine we find either entire or partial translations of the Bhágavata in several of the common Indian dialects, such as the Támul, Telugu, and the Canarese." The tenth skandha of the work has been translated into Márathí. It is a principal font, too, of much of the Maráthí poetry. All the influence which it has acquired is in spite of its modern origin. Burnouf acquiesces in the opinion that it was composed by Vopadéva, a learned Bráhman patronized by Hemádri, minister of Rámachandra, the last king but one of Devagíri, whose inscriptions, as shown by Mr. Walter Elliot, are dated towards the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.*

Several legendary notices of the origin of caste are found in the Bhágavata.

Two of these resemble what we have in the Purusha Súkta.† The Bráhman [was] the mouth of Purusha, the Kshatriya his arms : the Vaishya sprung from the thighs, and the Shúdra from the feet of Bhagaván.‡ " The Bráhman is his mouth : he is Kshatriya-armed, that great one Vaishya-thighed ; and has the black caste abiding in his feet."§ Another mystical view of the case is elsewhere presented. " Brahmá, who consists of the Véda (*Chhandasa*), for his own preservation created you [Bráhmans] who are characterized by austerity, knowledge, devotion, and chastity. For your protection the thousand-

* See Burnouf's Introduction to his Bhág. Puráṇa, which is well worthy of special study. An English translation of it is published in the Oriental Christian Spectator, of Bombay, for 1849.

† See before p. 118. ‡ Bhágavata, ii. 5, 37. § Bhágavata, ii. 1, 37.

footed created us [Kshatriyas] from his thousand arms: the Bráhman is called his heart and the Kshatriya his body."* An expansion of the commonly received view of the case is given in what follows:— "From the mouth of Purusha, O son of Kuru, came the *brahma* (sacred word), and the Bráhman who, owing to his production from the same organ, became the chief and preceptor of the castes. From his arms came the *Kshattra* (protection). The Kshatriya devoted himself to that duty, and being formed from Purusha, defends the castes from the injury of their enemies. The arts which afford subsistence to the world sprang from the thighs of the Lord: and thence was produced the Vaishya, who provided the maintenance of mankind. From the fear of Bhagaván sprang service for the fulfilment of duty: from it was formerly produced the Shúdra, with whose occupation Hari is well pleased."†

A transition from caste to caste seems recognised in several passages.

Prishadhra, it tells us, was guarding cows, and killed one of them by mistake, instead of a tiger which was carrying her away. "The family teacher cursed him, though he had transgressed involuntarily, to be in consequence of this deed no longer a *Kshatriya*, but to become a *Shúdra*."‡ This story, with variations and inconsistencies in the details, is found in several of the sacred books of the Hindus. "In regard to the sons of Manu," says Mr. Muir, "we find in the Puráṇas the following particulars: Prishadhra, the Vishṇu Puráṇa says, "became a *Shúdra* in consequence of killing his religious teacher's cow."§ In a note Professor Wilson states that there are different versions of the offence in different Puráṇas: 'The Váyu,' says he, was hungry, and not only killed but ate the cow'......The Harivansha, too, states that Prishadhra having killed his Guru's cow, became a Shúdra.‖ 'The obvious purport of this legend and of some that follow,' remarks Professor Wilson, 'is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor.' 'From Karúsha (another son of Manu) sprang the Kárúshas of the Kshatriya caste, the protectors of the

* Ib. iii. 23, 2-3. † Bhágavata. iii. 6, 30, 33. Muir's Texts i. p. 12.

‡ Bhágavata, ix. 2-9. § V. P. iv. 1. 12. ‖ H. V. ix. v. 659.

Northern region, pious and devoted to duty.'* From Dhrishta (another son of Manu) sprang the Dhárshtaka race of *Kshatriyas*, who attained *Bráhmanhood* on earth as the Bhágavata tells us.† Another son, or grandson, of Manu, was Nábhága, who, the Vishnu Purána says, 'was the son of Nédishtha, and became a *Vaishya*.'‡......The Bhágavata also says that 'another Nábhága, the son of Dishta, became a *Vaishya* by his works.'§ The Harivansha declares that two 'sons of Nábhágarishta, who were *Vaíshyas*, became Bráhmans.'‖ In the next section of the Vishnu Purána another (?) Nábhága is thus mentioned (Wilson, p. 358): 'The son of Nabhága was Nábhága; his son was Ambarísha; his son was Virúpa; from him sprang Prishadashva, and from him Rathínara.' On this subject there is this verse: 'These persons descended from a *Kshatriya* stock, and afterwards known as Angirasas, were the chief of the Rathínaras, *Bráhmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas*.'¶ On this Professor Wilson annotates: 'The same verse is cited in the Váyu, and affords no instance of a mixture of character, of which several similar cases occur subsequently. Kshatriyas by birth became *Bráhmans by profession;* and such persons are usually considered as Angirasas as followers or descendants of Angiras, who may have founded a school of warrior-priests. This is the obvious purport of the legend of Nábhága's assisting the sons of Angiras to complete their sacrifice, although the same authority (the Bhágavata Purána) has devised a different explanation. On this subject that authority says: 'Angiras, being solicited for progeny, begot on the wife of the childless Rathínara sons having the sanctity of *Bráhmans*. These persons being born of a [Kshatriya's] wife, but afterwards known as the sons of Angiras, were the chiefs of the Rathítaras, *Bráhmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas*.**......Among the descendants, in the 21st generation, of Ikshváku (the most renowned of the sons of Manu) was Harita, son of Yavanashva, grandson of Ambarísha, and great grandson of Mandhátri, of whom the Vishnu Purána says that from him sprang the Angirasa Haritas.'†† On this Professor Wilson observes (V. P. p. 369, note 3): "The commentator explains the phrase 'The Angirasa Bráhmans, of whom the Harita family was

* V. P. iv. 2-2.
† Bhag. ix. 2-17.
‡ V. P. iv. 1-14.
§ Bhag. ix. 2, 23.
‖ H. V. xi. v. 638.
¶ V. P. iv. 2, 2.
** Bhag. ix. 6. 2-3.
†† V. P. iv. 3. 5.

the chief.' The Linga reads, 'Harita was the son of Yuvanáshva, whose sons were the Háritas; they were on the part (or followers) of Angiras, and were *Bráhmans* with the *properties of Kshatriyas*.* The Váyu has 'Harita was the son of Yuwanáshva [from whom were] many called Haritas; they were sons of Angiras, and *Bráhmans* with the *properties of Kshatriyas*'†...It may be questioned if the compilers of the Puráṇas or their annotators, knew exactly what to make of this and similar phrases. The great-grandfather of Harita...Mandhátṛi himself, is the author of a hymn in the Ṛig-Véda.'"‡

The preceding legends refer to transits in caste in the solar dynasty. Similar instances are found in the Bhágavata, as in other Puráṇas, as taking place in the lunar dynasty. Indeed the Bhágavata speaks of there having been originally only one caste (*Varṇa*). "There was formerly only one Véda, only one utterance, the praṇava (OM) the essence of all speech, only one god Náráyaṇa, one Agni (fire), and (one) Caste. From Paruravas came the triple Véda in the beginning of the Tréta age."§ This Paruravas, a king, is said to have had a contest with the Bráhmans, and to have had offspring who became Bráhmans and even Ṛishis. The legends respecting this and similar matters which have been diligently collected and collated by Mr. Muir|| are very inconsistent with one another; but they all testify to the fact that of old various persons, in consequence of alleged merit or demerit, passed from one caste to another.

But the most important matter to notice in connexion with our subject is the unmitigated spirit of Caste, and of Brahmanical pre-eminence and domination, which appears in the Bhágavata.

* Linga Purana. † Váyu Purána. ‡ Muir's Texts. i. pp. 45-48.

§ Bhágavata ix. 14, 48-49. || Muir's Texts. i. pp. 48-58.

"The property of Bráhmans is harder of digestion than flaming fire, when taken little by little, much more by Kings esteeming themselves god-like. I do not esteem that venom to be poison for which there is an antidote. The property of Bráhmans is real poison, of which there is no antidote in the world. Poison hurts only the eater. Fire may be quenched by water; but the fire produced from the flint of a Bráhman consumes a tribe to its (very) root.

"The property of a Bráhman acquired with reluctant consent destroys three generations. If taken by force it destroys the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations. The foolish kings who blind by royal wealth covet Bráhman property do not look to hell the destroyer of themselves. As many as are the grains of sand wet with tears dropping from weeping Bráhmans who are liberal givers and with families, but deprived of their properties, so many years are kings with their relatives who have alienated Bráhman property cooked in the *kumbhípáka-hell.* He who carries off Bráhman property given by himself or given by others is born a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years. Let me not take possession of Bráhman property by seizing which kings have become short-lived, been defeated and deprived of their sovereignty, and been born again. O my followers, do not hurt a Bráhman even though he may be a delinquent. Reverence him constantly though he may be a murderer (ghnantam) or addicted to much swearing. As I devotedly bow to the Bráhmans at all times, so do you; whoever does otherwise shall be punished. If Bráhman property be taken even unwittingly, it thrusts the holder of it down to hell as the Bráhman's cow did to Nṛiga."*

This remains the spirit of caste till the present day.

6. What passes as the *Nárada Puráṇa* seems quite a fragmentary and modern work. Professor H. H. Wilson says that "it is possibly a compilation of the sixteenth or seventeenth century."† Its contents are given by Professor Aufrecht in his Catalogue of the Postvedic

* Bhágavata, x. 64. 32-43. This passage, with the exception of a single shloka, is quoted in the Calcutta Review for 1856. Reprinted article, pp. 20, 21.

† Wilson's V. P. p. xxxiii.

Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.* It appears from them that it does not call for examination on the subject of Caste.

7. In the curious conversations of the *Márkaṇḍéya Puráṇa*, several Caste notices occur; but generally speaking there is nothing peculiar in them.

The preservation of one's own truthfulness (*svasatyaparipálanam*) is declared to be the bráhmanhood (*bráhmaṇatvam*) of the Bráhmans (Vipra).†

A bird (formerly and still a learned sage) when discoursing of transmigration, alludes to its birth at different periods, as a Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra, as well as a worm, brute, and bird.‡ In a conversation between a father and a son, the precocious youth thus traces the course of transmigration upwards—a worm, a chrysalis, a butterfly, a beast, a fly, an elephant, a tree, a cow, a horse, a humped-back accursed man, a dwarf, a Chaṇḍála, a Pukkaṣha, a Shúdra, a Vaishya, a King, and possibly a Bráhman, the highest species of mundane being.§

In a reported conversation between Vishvámitra and the king Harishchandra, the sage is represented as saying, that "unfulfilled promises to Bráhmans are most destructive."‖ In a dispute between Vishvámitra and Vasiṣhṭha, Brahmá says: "The Brahma-power is transcendant."

The importance of Caste-observances is thus set forth :—"A man obtains ultimate perfection (*Siddhi*) from the duties of his own caste. He does not, if fallen, but goes to hell on death for doing what is forbidden."¶ A Bráhman discharging his duties is said to go to the abode of Brahmá (*Prajápati*); a Kshatriya, to that of Indra; a Vaishya, to that of the Máruts; and a Shúdra to that of the Gandharvas.**

Lists of peoples and countries within the Bharatakhaṇḍa, or India,

* Cat. Cod. Man. Sans. pp. 8-9.

† Markaṇḍéya Puráṇa, i. 3. 47. Rev. Kṛiṣhna Mohan's Banarjea's, ed. p. 18.

‡ M. P. x. 20-21, p. 75.

§ M. P. i. 10, 86-90.

‖ M. P. i. 7. 38. p. 38. M. P. i. 9. 29. p. 72. For a summary of these legendary discussions, see Muir's Texts, vol. i. pp. 85-94.

¶ M. P. ii. 28-9. p. 180.

** M. P. iii. 49. 77-8, p. 281.

similar to those of the Ramáyaṇa and the Dig-Vijaya of Arjuna in the Mahábhárata,* are given. They are somewhat confused in their arrangement, and do not sufficiently distinguish between more ancient and more modern divisions and enumerations; but geographically and ethnologically they are still of some use. When I finally review the Indian castes and tribes as they now exist, a few of them may come under notice.†

8. The *Agni Purána* notices the Castes, including those of the Anuloma and Pratiloma, but only in a general way.‡

In the *Bhavishya Purána*, as mentioned by Professor H. H. Wilson, there is some curious matter (in the last chapters,) relating to the *Magas*, silent worshippers of the sun, from Shákadvípa, "as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term *Magh*, and connected it with the fire-worshippers of India."§ This matter has been extracted by Professor Aufrecht.|| The Bráhmans, it tells us, are in the country of the Shákas called *Magas*; the Kshatriyas, *Magasas;* the Vaishyas, *Mánasas;* and the Shúdras, *Mandagas*. There are no mixed castes connected with them. It has been the object of the writer to support the practice of the Hindu solar worship by that of Persia, without imposing a geographical limit to the Hindu worship. In other portions of this Puráṇa the duties of the four primitive Castes are laid down much as in the Law Books.¶ It extends the institution of Caste even to serpents, among which are Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras,—the serpentine Bráh-

* See before pp. 218-19, 226-28, 240, 246-50, 260-62, 266.

† M. P. iv. 75, 32-64, pp. 322-24.

‡ Agni Purána, adh. 146. fol. 141 of MS. of Dr. Bháu Dájí.

§ Wilson's V. P. p. xi.

|| Cat. Cod. Man. Sans. p. 33.

¶ Bhavishya Puráṇa, Dr. Bháu Dájí's MS. fol. 76.

mans maintaining their superiority, being either white or tawny, the Kshatriyas red or yellow, the Vaishyas black or like the breast of a crow, and the Shúdras like a snake.* In one portion it represents Brahmá as protesting against the idea of caste being founded on mere birth. Its reasonings on this subject are somewhat similar to those of Ashva Ghosha the Buddhist. Brahmanhood it attributes to *tapa* and the *sanskáras*. Paráshara, it says, was born of a female Shvapáka (dog-eater), Vyása, of a fisherman's daughter ; Ṛishishṛinga, of an antelope ; Maṇḍavya, of a female frog ; Vashishtha, of a courtesan; Kaṇáda, of an ulúka (an owl) ; Mandapála, of a buffalo.†

9. In the portions of the *Bhavishyottara Puráṇa* which I have seen, there is nothing worth extraction in this place. This work appears to be undetermined in its size, apocryphal additions to it being current in various parts of India.

10. The *Brahma-Vaivartta Puráṇa*, which consists of the Brahma, Prakṛiti, Gaṇésha, and Krishṇa Khaṇḍas, has some caste notices which require attention.

In the account given in it of creation, we find the usual statement of the origin of the four principal castes. To mixed intercourse with one another, the *Varṇasankaras*, or those of mixed caste are (fictionally) attributed. The *Gopa* (cowherd), Barber, *Bhilla*, *Moḍaka*, *Kubaras*, *Támbulas*, and the *Vaṇikjátayaḥ* (mercantile classes) are declared to be "pure Shúdras."‡ The

* Bhavishya Puraṇa, Dr. Bháu Dájí's MS. fol. 67.

† Bhavishya Puráṇa, Kalpa. ix. fol. 73. of MS.

‡ But the *Bhilla* is in the Smṛiti of Yama (Author's MS. p. 4) reckoned one of the Antyaja (or one of the classes exterior by birth). See passage quoted in Goldstücker's great Dictionary, under Antyaja.

following table, formed from what follows, gives the alleged origin of the mixed classes:—

Caste.	*Father.*	*Mother.*	*Explanations.*
Karaṇa	... Vaishya	... Shúdra	... Káyastha.
Ambaṣhṭa	... Vaishya	... Shúdra	... Physician.
Málákára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Gardener.
Karmakára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Artisan-Blacksmith.
Shankhákara	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Shell-dresser.
Kuvindaka	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Weaver.
Kumbhakára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Potter.
Kansakára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Brazier.
Sútrakára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Carpenter.*
Chitrakára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Painter.†
Svarnakára	... Vishvakarma	... Shúdra	... Goldsmith.‡
Aṭṭálikákára	... Chitrakára	... Shúdra harlot	... Architect.§
Koṭika	... Aṭṭalikákára	... Kumbhakára	... House-builder.
Tailakára	... Kumbhakára	... Koṭaka	... Oilman.
Tívara	... Kshatriya	... Rájaputra	... Fisherman.
Naṭa and Dasyu	... Dhívara	... Tailakára	...
Malla	... Naṭa	... Dhívara	... Wrestler.
Kola	... Naṭa	... Dhívara	... Jungle-tribe.
Mátara	... Naṭa	... Dhívara	...
Bhaja (or Bhaṇḍa)	... Naṭa	... Dhívara	...
Kalandara	... Naṭa	... Dhívara	...
Chánḍála	... Shúdra	... Bráhman	...
Charmakára	... Dhívara	... Chánḍála	... Dresser-of-skins.
Mánsachéḍi	... Chánḍála	... Charmakára	... Flesher.
Kocha	... Dhívara	... Mánsacheḍí	...
Kándára	... Kaivartta	... Kocha	...
Haḍi, or Ḍima	... Naṭa	... Chánḍála	... Sweeper.
Vanacharas	... Chánḍála	... Haḍi	... Dwellers in the wilds.
Gangáputra	... Naṭa	... Tívara	... Sons of the Ganges.
Yogí	... Veṣhadhárí	... Gangaputra	...
Shunḍí	... Vaishya	... Tíwar	...
Paundraka	... Vaishya	... Shunḍí	...
Rájaputra	... Kshatriya	... Karaṇa	...
A'garí	... Karaṇa	... Rájaputra	... Maker of Salt.
Kaivartta	... Kshatriya	... Vaishya	... Fisherman.

* The Sútrakára, literally "a maker of string," or "a worker by string," (in Maráṭhí Sutár), gets his designation probably either from sometimes joining planks by string, or from his using a string in planning or measuring. In the text he is said to have become degraded (from his position as a pure Shúdra) by the curse of a Bráhman (for refusing wood for a sacrifice).

† Also said to be degraded by the curse of a Bráhman (for his caricatures).

‡ Said to be degraded for stealing Brahmanical gold.

§ Degraded for his parentage.

Caste.	*Father.*	*Mother.*	*Explanations.*
Vyádha	... Kshatriya	... Sarvasví	... Hunter.
Saptaputraka	... Tívara	... Shuṇḍí	... Of Seven-Sons.
Kúdara	... Ṛishi	... Bráhmaṇí	... From-a-bad-womb.*
Vágatíta	... Kshatriya	... Vaishya	... Forbidden-by-the-Voice.†
Mléchha	... Kshatriya	... Shúdra	... Tribe so called.‡
Jola	... Mléchha	... Kuvinda	... Weaver?
Sharáka	... Jolà	... Kuvinda	...
Vaidya	... Ashvaní Kumára	... Vipra	... Mantra-physician.
Vyálagráhí	... Vaidya	... Shúdra	... Serpent-seizer.
Rajaka	... Dhívara	... Tívara	... Washerman.
Kápálí	... Tívar	... Rajaka	... Coarse-weaver?
Sarvasví	... Nápita	... Gopa	...

For purposes of comparison this list is interesting. It varies considerably from the lists of Manu,§ that presented to the British Government by the Puṇá Bráhmans,‖ that given by Colebrooke in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and that found in the Játí-Vivéka, none of which altogether agree with one another, thus tending to establish the fictional character of the Caste arrangements, especially of those connected with what have been called the Mixed Classes.

11. The *Skanda Puráṇa* seems merely a collection of Mahátmyas, Khaṇḍas, and Sanhitás, in praise of sacred places, and in embodiment of local legends especially connected with the god Shiva. I have already made some quotations from its *Káshí Khaṇḍa* (devoted to the glorification of Banáras) in illustration of the Bráhman view of Buddhism; and from its Sahyáḍri Khaṇḍa

* Begotten on the first of the days forbidden according to the course of nature.

† Begotten without the consent of the mother.

‡ It would appear that the authors of this Puráṇa had had a tasting of the Muhammadan power before this entrance was made in it. In the text the Mlénchhas are spoken of as having unbored ears, and being fearless, invincible in fight, and without *A'chára*, *Shaucha*, or *Dharma*. They are said to have been begotten on a forbidden day.

§ See before pp. 54, et seq. ‖ See before pp. 65, et seq.

(devoted to the West of India), from which I shall have again occasion to draw when reviewing the Hindu Castes as they now exist.

12. In the *Varáha Puráṇa*, the decline of *Dharma*, or Religion, in the four Yugas is referred to. In the first age it was of four feet in stature; in the second, of three; in the third, of two; and in the fourth, of one. The proportion of religion in the Bráhman is as six; in the Kshatriya, as three; in the Vaishya, as two; and in the Shúdra, as one.* I have not been able to find a complete copy of the Varáha Puráṇa in Bombay. It would appear from the contents given of it by Professor Aufrecht, that it is not unfavorable to the initiation of even Shúdras.† But the mantras used by Shúdras cannot be those of the Védas.

13. The *Linga Puráṇa*, which is the most important of those written for the glorification of the god Shiva, contains some express information about the institutions of Caste as it is regarded by the Shaiva and Smárta Sectaries.

The rules which it prescribes for ablutions, sippings of water, etc. correspond with those of the Smṛitis, the names of Rudra and Shiva finding in the ceremonies a special place.‡

The ceremonies of the three *Sandhyás* (at morn, noon and eve) and of the five *Maháyajnas* (great sacrifices—to Brahmá, the gods, men, disembodied spirits, and the pitṛis) are enjoined on all the Dvijas.

In the Satyayuga, there was no distinction of caste, which commenced during the Tréta, when the áshramas were also instituted.§

* Varáha Puráṇa, xvi. 6-7. MS. of the late Rev. R. Nesbit, p. 21.

† Catal. Cod. Manuscript. Bod. p. 59.

‡ Linga Puráṇa I. Purvárdha, 25.

§ Linga Puráṇa i. 26.

In the Nága, Soma, Gandharva, and Varuṇa regions of the Jambu dvípa, Mlénchhas and Pulindas are to be found; on the eastern regions, the Kirátas,* on the Western, the Yavanas; and in the interior, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras. There are no castes in other dvípas.†

From the mouth of *Pináki (Shiva,* so denominated from his bow *pináka),* proceeded the Bráhmans and Brahmá; from his arms, Indra, Upéndra, and the Kshatriyas; from his thighs the Vaishyas; and from his feet the Shúdras.‡ Though the origin of the Bráhman, and of even Brahmá himself, is here changed, the Brahmanical pre-eminence still continues. The *Shiva Maṇḍala Pújá* (the worship, in a lotus-figured enclosure of a cubit in diameter,—of a betel-nut as an emblem of Shiva) is to be performed by Bráhmans and Kshatriyas, and not by Vaishyas, Shúdras, and women, or through the instrumentality of Bráhmans.§

14. In the *Vámana Puráṇa*, it is said that other Bráhmans and Bráhmaṇís, even though under the defilement of the Sútika, are not to eat with Cháṇḍalas and other low castes.||

15. The *Matsya Puráṇa*, which consists both of Vaishṇava and Shaiva material, has less connection with our subject than might have been expected.

In treating of the manes, it informs us that the mánasa pitṛis, the sons of Vasishṭha, are worshipped by the Bráhmans; that the Havishmanta pitṛis, in the region of Mártaṇḍa (the Sun), the sons of Angiras, of whom Yashodá was sprung, are worshipped by the Kshatriyas; that the Susvadha pitṛis of the Kámádugha loka are worshipped by the Vaishyas. It is difficult to see the reason of these imaginary distinctions except in the desire to elevate the Bráhmanical favorite Vasishṭha.

* On the position of the Pulindas and the Kirátas, according to the Hindu literature, see the instructive Preface of Dr. FitzEdward Hall to his edition of the Vásavadatta, pp. 32-34. Dr. H. has happily undertaken to edit the new edition of Wilson's Vishnu Puráṇa, the first volume of which has just reached India.

† Linga Puráṇa i. 52. Compare this with what is said above p. 438.

‡ Linga Puráṇa i. 75. 9-10.

§ Linga Puráṇa ii. 20. 1-2.

|| Vámana Puráṇa, Adh. xiv. 79. Dr. Bháu Dájí's MS. fol. 29.

The following story of the killing and eating of a cow, to which I have referred in my First Exposure of Hinduism, is curious. "How did Kaushika's sons obtain the supreme union *(yogamuttamam)?* In five births how did they obtain freedom from works? Súta said: There was a holy Ṛishi in the Kurukshétra named Kaushika. Know the names and works of his sons—Svasṛipa, Krodhana, Hinsra, Pishuna, Kavi, Vágdushṭa, and Pitṛivartí. They were the disciples of Garga. So great a famine and drought occurred that all the people became terrified. By the orders of Garga, these ascetics went into a forest to feed his milch cow. Let us (said they) kill the tawny cow; (for) we are in anguish from hunger. While they were thinking of this sinful work, the youngest son said, if it be necessary to kill her, then accomplish it in the form of a Shráddha. If we accomplish it in the form of a Shráddha she will certainly save us from the sin (of killing her). All agreed to the plan of Pitṛivarti the youngest (son). He, thus pleased, devoted the cow to the Shráddha, and having put two of his brothers in the place of the gods, and three in the place of ancestors, one being a guest, he himself became the performer of the Shráddha, and by means of the mantras, and the remembrance of his ancestors, he performed the Shráddha. Some one (of them) then went and said to the Guru, The cow has been killed by a tiger. The seven ascetics, through the power of the Védic Mantras, escaped the fearful effects of this cruel deed. After they became the victims of time, they were born in the country of Dashárṇa. The remembrance of their caste remained with them, because they had acted in recognition of their Ancestors. Though the affair was a cruel one, it was done in the form of a Shráddha. They were born in the family of a cruel hunter. Though this was the case, they yielded their life before Nílakánṭha (Shiva), and by their regard for their ancestors retained their knowledge and their position as Vairágís. In consequence of having fasted and observed the rites established for a tírtha, the seven Yogís became Chakravákas (Bráhmaṇí geese) on the Mánasa (lake). Hear, great Ṛishis, their names and their karmma (as Chakravákas). (Their names are) Sumaná, Kumaná, Buddha, Chidradarshí, Sunétraka, Anétra, Anshumána; they practised the Yoga. Three of them became breakers of the Yoga, of little mind." The story goes on to say that Pitṛivarti was born a Rájá of the Panchála; and that the other three

brothers, who had not broken the Yoga, became his ministers. Pitṛivarti was married to Santití, the daughter of Dévala. Pitṛivarti is afterwards represented as taking up the latter part of the story more in detail, and informing Ṛishikésha (Vishṇu) in a dream that the devotees were at first *Vipramukhyáḥ* (Bráhmans); then hunters, deers, chakravákas, pure men, when those who had broken the Yoga joined the Rájá as brothers penitent (for the slaughter of the cow) and then became observers of the Yoga, by which they obtained liberation, the effects of the Shráddha thus remaining.* This story is constantly drawn on by the Bráhmans, at the celebration of Shráddhas.

Before leaving this Puráṇa it may be mentioned that it contains the tradition of a flood which we have already found in the Bráhmaṇas,† though with variations.‡

16. In the second and third chapters of the first part of the *Kúrma Puráṇa*, there is the common account of the four primitive castes, and of the four A'shramas.§

17. The *Garuḍa Puráṇa*, such as it is now found to be (probably mere extracts from a larger work), and reporting alleged conversations between Vishṇu and his conveyancer, is much used for popular instruction in the West of India. It is generally employed in connexion with the occurrence of serious disease and of death. It treats principally of the duties of the sick, of the world of Yama, the god of death, of the torments of the different hells, and of funeral ceremonies and shráddhas. The portions of it which refer to these subjects have

* Matsya Puráṇa, Adh. xix. to xx; fol of MS. of B. B. R. As. Soc. 24-26. Compare this with the Garuḍa Puráṇa, Bombay edit. xiv. 17-18.

† See before, p. 167.

‡ Matsya Puráṇa, Adh. i-ii. Of these chapters a rough translation is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, vol. ii. pp. 287 8; 412-14.

§ Kurmá Puráṇa, fol. 6-7 of Dr. Bháu Dájí's MS.

lately been lithographed in Bombay. The matters relating to caste which it notices are the following:—

The party making a promise of giving anything to a Bráhman which he does not fulfil, or who calls him to get something which he does not impart, is consigned to the river Vaitaraṇi (of hell).* The Bráhman who sells juices (*rasa*), who becomes the keeper (*pati*), of a vrishalí, who kills animals without the sacrifices prescribed in the Védas, who falls from the work of the Brahma and eats flesh or drinks spirits, who is of a furious disposition, who does not study the commands of the Shástras; the Shúdra who reads the Védas, who drinks the milk of a tawny cow,† who wears the Bráhmanical thread, who is the keeper of a Bráhmaṇí, who lusts for the wife of a Kshatriya, who carries off the wife of any other person, who has desires for his own daughter, and who reproaches a pure woman; and those who do what is forbidden, and who do not what is commanded, fall into Vaitaraṇi.‡ The Bráhman who seats a Dásí on his couch goes to hell, and who raises offspring from a Shúdra woman falls from Bráhmanism. Such a wicked Bráhman is not worthy of salutation. They who do not worship Shiva, Shivá (his wife), Hari (Vishṇu), Súrya, Gaṇesha,§ and a Saḍguru, go to hell. .They who do not perform pújá (material worship) undoubtedly go to hell. They who do not forbid the quarrels of Bráhmans and the fighting of cows, but excite them, go to hell... They who make weapons, and bows and arrows, and who sell them go to hell. Vaishyas who sell skins, and women who sell hair, and those who sell poison, go to hell......They who do not give cooked food to a mendicant Bráhman coming to their house, go to hell.‖ The slayer of a Bráhman becomes (in hell) possessed of the disease of consumption; the killer of a cow becomes hump-backed; the killer of a daughter becomes a leper. When these persons get another birth,

* Garuḍa Puráṇa, iv. 17. Bombay Ed.

† Tawny cows are to be given to Bráhmans. Gar. Pur. viii. 60.

‡ Gar. Pur. iv. 20-23.

§ These are the gods of the *Panchdyatana* (pentad) as *e.g.* found in the new temple near "Breach Candy," (olim *Buruj Khiṇḍa*, the Pass of the Tower) in the Island of Bombay.

‖ Gar. Pur. iv. 36-44.

(after undergoing their punishments in hell), they become Cháṇḍálas. The killers of women and of a fœtus become diseased in hell, and are next born as Pulindas. He who has intercourse with forbidden women, becomes a eunuch, and he (who has intercourse) with the wife of his guru, gets a bad skin. He who eats flesh gets a bloody-looking skin; the drinker of spirits gets black teeth. The Bráhman who eats things not to be ate, gets a huge belly*.......The Bráhman who forgets the Gáyatrí, and who does not perform Sandhyá, and who with a bad disposition within, appears good without, becomes a Baka (small white heron).† Giving gifts (of land) to a Bráhman has the merit of giving a thousand cows; and he who takes the (landed) property of a Bráhman, becomes a monkey (in a future birth).‡

The setting of bulls loose, for religious consecration, for which the high technical term of *vṛiṣhabhotsarga* has been devised, is to be regulated in its own way by the different castes. The bull thus given by a Bráhman must be of qualities rarely occurring (and consequently rarely requiring from him the gift)—of red eyes, neck, horns, and hoofs, and with a white belly and black back; that given by a Kshatriya should be sleeky, and of a red colour; that by a Vaishya, of a yellow colour; and that by a Shúdra, of a black colour.§

The *Sútaka* (period of impurity from birth or death) is limited to ten days for all sorts of persons, in the Kali Yuga.‖

The Brahmans, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, etc., who do not perform funeral ceremonies (*prétakriyá*,), are like Cháṇḍálas.¶

17. What has been said by Professor H. H. Wilson about the *Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa* is correct. The first portion of it, as stated by him, is taken from the Váyu. The second (Uttara Khanda), as he supposed, is found in the Dakhan, a copy of it belonging to Dr. Bháu Dájí

‖ Gar. Pur. v. 3-5.

† Gar. Pur. v. 18. In verses 37-44, we have an account of the indigestibility of Bráhmans' property, similar to what has been already quoted from the Bhágavatá (p. 436, above).

‡ Gar. Pur. v. 48.

§ Gar. Pur. xii. 22-23.

‖ Gar. Pur. xiii. 19. Compare this with p. 378, above.

¶ Gar. Pur. xvii. 4.

being now before me. To this unsatisfactory work there are appended a great many extravagant and lying *Mahátmyas* of so-called sacred places, etc. In the Uttara Khanda now mentioned, there is a list of the eighteen Puráṇas, among which the name of the Devi-bhágavata appears as the fifteenth.*

The merit of the feeding of Bráhmans (even of thousands at a time) and the employing of them for various services in connexion with diseases and propitiations, etc., is distinctly set forth in it as in other works.† In a dialogue about a sacrifice, attributed to Agasti and another speaker, various modern personages are referred to by name, as Rámánanda and Shankaráchárya! The Karháṭaka or Karháḍa Bráhmans (whom we shall soon have occasion to notice) are denounced in it as produced from the bones of camels, and said to be accursed in their origin and practices.‡ It is probably the production of some of the Déshashtha Bráhmans, whose antipathy to the Kaṛháḍas is well known.

19. The *Váyu Puráṇa*, which in the Puráṇika lists is often substituted for the *Shiva*, is considered, and probably correctly so, by Professor H. H. Wilson, to be the oldest work of its class. He had seen only its first half.

It is said in it that Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, existed in the Tréta Yuga, without the distinctions of honour of the later times. The Kshatriyas are said to have got their name from *traṇa*, preservation; and the Shúdras to have been brought to their present state from their residing near burning-grounds, and from their

* Brahmáṇḍa Purána (Uttara Kháṇḍa), Adh. xi.

† Brahmáṇḍa Pur. Adh. iv. ‡ Brahmáṇḍa Pur. Adh. xi.

deficient heroism. The duties of the four castes are stated in the usual way. The *sthána* (resting place) of the *Bráhmans* is said to be *Prajápatí*; of the *Kshatriyas*, *Indra;* of the Vaishyas, *Marut;* and of the *Shúdras*, the *Gandharvas*.* Defilements are treated of much as in the Law Books.†

The examination of the Puráṇas with a view to the objects of this work has convinced me that, as already hinted, the Law Books (to which the Puráṇas not unfrequently refer by name) are still considered the great authorities on the subject of Caste; though doubtless, in many instances (the most important of which we may yet have an opportunity of noticing), a usage in many parts of India has been gradually established,—especially by provincial prejudice, by the spread of sectarianism, by foreign conquest, and by national deterioration on the one hand, and progress on the other,—which is not altogether consistent with their teachings.

As the Puráṇas are the latest works recognized as of an authoritative character by the Hindus, I do not think it necessary for the objects of this work to refer here specially to the Upapuráṇas, Tantras, and Mystical and Sectarial works in the hands of sections of the people. The gleanings on the subject of Caste, which can be made from them, are neither numerous nor important. I proceed to the consideration of Caste as it now exists in the Indian life, taking such a general review as I find practicable, of the Castes and Tribes as they are now presented to our view throughout the wide extent of the Indian territories. It will be seen from our survey of them, that they are both numerous and diversified,

* Váyu Puráṇa, Adh. viii. fol. 24 of Dr. Bháu Dáji's MS. † Ib. Adh. xviii.

and in many instances irreconcilably hostile to one another; and that, in the view of their actual state, to speak of an "Indian community" is almost an impropriety of speech. This remark is made with the full admission of the fact that a common understanding exists among large portions of the people of India about the subordination of the more common castes, and about the social and religious rank which their members,—independent of power, wealth, and employment,—still occupy. To what is called the "Confusion of Castes," the natives constantly appeal as a proof of the advance of the Kali Yuga. Their views of this matter they are not able to reconcile with the palpable growth of India in general enlightenment, and in physical and mechanical resources; and with the good order and peace generally prevailing throughout its extensive provinces.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

INDIAN CASTE.

PART SECOND.—WHAT THE CASTES ARE.

As Caste is decidedly an A'ryan institution, I begin this Review of the Indian Castes and Classes as they now exist with those of highest position in the country, intending to descend to those of lowest status, but endeavouring, as I proceed, to improve the arrangement followed in the native lists as well as greatly to expand them.

I.—The Brahmanical or Priestly Castes.

The A'ryas, like all other peoples, had doubtless their priests from very early times. Though office with these priests came, in the course of ages, to be generally hereditary, sufficient evidence has been adduced, in the preceding pages, to lead us to infer that in the first instance, at least, their priesthood was acknowledged rather as a profession than a caste. Sacrifice was a rite with the A'ryas from the most remote times, even according to the earliest indications of the Védas, though at first it had not the magical and complicated implications which afterwards appeared, and on which a flood of light has just been cast by Dr. Martin Haug, in his valuable Translation of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, in his able introduction prefixed to it, and in his interesting notes and illustrations subjoined to its several pages.* This rite was the main

* The object of the Indian offerings and sacrifices is thus ingeniously exhibited by Dr. Haug :—Translating the word *ridhnuvanti* by "they make prosperous," he adds: "At the first glance it might appear somewhat curious, how men should make the gods prosperous by sacrificial

business of these priests, who at first might, or might not, be included among the Ṛishis or Kavis by whom the ordinary and sacrificial hymns, which are still to be found in the Védic collections, were composed. It was in con-

offerings. But if one takes into consideration that the Védas, and particularly the sacrificial rites inculcated in them, presuppose a mutual relationship between men and gods, one depending on the support of the other, the expression will no longer seem strange. Men must present offerings to the gods to increase the power and strength of their divine protectors. They must, for instance, inebriate Indra with Soma, that he might gather strength for conquering the demons." (Haug's Ait. Bráh. ii. p. 4.) "The Soma ceremony is the holiest rite in the whole Bráhmanical service, just as the Homa ceremony of the Pársí priests is regarded by them as the most sacred performance. . . . Even the animal sacrifice must precede the solemn Soma festival; for it is of minor importance." "The animal sacrifice is vicarious. Being thus received among the gods, the sacrificer is deemed worthy to enjoy the divine beverage, the Soma, and participate in the heavenly king, who is Soma. The drinking of the Soma juice makes him a new man." (Ib. i. p. 60.) "The sacrifice [as exhibited in the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa] is regarded as the means of obtaining power over this and the other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures. (He) who knows its proper application, and has it duly performed, is in fact looked upon as the real master of the world." "The creation of the world was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being," [or of the Supreme Being sacrificed]. The Yajna exists as an invisible thing at all times; it is like the latent power of electricity in an electrifying machine." "If the form is vitiated the whole sacrifice is lost. Mistakes being, on account of the so extremely complicated ritual, unavoidable, the sacrificial being [the sacrifice personified and reaching from earth to heaven] was to be attended by a physician in the person of the Brahma priest. Each mistake must be made good by a *práyashchitta*, i. e. penance, or propitiatory offering." "The sacred words pronounced by the Hotar effect by dint of the innate power of Vách [vox] the spiritual birth of the sacrificer, form his body, raise him up to heaven, connect him with the prototypes of those things which he wishes to obtain (such as children, cattle, &c.), and make him attain to his full life-term, which is a hundred years; but

nexion with sacrifice that the first distinctions among the Bráhmans appeared.

Many of the Súktas of the Védas were doubtless originally composed for the simple purpose of praise; but not a few of them were also composed for sacrificial and sacramental purposes. It is in those of the latter class (which are often inserted in the Védic collection without reference to chronological order) that priestly distinctions are first noticed. In the very first hymn of the Ṛig-Véda, Agni is addressed as the *purohita* (antistes or directing priest) of the sacrifice, and as a *Ṛitvij* and *Hoṭri*. The *Hotá*, *Adhvaryu*, *A'vaja*, *Agnimindha*, *Grávagrábha*, *Shanstá*, and *Suvipra*, are mentioned in a Súkta evidently intended for a horse-sacrifice.* The *Brahmás*, or *Bráhmaṇas*, with other func-

they are at the same time a weapon by means of which the sacrificer's enemies, or he himself (if the Hotar have any evil designs against him) can be killed, and all evil consequences of sin (this is termed pápman) be destroyed." (Ib. pp. 73-75.) "Every one who wished to perform a sacrifice as the only means for obtaining the favour of the gods, was entirely given up to the hands of the Hotṛi priests, who could do with him what they pleased." (Ib. p. 71.) Sacrifice among the ancient Indians, it is abundantly apparent, soon degenerated into a complicated system of extravagant magical incantations, associated with the drinking of the Soma.

* Ṛig-Véda, i. 162-4. The *Hotá*, or Hotṛi corresponded with the Pársí *Zaota* or *Zaotar*, the reciter of the sacrificial song or prayer; and the *Adhvaryu* with the Pársí *Rathwi*, who was in charge of the feeding of the sacrificial flame. *Adhvaryu* etymologically means an "unrestricted person" (or privileged one as to sacrifice). Dr. Goldstücker gives substantially this idea of it in his Dictionary, "one desirous of having a sacrifice instituted for one's self." (Dict. sub voce.) The *Avaya* or *Avayáj*, Dr. Haug, following Sáyaṇa, etc., (Ait. Bráh. vol. i. p. 13) makes the correspondent of the afterwards appointed

tional priests, are referred to in other passages, two of which I have already quoted.* The first of these passages, Professor Wilson translates, "The *Bráhmaṇas* raise thee aloft like a bambu pole;" but, as I have hinted in a note, the agents here are in the original denominated *Brahmás* and not Bráhmaṇas, though Sáyaṇa identifies them (probably correctly) in this instance. In a Súkta following that now referred to, Indra is invited to drink the Soma after Ṛitu from the Bráhman's wealth (interpreted as his precious vessel),† the Bráhman here being supposed by Sáyaṇa‡ to be the *Bráhmanáchchhansi*, afterwards known as one of the official sacrificial priests. In an often-quoted passage, Indra is spoken of as recovering the stolen cows for the *Brahmá* (*Brahmané*, fourth case of Brahmá), the word Brahmá being probably used as equivalent to *Bráhmaṇa* now becoming the general designation of a priest. The functions of eight kinds of officiating priests are ascribed to Agni—those of the *Hotṛi*, *Potṛi*, *Ṛitvij*, *Néshṭṛi*, *Agnídhra*, *Prasháshṭṛi*, *Adhvaryu*, and *Brahmá*.§ Here the *Brahmá* (the director of the *Brahma*) evidently corresponds with the *Suvipra* mentioned above. The *Brahmá* was the superintendent of the sacrificial rites, as

Pratiprasthátar, the assistant of the Adhvaryu. *Agnimindha* was the "fire-kindler," (probably by friction). The *Grávagrábha*, the "beater of the stone," to express the Soma juice, the correspondent of the later *Grávastut*. The *Shanstár* (from *Shans* to praise) sometimes called *prashástar* (Zend *Frashastar*) was probably a eulogist, interposing laudatory songs. The *Suvipra* (a good or accomplished Vipra) was the superintendent of the ceremony, guarding against errors. See Author's work on the Parsi Religion, p. 226, and especially Haug's Ait. Bráh. vol. 1 pp. 13-17.

* See above p. 102. † Ṛig-Véda, i. m. 15. 5.

‡ Ṛig-Véda i. m. 101-5. See on this Sáyaṇa (Müller, i. p. 806.)

§ Ṛig-Véda ii. m. 1. 2. See also x. 91. 10.

far as the sacred ceremonial was concerned. The ṛich which comes after that in which Agni is spoken of as Brahmá is as follows:—"Thou, Agni, art Indra the showerer of (bounties) on the good; thou art the adorable Vishṇu the hymned of many; thou *Brahmaṇaspati*, (lord of prayer) art Brahmá, the possessor of riches."* Brahmanaspati is onwards (distinct from Agni?) invoked as "*Jyéshṭharájam* (in the second case) *brahmaṇám*," the best lord of prayers or mantras.† The name *Bráhmaṇas* appears as that of a class of priests saluting the rainy season of the year as the frogs salute Parjanya (rain personified).‡ *Bráhmaṇas* are once mentioned in connexion with religious services especially connected with *vák*, or the word.§ They are mentioned in a hymn by Juhú, mystically espoused to Brahma.|| I do not remember any other instances than these in the Rig-Véda in which the Bráhman is mentioned by his usual designation, except that found in the Purusha Súkta already given at length. Some time seems to have been required for the Brahmá to pass in common parlance into the Bráhmaṇa, and for the comprehension of the body of the A'ryan priests in the designation of Bráhmaṇa. All the priests who are supposed to have legitimate descent from those recognized of old are still classed as Bráhmans.

The earliest priestly divisions in India, it is then manifest, arose from the division of the sacrificial work, the superior official being the *Brahmá*. Next to the Brahmá in importance seems to have been the *Adhvaryu*, who probably was originally the chief ministrant of some special sacrificial rite called the *adhvara*.

* Ṛig-Véda, ii. m. 1. 2 3.
† Ṛig-Véda, ii. 23. 1.
‡ Ṛig-Véda, vii. 103. 1.
§ Ṛig-Véda, x. 71. 8.
|| Ṛig-Véda, x. 109. 4.

As the complications of the Indian sacrifices advanced, the number of officials connected with them was increased. The following well-known passage of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa mentions sixteen classes of them who shared in the offerings, interposing in connexion with them a reference to the *Bráhman*, at the time of the composition of that work a general member of the fraternity of priests; to the *Atréya* (an individual connected with the gotra or family of the ancient Ṛishi, *Atri*); to the *Sadasya* (the director of the congregation, as distinguished from the Brahmá, the director of the sacred ceremonial); and to the *Grihapati* (the householder, or institutor of the sacrifice).

"Now follows the division of the different parts of the sacrificial animal (among the priests). We shall describe it. The two jawbones with the tongue are to be given to the *Prastotar* (1); the breast in the form of an eagle to the *Udgátar* (2); the throat with the palate to the *Pratihartar* (3); the lower part of the right loins to the *Hotar* (4); the left to the *Brahmá* (5); the right thigh to the *Maitrávaruṇa* (6); the left to the *Bráhmanachhansi* (7); the right side with the shoulder to the *Adhvaryu* (8); the left side to those who accompany the chants; the left shoulder to the *Pratiprasthátar* (9); the lower part of the right arm to the *Néṣhtar* (10); the lower part of the left arm to the *Potar* (11); the upper part of the right thigh to the *Achhávàka* (12); the left to the *Agnídhra* (13); the upper part of the right arm to the Atréya;* the left to the Sadasya; the back-bone and the urinal bladder to the Gṛihapati (sacrificer); the right feet to the Gṛihapati who gives a feasting; the left feet to the wife of that Gṛihapati who gives a feasting; the upper lip is common to both (the Gṛihapati and his wife), which is to be divided by the Grihapati. They offer the tail of the animal to wives, but they should give it to a BRA'HMAṆA; the fleshy processes (manikáḥ) on the neck and three gristles (kíkasáḥ) to the *Grávastut* (14); three other gristles and one half of the fleshy part on the back (vaikartta) to the *Unnétar* (15); the other half of the fleshy part on the neck and the left lobe (kloma) to the slaughterer, who should present it to a BRA'HMAṆA, if he himself should not happen to be a

* Here not an officiating priest.

BRA'HMANA. The head is to be given to the *Subrahmaṇyá* (16) ; the skin belongs to him (the Subrahmaṇyá) who spoke, shvah sutyám, (to-morrow at the Soma sacrifice); that part of a sacrificial animal at a Soma sacrifice which belongs to Ilá (sacrificial food) is common to all the priests; only for the Hotar it is optional."*

The mention of the Atréya here shows the introduction of family and class preferences into the Bráhmanhood, which ultimately formed a pregnant source of Caste divisions. It was in connexion with these family preferences, and with the arrangements incidentally or deliberately made to collect, arrange, and use the early hymns of the Ṛishis, and to conduct the Indian ceremonial (particularly in the matter of sacraments) that various Brahmanical *Charaṇas* (roots) and *Shákhás* (branches), some of which, with a collected literature of their own,—continue to the present day,—first appeared. Of these Charaṇas and Shákhás Dr. Max Müller has discoursed at length in his usual able and interesting manner. *Shákhá*, as applied in connexion with a literary fraternity and its stores, he shows, means "originally a literary work," existing in the tradition of the *Charaṇas* [a company holding in memory "what in our modern times we should call the copy of a [Shruti] book. The Bráhmans themselves were fully aware of this difference between Shákhá and Charaṇa. In a várttika to Paṇiní, iv. 1. 63, we find Charaṇa explained by *Shákhádhyétri*, etc., 'the readers of a Shákhá.' In a passage of Jagaddhará's Commentary on Málatimádhava, Charaṇa is said to mean 'a number of men who are pledged to the reading of a certain Shákhá of the Véda, and who have in this manner become one body.'" "As a Shákhá," he goes on to add, "consisted of a Sanhitá as well as a Bráhmaṇa, at all

* Dr. Haug's Translation, pp. 441-2.

events in later times, differences in the texts of the hymns, as well as discrepancies in the Bráhmaṇas, might lead to the establishment of new Charaṇas, founded as they were on sacred texts peculiar to themselves. Shákhás of this kind, which differed through the various readings of the Shruti, were considered by the Bráhmans as eternal Shákhás, and the Charaṇas to which they belonged were not supposed to have been founded by human authors. It will be seen hereafter that the Bráhmans admitted another class of Shákhás, which were founded on Sútras, and derived their names from historical personages. They were confessedly of a later date."* The names Charaṇa and Shákhá are often used as synonimous ; and they are now generally treated as such in the common parlance of the Bráhmans, the more intelligent of whom, however, know very well the distinctions of the books.

The fullest list of the Cháraṇas and Shákhás is to be found in the Sanskrit tract entitled the *Charaṇavyúha* (the Display of the Charaṇas), forming one of the Védic Parishiṣhṭas (Remainders, or Supplements). This interesting document is supposed to belong to about the second century, B. C. Its text has been published and illustrated by Dr. Weber in the Indische Studien.† Its more important lists have been given and applied by Dr. Max Müller. It has also been paraphrastically rendered into Maráthí verse in the Guru Charitra, a work of miscellaneous information which casts considerable light on the History of Hinduism. There is also a Sanskrit comment upon it, a copy of which is in my possession. The following is a translation of the whole text as found in my own manuscript, obtained at the capture of Béṭ by

* History of S. Lit., pp. 125-127.

† Ind. Stud. vol. iii. pp. 247-287.

the Bombay troops in 1859.* This manuscript seems to me more correct than most of those in Europe. In general it bears out the critical emendations proposed by Dr. Max Müller.

The Charaṇavyúha.

In the Vedic collection there are four Védas, the Rig-Véda, the Yajur-Véda, the Sáma Véda, and the Atharva Véda.

Of the Ṛig-(Vé'da) there are eight Stha'nas, (1) the *Charchá*, (2) the *Shrávaka*, (3) the *Charchaka*, (4) the *Shravaṇípára*, (5) the *Kramapára*, (6) the *Kramachaṭa*, (7) the *Kramajaṭa*, and (8) the *Kramadaṇḍa*, (which form) the four Pa'ra'ya'nas.

There are five Sha'kha's (of the Ṛig-Véda):—

(1) The *Shákalas*, (2) the *Báṣhkalas*, (3) the *A'shvaláyanas*,

(4) The *Shánkháyanas*, (5) the *Máṇḍukáyanas*.†

Their Adhayana (course of reading) consist of sixty-four Adhyáyas (sections) and ten Maṇḍalas (circles).

There is (in the Ṛig-Véda) one Varga (small section) of one Ṛich (distich), and one having nine. There are two Vargas of four Ṛiches each, and there are said to be three hundred minus three (297 Ṛiches) forming Vargas of three Ṛiches each (and so forth). The number of Vargas altogether is 2006. The Riches are 10,500. In a Pa'da there are eighty Ṛiches. These form the Pa'ra'yaṇa.‡

In the Yajur-Ve'da there are 86 Bhe'das (distinctive Shákhás). In these are, (1) The Charakas, with twelve Bhédas :—

(1) *Charakas*,
(2) *Vharakas*,§
(3) *Kaṭhas*,
(4) *Práchya-Kaṭhas*, the eastern Kaṭhas),
(5) *Kapiṣhṭhalakaṭhas*,
(6) *Chárâyaṇíyas*,
(7) *Vártantavíyas*,‖
(8) *Shvétáshvataras*,
(9) *Aupamanyavas*,
(10) *Pátas*,
(11) *Aiṇḍinéyas*,
(12) *Maitráyaṇíyas*.

* For this and several other Védic MSS., I am indebted to my friend, Dr. John Grant Nicolson.

† "We (here) miss," says Dr. Max Müller, "the names of several old Shákhás, such as the *Aitaréyins*, *Shaishiras*, *Kaushítakins*, *Paingins*, while the A'shvaláyans, who are mentioned, must be considered as the founders of one of the latest Shákhás." (Hist. S. Lit. p. 368.) In the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, perhaps belonging to the Báṣhkala Shákhá here mentioned, the *Paiṅgyas* and *Kaushítakis* are referred to as having their own opinions as to the preparation for the new and full moon. (Haug's Ait. Bráh. vol. ii p. 457.

‡ This is according to the Shákala Shákhá, from which we have the Ṛig-Véda as it now stands.

§ Dr. M. Müller (p. 369) prefers the reading *A'hvaraka*.

‖ Váratantavíya, Müller.

(2) Of the MAITRA'YAṆI'YAS there are six *Bhédas*—

(1) *Mánavas,*	(3) *Dundubhas,*	(5) *Háridravéyas,**
(2) *Várdhas,*	(4) *Chágaléyas,*	(6) *Shyamáyyaníyas.*†

Their course of recitation consists of 1900 *mantras*,as (set forth) among the VA'JASANE'YAS (of the White Yajur-Veda). The additional number of Ṛiches, which they have in the Yajuḥ, is 8820, with a Páda (a fourth part more). So much for the Yajuṣh, exclusive of the (supplemental) Shukla Válakhilya. Their Bráhmaṇa is of four times this quantity.

The TAITTIRI'YAS (of the Black Yajur-Véda) have two Bhédas, (1) the *Aukhéyas* and (2) *Khánḍikéyas.*‡ Of the KHA'ṆḌIKE'YAS, there are five Bhédas—

(1) *Kálénas,*§	(3) *Hairaṇyakéshis,*	(5) *A'pastambis.*
(2) *Shátyáyanis,*	(4) *Bháradvájyas,*	

Their Course of Reading is 18,000 Yajuḥs. He who recites all these becomes *Shákhápára* (passed in the Shákhá). He who has studied the double of this becomes *Padapára.* He who has studied the triple of it becomes *Kramapára.* He who has studied the six Aṅgas becomes *Shaḍangavit* (that is skilled in the six Angas). He who reads three times both the Mantra and the Bráhmaṇa becomes accomplished in the Yajur-Véda. Besides these [that is the Mantra and Bráhmaṇa] there are other Shákhás (of the Yajur-Véda) recognized (smṛitáḥ).

The six ANGAS are *Shikshá* (pronunciation), *Kalpa* (ceremonial), *Vyákaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (lexicography), *Chhanda* (metre), and *Jyotiṣha,* (astrology).

The Chhanda is the feet of the Véda, and the Kalpa is the hand; the Jyotiṣhámayana (course of the heavenly-lights, i. e. astrology) is declared to be the eye; the Nirukta, the ear; the Shikshá is set forth as the nose of the Véda; the Vyákaraṇa as the mouth. Wherefore he who recites (the Védas) with the Angas becomes elevated in the Brahmaloka.

In like manner there are these (eight) UPA'NGAS—

(1) *Pratipada,*	(4) *Bháṣhá,*	(7) *Nyáya,*
(2) *Anupada,*	(5) *Dharma,*	(8) *Tarka.*
(3) *Chhanda,*	(6) *Mímáñsá,*	

* Háridravíyas, Müller.

† Müller's copies give seven Bhédas (including the *Shyámas*), and so do those of Weber.

‡ Aukhíyas and Khandakíyas, Müller.

§ Káléyas, Müller.

There are eighteen PARISHISHTAS—

(1) *Upalakshana*,
(2) *Chhágalakshana*,
(3) *Pratijná*,
(4) *Anuvákasankhyá*,
(5) *Charanavyúha*,
(6) *Shráddhakalpa*,
(7) *Shulbáni*,
(8) *Párshada*,
(9) *Rigyajúnshi*,
(10) *Ishtakápurana*,
(11) *Pravarádhyáya*,
(12) *Ukthashástra*,
(13) *Kratusankhyá*,
(14) *Nigama*,
(15) *Yajnapárshva*,
(16) *Hautrika*,
(17) *Prasavothána*,
(18) *Kúrmalakshana*.*

Of the KATHAS† East, North, and South-West, there are fifteen classes *Bhédas*=*(Shákhás)* among the VA'JASANE'YAS, as follows:—

(1) *Jábálas*,
(2) *Baudháyanas*,‡
(3) *Kánvas*,
(4) *Mádhyandinas*,
(5) *Shákéyas*,§
(6) *Tápaníyas*,
(7) *Kapolas*,
(8) *Paundaravatsas*,
(9) *A'vatikas*,
(10) *Paramávatikas*,
(11) *Páráharas*,‖
(12) *Vainéyas*,
(13) *Baidhéyas*,
(14) *Addhas*,¶
(15) *Baudhéyas*.**

Their Adhyayana is to be effected in distinct articulation.

He who is acquainted with (the following) six matters is called a perfect ADHVARYU:—

(1) *Mantra*,
(2) *Bráhmana*,
(3) *Kalpa*,
(4) *Angas*,
(5) *Yajuhs*,
(6) *Riches*.

Of the SA'MA VE'DA, there were certainly a thousand *(Shákhás.)* Their reciters are not now to be found. They were destroyed by the bolt of Shatakratu (Indra). We here mention the seven classes of them named RA'NA'YANI'YAS which form the remainder:—

(1) *Ranáyaniyas*,
(2) *Shátyamugras*,††
(3) *Kápolas*,
(4) *Mahákápolas*,
(5) *Lángaláyanas*,
(6) *Shárdúlas*,
(7) *Kauthumas*.

Of the KAUTHAMAS there are seven *Bhédas*:—

(1) *Asuráyanas*.
(2) *Vátáyanas*.
(3) *Pránjali*.
(4) *Dvaitabhritas*.
(5) *Práchínayogyas*,
(6) *Naigéyas*.
(7) *Kauthumas*.‡‡

* For brief notices of these, see Müller's Hist. of Sans. Lit. pp. 252-260.

† After *Kathánám* (of the *Kathas*) in my MS. occur the words पेागायेन विशेषास्त्वत्र, which have here neither sense nor connection, and are not found in the MSS. collated by Dr. Weber.

‡ Baudhéyas, Müller.

§ Shaphéyas, Müller.

‖ Paráśharyas, Müller.

¶ Audhéyas, Müller.

** Compare with this list Wilson's Vishnu Purána, p. 281.

†† Shátyamugryas, Müller.

‡‡ Dr. Max Müller makes the divisions here only five, uniting Nos. 3 and 4, and Nos. 6 and 7. In my text, however, they are said to be "seven," and separated.

Their Adhayana (is this :) The repeaters of the Sáma sing an Agnéya of eight thousand, and a Pávamána of six hundred. He who studies these becomes *chaṇḍátprachaṇḍa* (more enlightened than the enlightened); he who studies the remainder enters among the *shiṣhtas* (the accomplished). Other matters are mentioned by others, as the *Ṛiktantra*, *Sámatantra*, *Samjna*, and the *Sudhátulakshaṇa*.

There are 8014 *Sámas* with 890 *Válakhilyas*. There are *Suparṇas*, *Prénkhas*, *A'ranyakas*, and *Sauryas*. Such is the reckoning of the Sámaveda.

Of the ATHARVA-VE'DA there are nine *Bhédas* :—

(1) *Pippalas*,	(4) *Tottdyanas*,	(7) *Kunakhis*,
(2) *Shaunakas*,	(5) *Jábdlas*,	(8) *Devarṣhis*,
(3) *Dámodas*,	(6) *Brahmapaldshas*,	(9) *Cháraṇavidyas*.

In their *Adhyana* there are twelve thousand, in which there are five *Kalpas*, and in each Kalpa there are five *Parishiṣhṭas*. These are—

(1) *Nakshatra-Kalpa*.	(3) *Sanhitá-Vidhi*.	(5) *Shánti-Kalpa*.
(2) *Vidhána-Kalpa*.	(4) *Abhivichára-Kalpa*.	

These are the UPAVE'DAS (Sub-Védas) of the Védas :—

Of the Ṛig-Véda,	(1)	the *Ayur-Véda Upavéda*.
Of the Yajur-Véda,	(2)	the *Dhanur-Véda Upavéda*.
Of the Sáma-Véda,	(3)	the *Gándharva-Véda Upavéda*.
Of the Atharva-Véda,	(4)	the *Arthashástra*.

So said the worshipful Vyása, or Skanda.

Of each of these four Védas [personified] the form, colour, and distinction are here mentioned. The *Ṛig-Véda* has eyes like the leaf of the lotus, a long neck, curled hair and beard, of colour celebrated as white; and the height of its body is of five Vitastis (each of which is measured from the tip of the thumb to that of the little finger). The *Yajur-Véda* is of brown eyes, of slender waist, of large throat and cheeks; of red colour or black colour; and of six Prádéshas (of the span of the thumb and forefinger) in height. The *Sáma-Véda* is of good body, of good management, of pure abode, tranquil, subdued, of large body, with the rod of the Shami (tree in hand), of bashful eyes, of colour like the sun, of nine Aratnis (cubits) in stature. The *Atharva-Véda* is pungent, bright, of lovely form, the Vishvátmá (the soul of the world), a Vishvakarma, a Kshudrakarma, a repeater of its own Shákhás, intelligent, of the colour of a large blue lotus, of ten Aratnís in stature.

The gotra (patriarch) of the Ṛig-véda is Atri; the deity, Soma; the chhanda, the gáyatrí. The gotra of the Yajur-Véda is Káshyapa; the deity, Indra; the chhanda, trishṭup. The gotra of the Sáma-Véda is Bháradvája; the deity, Rudra; and the Chhanda, the Jagatí. The gotra of the Atharva-Véda is Vaitáyana; the deity, Brahmá; the Chhanda, Anushṭup. (Then follows in the MS. an apocryphal statement of the benefits to be derived from reciting and understanding the Charaṇavyúha).*

It is evident from this curious tract that, after the sacrificial denominations, the first distinctions recognised among the Bráhmans were founded on the Shákhás and Charaṇas. Of these distinctions, as above shown, and of that of Parishad, Dr. Max Müller has laboured successfully to give a correct idea. A Shákhá (branch), it must be remembered, is a definite literary Védic treasure as held in the memory of its possessors, and taught by repetition to others. Those holding the Shákhá were identified with it, and said to belong to it. A charana (root or fold) Dr. Müller wishes to reserve "for those ideal successions or fellowships to which all those belonged who read the same Shákhá."† A Parishad was a small association of Bráhmans united for the maintenance of the sacrificial fire.‡

Besides the sacrificial distinctions, and those arising from the different Shákhás and Charaṇas, there were others prevalent among the Bráhmans, from pretty early times, founded on their supposed *gotras* (patriarchs), and *pravaras* (ancestors sharing in a sacrificial invocation, particularly that of the *homa*), at the munj (investiture), and at marriage ceremonies. The Bráhmans hold

* Dr. Weber and Dr. Max Müller have devoted much attention to the text of this tract, which, however, is not yet in a satisfactory state.

† Hist. of Sans. Lit. p. 378. ‡ Ib. p.129.

that their families have sprung from the seven great Ṛishis (originally the principal Védic poets); but the lists of these Ṛishis given in the books do not agree.* Among the Gotras there are chief gotras, divisional gotras, and sub-divisional gotras. The chief gotras given in the A'shvaláyana Sútras are founded on the following Ṛishis:—*Bhṛigu*, *Angirasa* (embracing the *Gotamas* and *Bharadvájas*), *Atri*, *Vishvamitra*, *Káshyapa*, *Vasishṭha* and *Agasti*. Of their various divisions and sub-divisions the list in the Sútra now mentioned has been tabulated by Dr. Max Müller.† Many other lists are in the hands of the Bráhmans.

For comparison with that of A'shvaláyana, and variety's sake, I tabulate the list of the *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*, by Kamalákara Bhaṭṭa, an approved authority in the West of India:—

I. *The* Kashyapas, *of Five Divisions.*

Gotras.	*Pravaras.*
Nidhruváḥ‡....	...Káshyapa, A'vatsára, Naidhruva.§
Kashyapáḥ ...	...Káshyapa, A'vatsára, Asita.
Shaṇḍiláḥ ...	...Káshyapa, Shaṇḍila; *or* Shaṇḍila, A'sita, Daivala.
Rébháḥ ...	...Káshyapa, A'vatsára, Raibhya.
Laugákshayáḥ..	...Káshyapa, A'vatsára, Vásishṭha.

II. *The* Vasishṭhas, *of Five Divisions.*

Vasishṭháḥ ...	...Vásishṭha, Indrapramadá, A'bharadvasu; *or* Vásishṭha.
Kuṇḍináḥ ...	...Vásishṭha, Maitrávaruṇa, Kaundinya.
Upamanyavaḥ	...Vásishṭha, Indrapramadá, A'bharadvasu.
Parásasharáḥ ...	...Vásishṭha, Shákya, Párásharya.
Játukarṇyáḥ...	...Vásishṭha, Atri, Játukarṇya.

III. *The* Agastis, *of Four or Six Divisions.*

Idhmaváháḥ ...	...A'gastya, Dhárḍhyachuta, Idhmaváha *or* Agasti.
Sámbhaváháḥ	...A'gastya, Dhárḍhyachuta, Sámbhaváha.
Somaváháḥ ...	...A'gastya, Dhárḍhyachuta, Somaváha.
Yajnaváháḥ ...	...A'gastya, Dhárḍhyachuta, Yajnaváha.

* See Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa (Index and passages referred to in it.)

† Hist. of S. Lit., pp. 380.

‡ In the Sanskrit plural. § In the singular.

Gotras.	*Pravaras.*
Sáraváhah ...	...A'gastya, Dhárḍhyachuta, Sáraváha.
Darbhaváháh...	...A'gastya, Dhárḍhyachuta, Darbhaváha.

IV. *The* Bhrigus, *of Seven Divisions.*

[Jámadagni] Vatsáh	...Bhárgava, Chyávana, A'pnaváne, Aurva, Jámadagni.
Bidáh ...	...Bhárgava, Chyávana, A'pnaváne, Aurva, Baida.
A'rshṭishéṇáh	...Bhárgava, Chyávana, A'pnaváne, Arshṭishéṇa, Anúpa, *or* Bhárgava, A'rshṭishéṇa, Anúpa.
Yaskáh. ...	...Bhárgava, Vaitahavya, Sávetasa.
Mitrayuváh ...	...Bhárgava, Vádhryashva, Divodása, *or* Bhárgava, Chyávana, Divodása, *or* Vádhryashva.
Vainyáh ...	...Bhárgava, Vainya, Pártha.
Shunakáh ...	...Shunaka *or* Gártsamada, Gártsamada *or* Bhárgava, *or* Bhárgava Shaunahotra, Gártsamada.

V. *The* Angirasas, *of Three Divisions, and Twenty Sections.*

Gautamáh (a)	
A'yásyáh ...	.. A'ngiras, A'yasya, Gautama.
Sharadvantáh	...A'ngiras, Gautama, Sháradvanta.
Kaumanḍáh	...A'ngiras, Autathya, Kákshivat, Gautama, Kaumánda, *or* A'ngiras, A'yásya, Aushija, Gautama, Kákshivat.
Dírghatamasah	...A'ngiras, Autathya, Kákshivat, Gautama, Dairghatamasa.
Aushanasah.	...A'ngiras, Gautama, Aushanasa.
Karéṇupalah	...A'ngiras, Gautama, Karéṇupála.
Rahúgaṇáh	...A'ngiras, Rahugaṇa, Gautama.
Somarájakáh	...A'ngiras, Sómarájaka, Gautama.
Vámadeváh	...A'ngiras, Wámadévya, Gautama.
Bṛihadukthéh	...A'ngiras, Bárhaduktha, Gautama.
Bháradvájáh (b)	
Bháradvájah	...A'ngiras, Bárhaspatya, Bháradvája.
Gargáh ...	...A'ngiras, Bárhaspatya, Bháradvája, Saitya, Gárgya.
Ṛikshah ...	...A'ngiras, Bárhaspatya, Bháradvája, Vándana, Mátavachasa.
Kapayah ...	...A'ngiras, Mahíyava, Rakshayasa.
Kévala A'ngirasa (c)	
Harita ...	...A'ngiras, A'mbaríṣha, Yauvanáshva.
Kutsa ...	...A'ngiras, Mándhátṛi, Kautsa.
Kaṇva ...	...A'ngiras, Ajamídha, Kánva.
Rathítara ...	...A'ngiras, Vairúpa, Ráthítara.
Mudgala ...	...A'ngiras, Bhármya, Ashvamaudgalya.
Vishnuvṛidha	...A'ngiras, Paurukutsa, Trásadasyava.

VI. *The* Atris, *of Four or Five Divisions.*

Atréyah ...	...A'tréya, Archanánasha, Syáváshva.
Vádbhutakáh...	...A'tréya, Archanánasha, Vádbhutaka.
Gavishṭhiráh ...	...A'tréya, Archanánasha, Gavishṭhira.
Mudgaláh ...	...A'tréya, Archanánasha, Paurváthitha.
Dhananjayáh...	...A'tréya, Archanánasha, Dhánanjaya.

VII. *The* VISHVA'MITRAS, *of Ten Divisions.*

Gotras.	*Pravaras.*
Kushikáḥ ...	...Vaishvámitra, Devaráta, Udala.
Lauhitáḥ ...	...Vaishvámitra, Ashtaka, Lauhita.
Raukshakáḥ	...Vaishvámitra, Gáthina, Raivaṇa.
Kámakáyanáḥ	...Vaishvámitra, Dévashravasa, Daivatarasa.
Katáḥáḥ ...	...Vaishvámitra, Kátyátkala.
Dhananjayáḥ.	...Vaishvámitra, Mádhuchchhandasa, Dhánanjaya.
Aghamarṣhaṇáḥ	...Vaishvámitra, Aghamarshaṇa, Kaushika.
Púraṇáḥ ...	...Vaishvámitra, Pauraṇa, *or* Vaishvámitra, Devaráta, Púraṇa.
Indrakaushikáḥ	...Vaishvámitra, Indrakaushika.
Ajáḥ ...	...Vaishvámitra, Mádhuchchhandasa, Aja, *or* Vaishvámitra, Ashmaratha, Vádhúla.*

The Gotras are represented by many Bráhmans as marking their natural descent; but originally they must have represented principally religious and literary connections.

As the Bráhmanic custom now goes, no Bráhman of acknowledged standing can marry a wife of his own gotra, or of one of his own pravaras, or of his sapiṇḍa relatives extending to seven generations.

All the Sútras and law-books from the times of A'shvaláyana are unanimous about this matter.

The various Castes of Bráhmans at present existing have originated not only in the shákhás, charaṇas, and gotras, now referred to, but in the varied occupations of these castes, their places of residence, their adherence to custom, departure from custom, quarrels, compromises, defilement, suspension, excommunication, etc., etc. After much research, inquiry, and correspondence, I have found it quite impossible to make out a complete list of these Castes; but the vastness of their numbers and their leading peculiarities will sufficiently appear from what follows.

* Nirṇaya Sindhu, Parichhéda, iii. pp. 27, 29, of Bombay Lithographed Edition. The author founds principally on the Baudháyana Sútras.

General Divisions of the Bráhmans.

The Bráhmans of India are generally divided into two great classes of five Orders each, according to the following Shloka:—

> महाराष्ट्रांध्र द्राविडा : कर्णाटाश्चैव गुर्ज्जरा : ।
> द्राविडा : पंचधा प्रोक्ता विंध्यदक्षिणवासिन : ॥
> सारस्वता : कान्यकुब्जा गौडोत्कल मैथिला ।
> गौडा : पंचविधा प्रोक्ता विंध्यादुत्तरवांसिन : ॥

This passage may be thus tabulated and explained:—

(I.)—The five *Draviḍas, south of the Vindhya range.*

1. The *Maháráshṭras*, of the country of the Maráṭhí language.
2. The *Andhras*, or *Tailangas*, of the country of the Telugu language.
3. The *Draviḍas*, of the country of the Draviḍa, or Tamulian language.
4. The *Karṇáṭas*, of the Karnáṭika, or Káṇaḍí, or Canarese language.
5. The *Gurjaras*, of the Gurjaráshṭra, or Gujarátí language.

(II.) The five *Gauḍas, north of the Vindhya range.*

1. The *Sárasvatas*, so called from the District of the river Sarasvatí.
2. The *Kányakubjas*, so called from the Kányakubja or Kanauj Districts.
3. The *Gauḍas*, so called from the District of Gauḍa, the country of the Lower Ganges.
4. The *Utkalas*, of the Province of Utkala, or Odra (Orissa).*
5. The *Maithilas*, of the Province of Mithila.

I take up these great classes of Bráhmans in the order here given.

(I.)—THE FIVE DRAVI'ḌAS.

1. *The Maharáshṭra Bráhmans.*

The *Maháráshṭra Bráhmans* now claim the first position in India; and judging from Mr. Prinsep's Census of

* Formed from ODRADESHA.

Banáras,* the religious capital of India, it seems to be conceded to them. They have no such thing, however, as unity among themselves. Their distinctions, in fact, are prominently marked. They embrace the following Castes:—

(1.) *The Déshasthas.*

The *Déshasthas* are the Bráhmans of the *Désha,* the country above the Sahya Gháṭs, in which the Maráṭhí language is spoken. Numbers of them are to be found, however, wherever the arms and rule of the Maráṭhás have been carried:—in the Konkaṇa, Tailangáṇá, and Karnáṭika; in the Baroda, Indur, Gvalér (or Gwalior), Tanjur, and other States; and at the principal Tírthas, or holy places of the Hindus, as Banáras, Gayá, Prayága, etc. Most of the Maráṭhí poets have belonged to their order.† The majority of them follow secular employments, *(laukikakarmma)* as agents, writers, accountants, merchants, cultivators; and call themselves by the honorary titular affix of Pant, Ráo, Désháí, Déshpáṇḍé, Déshmukha, Kulkarṇí, Patil,‡ etc., according to their position and the former occupations of their families. Those of them who receive no dakshiṇá are called *Gṛihasthas,* (householders). Those who receive dakshiṇá are called *Bhikshukas* (mendicants), among whom are Vaidikas (reciters of the Védas), Shástrís (expounders of law), Joshís (astrologers), Vaidyas (physicians), Puráṇikas (readers of the Puráṇas), Haridásas (singers and story-tellers), and Brahmachárís. Generally speaking, they are of darker features than the Konkaṇasthas, though the principal habitat of the latter is near the sea. This is not entirely owing to their southern position. Their ancestors have probably to a considerable extent availed themselves of the old Bráhmanical law authorizing a Bráhman to marry the daughter of a Shúdra, as well as of the three A'rya castes, the issue of this marriage having been admissible to the Bráhmanhood in the seventh generation. The Déshasthas are generally Ṛig-Védís, belonging to the Smártta, Bhágavata, and Vaishṇava

* As. Trans., vol. xvii. p. 491.

† See Notes on the Maráṭhí Language by the author, prefixed to Molesworth's Dictionary.

‡ See for the meaning of these terms Molesworth's Dictionary.

sects; but some of them read the Sámavéda and also the Atharvavéda. The Sámavédís and Atharvavédís (whose special Shákhás have perished. in the Maráṭhá Country) intermarry with the Rig-Védís.

The Kshétra of the Déshasthas, it may be added, is said in the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa,* to extend from the Narmadá to the Krishná and the Tungabhadra rivers, excluding the Konkaṇa, and the seat of the Karháḍas, to be afterwards mentioned. I am not aware that any list of their Gotras has been prepared.

(2.) *The Konkaṇasthas.*

The *Konkaṇasthás* belong to the British Konkaṇa. They are otherwise designated *Chittapávanas*, or the "pure-in-heart." In the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, of the Skanda Puráṇa,—which bears marks of the composition or interpolation of some Déshastha of Kolápur, (which city is much bepraised in it,)† they are absurdly enough said to have been made by the Avatára Parashuráma, (in want of Bráhmans to perform for him a shráddha) from the *chitá*, or funeral pile, of sixty men, whom he consecrated and endowed with the Bráhmanhood, bestowing on them learning and beauty, and conferring on them fourteen *gotras*, and sixty *upanámas* (surnames).‡ Their allotted residence (*kshétra*) is called the Surpáraka, extending from the Vaitaraṇí river on the north to the Subrahmaṇya on the south, and from the sea on the west to the Sahya range on the east, its capital being Chittapolana or Chiplun.§ Like the Déshasthas, however, they proceed for employment to many of the distant provinces of India. They are greatly distinguished for

* Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, ch. 82.

† Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, adh. 81.

‡ The fourteen Gotras of the Konkaṇasthas are those of Káshyapa, Shánḍilya, Vásishṭha, Vishṇuvardhana, Kauṇḍinya, Nittundana, Bháradvája, Gárgya, Kapi, Jámdagnya, Vatsa, Bábhravya, Kaushika, Atri.

Their sixty ancient surnames are the following. Of the *Káshyapas*—Lélé, Gánu, Joga, Laváṭhé, Gokhalé; of the *Shánḍilyas*—Somaṇa, Gángala, Bháṭé, Gaṇapulé, Dámalé, Joshí, Parachuré; of the *Vásishṭhas*—Sáṭhé, Boḍasa, Voka, Bápaṭa, Bágula, Dháru, Gogaṭé, Bhábhé, Pongashé, Vinjhé, Sáthayé, Goñvaḍyé; of the *Vishṇuvardhanas*—Kiḍamiḍé, Néné, Paráñjapyé, Menhadaḷé; of the *Kauṇḍinyas*, Paṭavardhana, Phaṇashé; of the *Nittundanas*—Vaishampáyana, Bháḍabhoké; of the *Bháradvájas*—A'chavala, Ṭéṇé, Darvé, Gándháré, Ghánghuraḍé, Ránaḍyé; of the *Gárgyas*—Karvé, Gaḍagíḷa, Londhé, Máṭé, Dábaké; of the *Kapis*—Límayé, Khámbéṭé, Jáíla, Máíla; of the *Jámadagnyas*—Phéndasé, Kunṭé; of the *Vatsas*—Málashé; of the *Bábhravyas*—Báḷa, Béhéré; of the *Kaushikas*—Gadré, Báma, Bhávyé, Váḍa, A'paṭé; of the *Atris*—Chitalé, A'ṭhavélé, Bháḍabhoké.—Gotrimáliká (lithographed in Bombay), p. 2.

§ Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, adh. 81.

their talents and administrative capacity, (as lately exemplified in the case of Rájá Dinkar Ráo of Gvalér), and are often the ministers of the native States. Sir George Clerk, who has a most extensive acquaintance with the natives of India, thinks them the cleverest class of men in the country.* They are among the fairest (probably the fairest) of the Hindu races. They met with great favour from the Péshwahs, who, with their distinguished chiefs—the Paṭavardhans, Gokhalés, Rástyás, etc., belonged to their caste. A considerable number of them, bearing the designation of Khots, are hereditary farmers of land revenue in their Konkaṇa villages.†

The Konkaṇasthas are either Ṛigvédís, of the A'shvaláyana Shákhá, or Yajurvédís of the Taittiríya Shákhá, who respect the Sútras of Hiraṇyakéshí and A'pastamba.

Besides the 60 ancient surnames specified in a preceding note, there are 240 modern surnames current among them, making a total of 304. Of the ancient surnames 37 belong to the A'shvaláyanas and 23 to the Taittiríyas ; while of the modern surnames (including that of Bhaṭṭa, by which the family of the Péshwahs of Puṇá) was denominated) 178 belong to the A'shvaláyanas and 66 to the Taittiríyas.‡ Intermarriages take place between both Shákhás, regard being had to the law about the avoidance of marriage in the gotra and pravaras of the husband. If by ignorance a mistake occurs as to the non-avoidance of marriage with a party having the same pravaras, the parties guilty of the mistake are called 'Sapravaras.' The Konkanastha Atris as "friends of all," are allowed to intermarry with the other thirteen gotras.§

The various legends about the acquisition by the Bráhmans of the Konkaṇa (embracing all the country between the Sahyas and the ocean from the Táptí to Cape Comorin) seem to indicate that their settlement in it occurred posterior to the spread of the A'ryas through other parts of India. Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇdalik, (probably the best educated man of their community) in an interesting communication lately presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, says, that "the first ancestors of this tribe have probably come by ships, either from some other port in India, or from the opposite coast of

* A similar testimony is given by Grant Duff in his History of the Maráthás (vol. 1 p. 77).

† See Col. T. B. Jervis's valuable Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Konkan, p. 75, et seq.

‡ Gotramáliká, p. 17.

§ Gotramáliká, p. 3.

Africa." That they come to the Konkaṇa by sea, from a province in the North-West of India, I have little doubt. Perhaps it was under the patronage of the Sinhas of Gujarát, before the Christian era, that they began to settle in their present habitat. Many of their villages may be of a much later origin. Mr. Maṇḍalik gives documentary evidence that Muruḍ, near Harṇaí, was founded about four hundred years ago. The study of their more ancient surnames (given in a note above) may throw light on the question of their olden places of abode. Some of their modern surnames are evidently derived from the villages in which they are now found.

The Konkaṇasthas were greatly addicted to Satí; but when that horrid rite was interdicted by Government in 1830, they discontinued it without any remonstrance. One of their number assured me, in 1829, that they were more inclined to solicit than to resist the interference of Government in the matter. "Our families, who have long practised the rite, but who acknowledge its inhumanity," he added, "will be glad of any excuse for its discontinuance." Whenever the Government has humanity palpably on its side, it may safely interfere for the benefit of the people of India. Some of the Konkaṇasthas would be glad to exculpate their fellow-casteman "Nana Saheb" from the atrocities laid to his charge; but this is more creditable to their feeling of shame on account of these atrocities, than to the soundness of the judgment which they form of their perpetrator.

(3.) *The Karháḍas.*

The *Karháṭakas* or *Karháḍas* receive their designation from the town of Karháḍ near the junction of the Krishṇá and Koyaṇá rivers, about fifteen miles to the south of Sátárá. In the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, which shows a spirit of violent hostility to them, they are said to have been made by Parashuráma from camel's bones. They have ten Gotras.* Their Kshétra, or allotted settlement, is said to extend from the junction of the Koyáṇá on the south to the Védavatí on the north; but they are now nearly as widely scattered as the other Maháráshṭra Bráhmans. Considerable numbers of them are found especially in the Ratnagiri Collectorate of the Konkaṇa. The bad character given to them in the Brahmáṇda Puráṇa I have already alluded to.† In the

* Bháradvája, Kaushika, Vatsa, Kaundiṇya, Kashyapa, Vasishṭha, Jamadagni, Vishvámitra, Gautama, Atri.

† See before, vol. i. p. 448.

Sahyádri Khanda they are broadly accused of the horrible practice of human sacrifice, even in the aggravated form of Brahmahatya, or Bráhman murder,* and there is too good reason to believe that till near our own day the charge was a truthful one. The following narrative was given to Sir John Malcolm by a Karhádá Bráhman friend in 1799. "The tribe of Bráhmans called Karhádí had formerly a horrid custom of annually sacrificing to their deities (Shaktis) a young Bráhman. The Shakti is supposed to delight in human blood, and is represented with three fiery eyes, and covered with red flowers. This goddess holds in one hand a sword, and in the other a battle-axe. The prayers of her votaries are directed to her during the first nine days of the Dasará feast; and on the evening of the tenth day a grand repast is prepared, to which the whole family is invited. An intoxicating drug is contrived to be mixed with the food of the intended victim, who is often a stranger whom the master of the house has for several months, perhaps years, treated with the greatest kindness and attention; and sometimes to lull suspicion, given him his daughter in marriage. As soon as the poisonous and intoxicating drug operates, the master of the house, unattended, takes the devoted person into the temple, leads him three times round the idol; and on his prostrating himself before it takes this opportunity of cutting his throat. He collects with the greatest care the blood in a small bowl; which he first applies to the lips of this ferocious goddess, and then sprinkles it over her body; and a hole having been dug at the feet of the idol for the corpse, he deposits it with great care to prevent discovery. After perpetration of this horrid act, the Karhádí Bráhman returns to his family, and spends the night in mirth and revelry, convinced that by this praiseworthy act he has propitiated the favour of his blood-thirsty deity for twelve years. On the morning of the following day, the corpse is taken from the hole in which it had been thrown, and the idol is deposited till next Dasará, when a similar sacrifice is made. The discontinuance of this horrid custom, however, of late years, is said principally to have arisen from the following circumstance:—At Puná a young and handsome Karnátik Bráhman, fatigued with travel and oppressed by the scorching heat of the sun, sat himself down in the verandah of a rich Bráhman who chanced to be of the Karhádí sect. The Bráhman shortly after passing by, and perceiving that the youth was a stranger, kindly invited him to

* Sahyádri Khanda. Chap. 82.

his house, and requested him to remain till perfectly recovered from the fatigues of his journey. The unsuspecting Bráhman youth readily accepted this apparently kind invitation, and was for several days treated with so much attention and kindness, that he showed no inclination to depart. He had seen also the Karháḍí Bráhman's beautiful daughter, and conceived for her a violent attachment. Before a month had elapsed, he asked and obtained her in marriage. They lived happily together till the time of the Dasará arrived, when the deceitful old Bráhman, according to his original intention, determined to sacrifice his son-in-law to the goddess of his sect. Accordingly on the tenth day of the feast he mixed an intoxicating poisonous drug in his victuals, not however unperceived by his daughter. She being passionately fond of her husband, contrived unobserved to exchange the dish with that of her brother, who in a short time became senseless. The unlucky father seeing the hapless state of his son, and despairing of his recovery, carried him to the temple, and with his own hands put him to death, and made to his idol an offering of his blood. This being perceived by the young Bráhman, he asked his wife the meaning of so shocking and unnatural an action. She replied by informing him of his recent danger, and the particulars of the whole affair. Alarmed for his own safety, and desirous that justice should be inflicted on the cruel Bráhman, he effected his escape, and repairing to the Péshwah [Báláji Bájíráo] fell at his feet, and related the whole affair. Orders were instantly given to seize every Karháḍí Bráhman in the city of Puṇá, and particularly the infamous perpetrator of the horrible deed. He was, with a number of others similarly convicted, put to death; and all the sect were expelled the city, and strict injunctions laid on the inhabitants to have in future as little connexion with them as possible."*

That a Karnáṭika Bráhman fell a victim to Karháḍí fanaticism on such an occasion as that now referred to is probable, for no Karnáṭika Bráhman will now lodge in a Karháḍí house even for a single night; but the story of the marriage, as related, is to be discredited, as the different castes of Bráhmans do not intermarry with one another, and girls in the different castes are married only in their infancy. The charge of human sacrifice, however, much in the form alleged, is repeated by Colonel Alexander Walker in a letter addressed to the Bombay Government in 1808. Major Moore, in commenting on the communication of

* Trans. of Bombay L. Society, vol. iii., pp. 86-87.

Colonel Walker, refers to three instances of human sacrifice brought to his notice by Vishnu Pant, a Karhádá Bráhman, who was agent to a respectable mercantile house in Puná.*

Of the horrible custom now noticed no instance has been brought to the notice of the British Government since the assumption of the Péshwah's territories in 1818. There is every ground to believe that the custom, (which was probably confined when it did exist to such of the Karhádás as worship one or other of the Sháktis,—as Mátriká Déví mentioned in the Sahyádrí Khanda, and there described as a hideous deity) has been totally abandoned; and that there is no reason to charge any of the Karhádas of the present generation with the guilt of its observance. They appear in every way as respectable as their neighbours. The great Maráthí poet Moropant belonged to their caste. To them, too, belonged one of the most learned natives who has yet appeared in Western India, the late distinguished Bála Gangádhar Shástrí Jámbhékar, professor in the Elphinstone Institution. What is generally said of the intelligence of the Konkanasthas is applicable to the Karhádas, with whom they are generally on friendly terms.

(4.) *The Kánvas.*

The *Kánvas* we have already noticed as forming, according to the Charanvyúha, a Shákhá of the White Yajur-Véda.† Their Bráhmana is the Shatapatha; and their Shrauta Sútras those of Kátyáyana. A few houses of them are in Puná. Considerable numbers of them are found in the Kolápur State and other parts of the Maráthá Country, where they frequently go by the name of *Prathamshákhí*, meaning the first (surviving) Shákhá of the White Yajur-Véda. The Badavas (or cudgelists) who strive to preserve order at the Pandhurpur temple are of their caste.

(5.) *The Mádhyandinas.*

The *Mádhyandinas* are also mentioned in the Charanavyúha as a Shákhá of the White Yajur-Véda, using also the Shatapatha Bráhmana and the Katyáyana Sútras. Their name is derived from the *sandhyá* (junction) or season of worship at noon, to which they attribute much importance. They are numerous at Násik and its neighbourhood, but extend to Kolápur and the Southern Maráthá Country. Some of the other Bráhmans consider it unlucky to see their

* Moore's Hindu Infanticide, pp. 196-198.

† See p. 11, above.

faces before noon. The guru of the Mahárájá of Kolápur and the titular Pratinidhi of Sátárá belong to their community, and have Jágírs. Their employments are similar to those of the Déshastha Bráhmans.

The five classes of Bráhmans above mentioned generally freely eat with one another, though they do not intermarry. It was to them principally that the Péshwahs of Puṇá distributed their *dakshiṇá*, or honorary alms, nominally in acknowledgment of literary attainments.*

(6.) *The Pádhyas.*

The *Padyas* or *Pádhyas* are a very small community of Bráhmans. Their Kshétra is said to be on the Gháṭa-Máṭhá (the highlands above the Konkaṇa); but they are also found in the low country. The Sahyádri Khaṇḍa calls on other Bráhmans to avoid them, and to refrain even from tasting their water.† Moréshvar Shástrí Tuḷu, an intelligent Bráhman, says they are sprung from the Karháḍas, and have received the name of *Pádhya* from their having acted as the *Upáḍhyas* (family priests) of the rude tribes on the Gháṭ summits.

(7.) *The Dévarukhas.*

The *Dévarukhas* are found at Dévarukha, Rájápur, and other places in the Ratnagiri Districts.‡ A few of them are in the Alibágh

* This *dakshiṇá*, as is well known, is still partially continued (but now with salutary modifications) by the British Government. On the 30th July, 1841, as then intimated to me by a letter from Major Candy, who has had much to do with its improved application, its recipients, in caste and numbers, stood thus: *Konkaṇastha*, 1036; *Déshastha*, 515; *Yajur-Védí (Mádhyandina?)*, 188; *Karháḍa*, 100; *Tailanga-Draviḍa*, 14; *Rámánujíya*,[probably *Karnáṭikas* and *Draviḍas* belonging to the order of Rámánuja], 6; *Kánva*, 2; and *Maithila*, 3. It should be here noticed that as the Péshwahs, as likewise the *Paṭavardhanas*, *Rástyás*, and others of their Brahmanical Generals and Jágírdárs, were Konkaṇasthas, the Chittapávanas had got the pre-eminence here brought to notice.

† Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, chap. 82. They are Ṛigvédís.

‡ *Dévarukha* comes from the Sanskrit *Déva-Ṛishi* or *Dévarshi*. The Devarshis (see above, p. 12) were a shákhá of the Atharva-Véda. The Dévarukhas may be a remnant of this shákhá.

Sub-Collectorate and in the Northern Konkaṇa, in which they were encouraged to settle by the Péshwahs. Some of them have got as far as Baroda. They now consider themselves a shákhá of the Black Yajur-Véda. They are generally in poor circumstances. The Konkaṇasthas drink water at their hands, but they are rather shy of eating with them. When they do dine with them, they generally avoid sitting in the same line with them, lest they should be involved in poverty.

(8.) *The Paḷashás.*

The *Paḷashás* are the Bráhmans first mentioned in connexion with the population of Bombay.* They are, they say, of the Vájasanéya shákhá, devoted to the White Yajur Véda. They act as family priests, physicians, and astrologers to Parbhus, Sutárs, Bhaṇḍárís, Sonárs, etc. etc. in Bombay, in which their population is reckoned at about 1,500 souls. Their Kshétra is said by them to be in the environs of the village of *Paḷasa* near Panvél. They seem, too, to have had some connection with the island of Salsette. No substantial reason is known for their disparagement by other Bráhmans.

(9.) *The Kírvantas.*

The *Kírvantas* are said in the Sahyádri Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Puráṇa to have their Kshétra, of five Kroshas, near the Gománchala (region of the Gománta mountain), and to have sprung from "twelve Bráhmans."† They are also found in the Alibágh Districts, and other places of the Northern and Southern Konkaṇas. They say they are Rig-Védís, attached to the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, and of the A'shvaláyana Shákhá. Many of them are cultivators, and have considerable property. They are now gaining favour from the Konkaṇasthas, who long stood aloof from them. Some of them are good Sanskrit scholars.

(10.) *The Tirguḷas.*

The *Trigúḷas* or *Tirgúḷas* employ themselves in planting the piper-betel. They are principally found at Miraj and other places on the banks of the Krishṇá, at Indápur, Solápur, etc. They seem to resemble the Haika Bráhmans of the West of the Karnáṭika. In the defence of the products of their fields, they kill insects, and other Bráhmans consequently refuse to eat with them. They hold themselves

* See R. X. Murphy in Trans. of Bombay Geo. Soc. vol. 1. p. 131.

† Sahyádri Khaṇḍa, Adh. 84.

to be Shukla Yajurvédís; but they are little known among the people for their scholarship.

(11.) *The Javaḷas.*

The *Javaḷas* are perhaps the representatives of the *Jábálas* of the Vájasanéyíns mentioned in the Charaṇa-Vyúha.* Their claim to the Bráhmanhood, however, is not admitted by the Bráhmans in general. The following account of them is given in the appendix to the Játibhéda Vivékasára:—"These people reckon themselves Bráhmans. They are abundant in the Konkaṇa [near Suvarnadurga]. They were originally Kuṇabís; but Parashuráma Bháu (Paṭavardhana) the Péshwah's relative made them Bráhmans for his own convenience.† They perform menial services connected with the hearths of the Bráhmans. But the Bráhmans acknowledge them not as Bráhmans. They eat fish."‡ Some other Bráhmans take water at their hands, but don't eat or intermarry with them.

(12.) *The A'bhíras.*

The *A'bhíras* receive their designation from their being ministering priests to A'bhíras (now A'hirs) herdsmen and cultivators. Some of them have settled in Khándesh from Gujarát and Rájputáná, in connexion with which provinces they will be noticed onwards.

(13.) *The Sávashás.*

The *Sávashás* are said to have originated in a hundred and twenty-five (*savashēn̄*) Bráhmans defiled by partaking of a funeral *shráddha* given by a Bráhman, who had been living with a Chámbhárín. They engage in merchandise, and seem to be prospering in their worldly affairs. They are now found in considerable numbers in the Southern Maráthá Country; but they are said to have originated at Chámbháragondí, in the Ahmadnagar Zillah. They are Ṛigvédís.

(14.) *The Kástas.*

The *Kástas* found in Puṇá, Khándésh, and other places, reckon themselves Bráhmans; but they are not acknowledged as such by the ordinary Maráṭhá Bráhmans. They did not receive Dakshiṇá

* See before p. 11.

† This, I think, would not have been done without their having had previous Bráhmanical pretensions.

‡ This custom they seem now abandoning.

under the Péshwah's government. Have they had any connection with the Káyasthas? They rank lower than the Savásháś. In Puṇá, they pride themselves on being *shíghrakavis*, or extemporizing poets. Their attempts at versification are in the Maráṭhí language.

(15.) *The Kuṇḍa Golakas.*

The *Kuṇḍa Golakas*, who are numerous in the Dakhan, claim to be Bráhmans; but they are held to be the offspring of the adultery of a Bráhman father with a Bráhman woman, not his wife.* They act as money-changers, shopkeepers, astrologers and cultivators. As we have already seen, they are mentioned with disparagement in the Smṛitis. They do not admit the bastard Bráhmans of the present day into their caste.

(16.) *The Ráṇḍa-Golakas.*

The *Ráṇḍa-Golakas* are said by the Bráhmans to resemble the Kuṇḍa-Golakas in their origin, with this difference that their first female parents were Bráhmaṇí widows. The Kuṇḍa-Golakas consider themselves their superiors. Like the Kuṇḍa-Golakas, they do not admit bastard Bráhmans into their caste. They are sometimes called *Gomukha* Bráhmans. Their employments are the same as those of the Kuṇḍa-Golakas.

(17.) *The Bráhmaṇa-Jáís.*

The *Bráhmaṇa-Jáís* are held to be sprung from the intercourse of Bráhmans with women of inferior castes; but they do not admit into their community persons having this origin at present, who are generally viewed as having only the rank of Shúdras.

(18.) *The Sopárás.*

The *Sopárás* are denominated from the village of Sopárá, north of Basaí or Bassein, in which district alone they are found. They consider themselves Sámavedís; but their áchára is like that of Shúdras. They are cultivators of the palm-tree. The Bráhmans take water at their hands, but don't eat with them.†

(19.) *The Khistís.*

The *Khistís* are most numerous in the towns of Ahmadnagar and Paiṭhan, where they amount to a few hundred families. They

* See above, p. 65. † Information of Rao Bahádur Dádobá Pándurang.

are said to be a colony of the Gujarát Khéḍávála Bráhmans, who since their immigration into the Dakhan (through Khándésh, where some of them are still found), have adopted the dress, manners and customs of the Déshasthas. They principally engage in money-lending. They use the Gujarátí language in their own houses.*

(20.) *The Huseinís.*

The *Huseiní Bráhmans* are found near Ahmadnagar, formerly the seat of a Muhammadan dynasty. They are half converts to the Muhammadan faith and observances, though they retain some of their Bráhmanical practices, and generally intermarry only among themselves.† They ask alms both from Muhammadans and Hindus. Persons with the same designation wander through most of the provinces of India. One of them, with whom I have conversed as this sheet goes through the press, says he is a Bráhman who acknowledged the Muhammadan creed at Jagannátha-Purí, but preserves much of his Bráhmanical áchára, eating only with Bráhmans (?) and Sayyids.

(21.) *The Kalaṇkís.*

The *Kalankí Bráhmans* are found in the Nágpur districts. They are reformers, but are viewed by other Bráhmans as 'contaminated,' according to the name which they have received. They have a good many followers among the people of the province to which they belong.‡

(22.) *The Sheṇavís.*

The *Shéṇavís*§ or *Sárasvata Bráhmans* have been reserved to the end of this list, for though they are abundant on the coasts of the Konkaṇa and the Goa territories, as well as the island of Bombay, they belong to the Pancha-Gauḍa, and not to the Pancha-Draviḍa. According to the researches of the learned Dr. Bháu Dájí, who in Bráhmanical reckoning belongs to their community, they have been settled there for six or seven centuries. Though officiating priests have not been wanting among them, they are nearly entirely secular-

* Information of Mr. Dádobá Pandurang.

† Information of Mr. Dádobá Pandurang.

‡ Information of Ráojí Shástrí Bápaṭ.

§ This name is probably a nickname. Some will have it that it originates in a sectarian fable that the Shéṇavís are the offspring of a Bráhman, and a girl who was found by him gathering *sheṇ* or cow-dung, whom he made a mother. Perhaps the word is a corruption of the Kanarese *shánbhog*, a village-accountant.

ized, as writers, accountants, and general men of business, particularly now in connexion with the English and Portuguese governments. Like the other Sárasvata Bráhmans (so named from the river *Sarasvati*), scattered throughout India, they make a free use of animal food, particularly of fish, which they jocularly denominate *jalasháka*, or water-vegetable. By the other Bráhmans, three of the six works of the Bráhmans are withheld from them in theory; but for this no adequate authority on caste-principles is forthcoming. Some of them are followers of the Vaishnava Madhvácharya; and some few of them are Smárttas, (observers of the Smritis), or followers of Shankaráchárya. Various factions, now distinct from the followers of these two sects, have during the last century broken out among them, which have led to the formation of some thirteen or fourteen tatas, such as (22) the *Narvánkar*, (23) *Kéloskar*, (24) *Bárdéshkar*, (25) *Kudáldéshkar*, (26) *Pédnékar*, (27) *Bháláválékar*, (28) *Kushasthalí*, (29) *Khadapé*, (30) *Khajulé*. These tatas, which are named from the districts to which they primarily belonged,—are so affected to one another that their members do not even take a social meal together, or with the Smárttas and Vaishnavas. A spirit of reform is happily rising among the Shénavís which, it is hoped, will put an end to this and much older folly. The influence among them of Dr. Bháu Dájí is of a reformatory character. So was that of the late Mr. Govind Náráyan, of the Free General Assembly's Institution, whose numerous works have proved a valuable accession to popular Maráthí literature. The classes which stand aloof from the tatas above-mentioned are called *Kévala-Shénavís*, or pure Shénavís.

The part acted by the Maráthá Bráhmans in the political history of India, especially during the last three hundred years, is well known. They were extensively employed in public service during the existence of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Dakhan. "About the year 1529," says Captain James Grant Duff, "it is particularly deserving of notice that Burahán Nizám Sháh bestowed the office of *Péshwah*, or prime minister, on a Bráhman whose name according to Ferishta was Kawersen (?), and from that period Hindus acquired great

influence in the Nizám Sháhí government. Ibrahim 'Adil Sháh, upon his accession to the throne of Bijápur in 1555, likewise showed a great preference for the natives of Maháráṣhṭra, both as men of business and as soldiers. He discontinued keeping the accounts in Persian, for which he substituted Maráṭhí, though deeds of importance were written in both languages. This regulation tended to increase the power and consequence of Maráṭhá Bráhmans."* When the rebellion against the Muhammadan power headed by Shívájí became successful, and the Maráṭhá kingdom was established, that energetic, enterprizing, cunning, and treacherous Maráṭhá soon selected a large, nay the larger, portion of his Councillors from the Bráhmans, while he made great demands on their fraternity for conducting the general business of his kingdom, and even for military commands, small and great. The founder under him of Pratápagaḍ, the well-known isolated hill-fort fronting Mahábaleshwar to the West, was a Déshastha Bráhman named Moro Tirmal Pinglé, who had formerly been in the service of his father in the Karnáṭika. His principal minister at this time was Shámaráj Pant, also a Bráhman; and to him he for the first time gave the title of Péshwah, and a considerable military command.† A succession of Bráhman Péshwáhs, or *Mukhya Pradhánas*, prime ministers, continued after the death of Shívájí, and with their associates in the Council they soon became more important personages than their royal masters. One of them, Báḷájí Víshvanáth, originally an humble kárkun or

* Grant Duff's Hist. of the Maráṭhás, vol. i. p. 75.

† Grant Duff's Hist. vol. i. p. 150. *Pant* is a diminutive name formed from *Paṇḍít*. *Péshwah*, which is a Persian word, means literally a 'frontman' or 'leader.'

every species of intrigue. A strong example of the worst species of Bráhman character is shown in the manner in which he compassed the destruction of Sakawár Bái Shirké (a Maráṭhá lady). The private life of Bálájí Ráo was stained with gross sensuality; but, though indolent and voluptuous, he was generous and charitable, kind to his relatives and dependants, an enemy to external violence, and to that sort of oppression which such violence implies; on the whole, he may be regarded as rather a favourable specimen of a Bráhman in power."*

Mádhava Ráo Ballál, his second son, who received investiture as Péshwah from the nominal Rájá of Sátárá in September 1761, when he was only seventeen years of age, bore a much better character both as a man and a prince. He was distinguished for his equity and the support of the weak against the strong. The Bráhmans had a marked position in his government, even in his army. It appears from an official list that of 449 officers in that army, 95 (holding high appointments) were Bráhmans, 8 Rajputs, 308 Maráṭhás, and 40 Muhammadans.†

Náráyaṇa Ráo, his brother, was the next Péshwah, receiving the investiture in December 1773. Raghunátha Ráo, his uncle, was confined by the general advice of his counsellors, in the palace of Puṇá. The celebrated Konkanastha Bráhman Náná Phaḍnavis stood high in his estimation, but Bajabá Purandaré, a Mádhyandina, and Hari Pant Phaḍaké, a Konkaṇastha, were his chief confidants. He was cruelly murdered in his palace on the 30th August 1773, a conspiracy for his seizure having been formed under the direction of his uncle Raghunátha, or

* Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 158. † Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 228-240.

Rághobá, which appears to have gone farther than was at first intended. In connexion with the inquiries which were instituted about this atrocity, one court Bráhman acted a most commendable part. He instituted a search into the whole transaction. "About six weeks after the event, having obtained proofs against Raghunátha Ráo, the Shástrí waited upon him, and accused him of having given an authority to Somér Sinha and Muḥammad Yusif to commit the deed. Raghunátha Ráo is said to have acknowledged to Ráma Shástrí that he had written an order to those men, authorizing them to seize Náráyaṇa Ráo, but that he never had given the order to kill him. This admission is generally supposed to have been literally true; for by the original paper, afterwards recovered by Ráma Shástrí, it was found that the word *dharáwén* to seize, was altered to *máráwēñ* to kill. It is universally believed, that the alteration was made by the infamous Anandí Báí (his wife), and although Raghunátha Ráo's own conduct, in subsequently withholding protection, even at the hazard of his life, sufficiently justifies the suspicion of his being fully aware of it, the moderate and general opinion in the Maráṭhá country is, that he did not intend to murder his nephew; that he was exasperated by his confinement, and excited by the desperate counsels of his wife, to whom is also attributed the activity of the domestic Tulájí Pavár, who was set on by the vindictive malice of that bad woman. After Raghunátha Ráo had avowed his having so far participated in the fall of his nephew, he asked Ráma Shástrí what atonement he could make. 'The sacrifice of your own life,' replied the undaunted and virtuous Shástrí, 'for your future life cannot be passed in amendment; neither you nor

your government can prosper; and for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Puṇá, whilst you preside in the administration.' He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village near Wáí."* Raghunátha Ráo, however, having received also the clothes of investiture from Sátárá, was proclaimed Péshwah. He had his measures and partizans; but the birth on the 18th April 1774 of a posthumous son, Mádhava Ráo Náráyaṇa, of his murdered nephew, "gave a finishing blow to his ever being recognized as Péshwah,"† though he made several military movements in the supposed interests of the Maráṭhá States, and concluded a treaty with the English at Bombay, ceding to them Bassein, Salsette, etc., in 1774. The Supreme Council in Bengal disapproved of the Bombay Alliance with him, and adopted several measures for its counteraction; but the Court of Directors was not unfavourable to the measures adopted by the Western Presidency. From both Rághobá and the partizans of the youthful Péshwah territorial concessions were obtained by the English, not altogether creditable either to those demanding them, or to those imparting them. It is rather remarkable that after an insurrection raised in the Konkaṇa by a Kanojá Bráhman, pretending to be Sadáshiva Chimnájí, who had fought and fell at Panipat, that impostor was contrary to the Brahmanic institutes‡ executed at Puṇá by being bound to the foot of an elephant, and trampled to death.§

* Grant Duff, vol. ii. pp. 249-250.

† Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 264.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 22, etc.

§ "The Bráhmans of Puṇá have two stories respecting the fate of this criminal, both intended as apologies for the execution of a Bráhman, under a Bráhman government. One is, that the impostor was

General political and military events at this period we are not called to notice in connexion with this work. It is sufficient to remark that the education of the young Péshwah was directed by Náná Phaḍnavís. His uncle died when he was only nine years old; but Náná maintained his interests in opposition to a faction formed in behalf of the two sons of Rághobá, Bájí Ráo, and Chimnájí A'pá who was born of Anandabáí after his father's death in 1784.* In 1795 the young Péshwah was in his twenty-first year; but Náná Phaḍnavís relaxed nothing of the watchfulness with which he had reared him. The sons of Rághoba he kept at a distance from court. In 1794, when Anandabáí died, they were confined in the fort of Shivanír near Násik. The condition of these young men excited throughout the Máráṭhá country strong feelings of general commiseration. But this only increased the

not a Bráhman, but a goldsmith; and the other is, that he was secretly removed and immured in a dungeon at Ahmadnagar, where he was starved to death, and a condemned criminal, by trade a goldsmith, substituted to deceive the populace. Starvation, insufficient, unwholesome food, and a damp dungeon, was really the dreadful execution frequently reserved for Bráhmans, and practised by the Bráhman government by way of evading the inexpiable sin of depriving one of that sacred class of life. Amongst other stories, raised by the Péshwahs to prejudice the vulgar against the race of Shiváji, it was pretended that the boon of the goddess Bhavání, the truth of which no one could deny, which granted the Maráṭhá sovereignty to his lineal descendants for twenty-seven generations, had been taken away because Shivájí killed two Bráhman spies with his own hand, having shot them with arrows, by means of that unerring aim which was one of the gifts of the goddess, and impiously hit them in the forehead, right through the distinguishing mark of their caste."†

* Rághobá had also an adopted son called Amṛit Ráo. Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 123.

† Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 331.

weary circumspection of Náná Phadṇavís, the minister, to whom the elder of the legitimate sons of Raghunátha Ráo had early become an object of jealousy. "Graceful in his person, with a handsome and youthful countenance which ensured favourable impressions, Bájí Rao had the mildest manner, and an address so insinuating, that he gained the goodwill of all who approached him. His bodily and mental accomplishments were equally extolled; at the age of nineteen he was an excellent horseman, skilled in the use of the sword and bow, and allowed to be the most expert spearsman in (the) Gangátír.* He was deeply read in the Shástras, particularly in such parts as regards the observance of caste; and of his age, no Pandit so learned had been known in Mahárâshṭra." The young Péshwah, free from jealousy of his cousin, frequently expressed a strong desire to procure his enlargement, and cultivate his friendship; but Mádhava Ráo himself was watched, while Bájí Rao was still kept a close prisoner. "The latter, however, having discovered the favourable disposition of the Péshwah towards him, and having at last gained Balwant Ráo Nágaṇátha, he conveyed a message with assurances of respect and attachment, adding that 'he was in confinement at Shivanérí, and the Péshwah under the control of his minister;—that their condition as prisoners was nearly similar, but that their minds and affections were free, and should be devoted to each other;—that their ancestors had distinguished themselves, and that the time would arrive when his cousin and himself might hope to emulate their deeds, and raise for themselves a lasting and honourable name.' This message was the commencement of a cor-

* The country on the banks of the Godávarí, held to be a Ganges.

respondence, which began shortly after the return of the army to Puṇa, and continued for some time, till at length it came to the knowledge of Nâná, who betrayed a rage, altogether unusual, at the discovery. He immediately threw Balwant Ráo Nâganâtha into a hill fort loaded with irons, severely reproached Mádhava Ráo, and rendered the strictness of Bájí Rao's confinement far more rigid than before. Mádhava Ráo already galled by restraint, and irritated by the insiduous messages of his cousin, was overwhelmed with anger, disappointment, and grief; he refused, absolutely, to quit his apartment, and his absence from his usual place at the Darbár, was imputed to fever. At the Dasará which happened on the 22nd October, and was conducted with great splendour, he appeared amongst his troops, and, in the evening, received his chiefs and the ambassadors at his court in his accustomed manner; but his spirit was wounded to desperation, a fixed melancholy seized on his mind, and on the morning of the 25th October, he deliberately threw himself from a terrace in his palace, fractured two of his limbs, and was much wounded by the tube of a fountain on which he fell. He survived for two days, and having particularly desired that Bájí Rao should be placed on the masnad, he expired in the arms of Bábá Ráo Phaḍaké, for whom he had entertained a strong affection."*

So perished the Péshwah Mádhava Ráo Náráyaṇa.† Náná Phaḍnavís resorted to most dishonorable intrigues to prevent Bájí Rao, whose retaliation was dreaded, from suc-

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 124-126.

† A remarkable painting of the unhappy young prince, of his wily and able minister Náná Phaḍnavís, and of the cunning and unconstant Daulat Ráo Shindya (Scindia) is in the possession of the Bombay Government.

ceeding to the Péshwahship; but they were ultimately abortive. Bájí Rao was seated on the masnad on the 27th October 1796, the Náná at first contriving to retain his position as prime-minister, in which office he continued, except for a short interval, displaying wonderful talent, moderation, and accommodation in very troublous times, till the day of his death, which occurred on the 13th March, 1800. Bájí Ráo was the last, and, all things considered, the worst of the Péshwahs. "To trust none, and to deceive all, was the game he invariably played, and like all who have ever done so, he never failed to lose."* He connived at the destruction, cruelly effected by Shindyá, of three Shéṇaví Bráhmans, high in power.† To other murders he was a party, the last being that of Báḷa-Gangádhara Shástrí, (a Konkaṇastha), the envoy of the Gáíkawáḍ, which occurred at the tírtha of Paṇḍharpur in 1815, a little before his own fall. His treachery with the native powers, and especially with the English,—in executing which he found willing agents both in the priestly and in other castes, was unbounded. "His court, which was gay and licentious beyond that of any other Péshwah, soon became agreeable to the generality of Bráhmans in Puṇá, and a high offer for a district was a sure way to the temporary notice of the prince. All his expenditure was regulated by contract. The net revenue of the state was about one hundred and twenty lakhs of rupees, of which Bájí Ráo saved annually about fifty lakhs, and he had, at this period, collected treasure exceeding fifty millions of rupees. Whilst thus intent on amassing wealth, his time was divided in the encouragement of the grossest debauchery, and the practice of the

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 140. † Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 149.

most absurd superstitions. He aspired to a character for sanctity; was rigid in the observance of every form required by the rules of caste; and the murder of Náráyaṇa Ráo, attributed to his parents, was a subject of inquietude and remorse. To atone for their crime, he planted several hundred thousand mango trees about Puṇá; gave largesses to Bráhmans and religious establishments, and was particularly generous to the temple at Pandharpur. As an instance of his superstition, may be mentioned a dream of one of his religious attendants, who declared he saw the ghost of Náráyaṇa Ráo, and that it had ordered a dinner for one hundred thousand Bráhmans; an entertainment which was immediately provided. To the complaints of his subjects he never listened; and if the villagers endeavoured to approach his presence, they were driven away by the attendants. The farmers of the districts had generally the superintendence of civil and criminal justice, and their powers in this respect enabled them to increase their collections by fines and exactions. There was a nominal court of justice at Puṇá, under a Shástrí, who had a very large establishment. It was supported entirely by the corrupt emoluments which power enabled its members to draw from the public, and was so notoriously corrupt, that the poorer suitor, unless he had interest, or could bribe some great man of whom the Shástrí stood in awe, was certain to lose his cause."*

Among the places exterior to the Maráṭha country in which Bájí Ráo laboured most assiduously to establish his ascendancy was Gujárát. It was in connexion with the affairs of that province that Bála-Gangádhara Shástrí

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 361-363.

was sent by the Gáikawáḍ as envoy to the court of Puṇá. He accompanied Bájí Ráo to Paṇḍharpur, where he was murdered by the hired assassins of Trimbakjí Dénglya, originally employed by the Péshwah as a spy and a panderer to his vices. The Péshwah, "if he did not instigate, approved of the murder."* His subsequent intrigues at Puṇá; his rising against the British, even when their affairs were admirably well conducted at his court by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone; his subsequent defeats; his surrender to Sir John Malcolm; and his banishment to Baithur, with far too liberal a pension, which ultimately gave the power of mischief to his adopted son the Náná Sáheb, of undying infamy, are so well known that they need not be dwelt on in this place. His downfall was the commencement of the abiding rise of the Maráṭhá country. The deliverance of the Mahárásḥṭra Bráhmans frcm his leadership, think of it what they may, was an event calling for their highest congratulations.

The result of the experiment of a purely Bráhman Ráj in Mahárásḥṭra, which was in all probability the last which on any considerable scale will be witnessed in India, when looked to in its political relations, reflects no credit on the Bráhmanical order. In its social and religious aspects, also, it is deserving of grave reprobation, when seen either from an Indian or a general point of view. The Bráhmans in becoming de facto kings acted in direct opposition to the Indian law-books.† It could not be distress for a mere livelihood, which, as we have seen, forms an exceptional circumstance warranting

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 375.

† See, for example, Manu. iv. 84-86.

a Bráhman, to discharge the duties of another caste, which drove them to the assumption of sovereign power, which by the laws they have to counsel and not to exercise. It was doubtless the sheer love of grandeur and wealth. One little semblance of apology they were always careful to maintain. "The Puṇá government," says Major E. Moore, who himself witnessed the state of matters with the last Péshwahs, "have a little reserve, or salvo, in the existence of a nominal legitimate Rájá at Sátárá. And the Péshwah professes, as the title implies, to be only his first servant, although he be to all intents and purposes a sovereign as far as he can enforce its acknowledgment."* Transgressors themselves in most important respects of the law of caste, for which certainly they are not to be blamed, they were strict upholders of what they considered to be its general interests. The Antyajas, or lower than caste-people, they kept in a state of great depression. "Under the Brahmanical rule of the Péshwahs in the Dakhan any Pariah [Parvárí, Máng, etc.] was liable to severe punishment who walked anywhere between a Bráhman and the sun, so near that a portion of his shadow should fall on any part of the holy man's person. Consequently, in the morning when the shadows were long, a Pariah was obliged to use great caution if he met a Bráhman on the road, and on no account to pass him on the eastern side."† Similar precautions were observed in the evening. Even after the acquisition of the Maráṭhá country by the British, I have myself seen mendicant

* Moore's Hindu Pantheon, p. 351.

† Letter signed Judicus, and dated March 17, 1858, published in the *Record* newspaper.

Bráhmans ordering the low-castes to jump into the hedges or ditches to allow them to pass them without contamination. Altogether the low-castes suffered many indignities at the hands of the Péshwahs and their agents. The wild tribes, such as the Kulís and Bhills, also experienced from them an extremely harsh treatment. To these tribes, indeed, their tender mercies were cruel, as onward we may have an opportunity of noticing.*

Of the general character of the Maráthá Bráhmans, as noticed after the conquest of the Maráṭhá country above the Ghats, in 1818, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone thus wrote:—"The Bráhmans, who have long conducted all the business of the country, are correctly described by Mr. Chaplin as an 'intriguing, lying, corrupt, licentious and unprincipled race of people'! to which Captain Grant adds with equal truth, 'that when in power they are coolly unfeeling, and systematically oppressive,' and now 'generally discontented, and only restrained by fear, from being treasonable and treacherous.' They are superstitious and narrow in their attachment to their caste, to a degree that has no example elsewhere; but they are mild, patient, intelligent on many subjects, even liberal and enlightened; and, though regardless of sufferings which they may indirectly produce, they are naturally very averse to

* Take in passing the following example :—"Bálájí Lakshumaṇ, the divân of Vithal Narsinha Vinchorkar, and a personal favourite of Bájí Ráo, finding it impracticable to reduce the Bhills (of Khándésh), by force, inveigled a whole tribe of them, with their wives and families, to an interview at Kopargáum, on pretence of affording them a settlement, when they were treacherously seized, and most barbarously precipitated into wells, where the whole perished."—Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 338.

cruelty and bloodshed: there are among them many instances of decent and respectable lives, and although they are generally supple and insincere, I have met with some, on whom I could depend for sound and candid opinions."* I here record this statement merely because it is valuable in a historical point of view. The Maráṭhá Bráhmans, as they are now found by Europeans, present themselves in a greatly improved aspect. By no class of the inhabitants of India is European education so much prized as by them. Its liberalizing effects are apparent among those who have been participants of its blessings. From them are drawn a large number of government officials, who in a satisfactory way discharge their duties. Many of them act as teachers in vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools, in which they often creditably acquit themselves, showing no great desire, however, to extend education to the lower strata of the Indian community, or even to the agricultural classes, the most important in some respects in the whole country.† It is to their disadvantage that so many of

* Elphinstone's Report on the Territories conquered from the Péshwah, 2d. ed. p. 6.

† Few, if any, of the Antyaja are found in the Government schools. This is to be ascribed not only to the Brahmanical fear of contamination and the general caste prejudices of the people, but to the want of firmness on the part of the government educational authorities as has been the case in some instances of the agents of the missionary bodies. I once noticed, with much satisfaction, two boys of the Rámushí tribe in a Government village school. The teacher gloried in them as trophies of his own rare liberality. I was told, however, by the late devoted Mr. Adam White, who officiated for some time as a missionary in the district to which they belonged, that this bold son of Brahma durst not touch them even with the rod of correction, but furnished himself with some half dozen balls of clay to pelt at them with when they needed punishment!

them, laudably seeking to secularize themselves, continue to depend on government service. In the general business of life they might be far more successful. To this department of work increased numbers of them, as well as of the Gurjaráshṭra Bráhmans, have of late years begun to look.

In Dr. Leith's interesting analysis of the Census of Bombay taken in 1864, the following noticeable passage occurs:—

"The Brahman caste is the one above all others in which strictness of rule is most likely to be observed, and it may very well be taken as an index of how much the Institutes of Manu and tradition are followed. Of the seventy-six occupations in the table, there are but eighteen in which Brahmans were not found engaged, and of these there are five at least in which it is only a fortuitous occurrence that they were not so; such as those of civil engineer, photographer, grainparcher, dyer, umbrella-dealer. The occupations in which they will not engage, are the supply of animal food, working in leather, basket-making, scavenging, and washing clothes. Of the 30,604 Brahmans* enumerated in Bombay, there were returned as beggars and paupers 10,370, or one-third of the whole, as writers and accountants 5,973, priests 2,606, schoolmasters and teachers only 720, merchants and bankers 1,728, domestic servants 1,795."

There is no obstacle in the way of Bráhmans wishing to secularize themselves acting as civil engineers or photographers. Dyers they cannot be while they respect such injunctions of the Smṛitis on the subject of raising and using indigo as we find in the work of

* [That is of the Brahmanical caste old and young.]

Angiras, the substance of which I have given already.* Grainparching they avoid, from the killing of small insects associated with the work. In some Bráhman shops umbrellas are sold without scruple ; but no Bráhmans are fond of being recognized as distinctive "umbrella-dealers," as the native leaf-umbrellas are generally woven and otherwise constructed by the low-caste of buruḍs or basket-makers. They have a great repugnance to the present day, to all the pursuits mentioned in the list of Castes given in our first volume between 93 and 134.† Their connection with the work of the mixed castes even is very much only that of clerkship or superintendence. Many of them, I learn from Colonel Ballard, were lately employed in the Bombay mint in the examination and counting of rupees. As the material improvement of India advances, and opportunities of remunerative labour occur, the work of Caste-emancipation will advance.

It is proper to add, in concluding this section, that some of the most respectable converts to Christianity in the Maráṭhá Country have originally belonged to the Brahmanical classes. Though at first they were treated with intolerance, they are generally now viewed with respect by their former associates. It was ruled by the majority of the Bráhmans of Bombay, Násik, and Banáras, in the case of a young Bráhman boy who had ate with one of these converts, that he could not be restored to caste, even though he should profess to be ready to take any atonement prescribed in the Hindu law-books. I refer to the case of Shrípat Sheshádrí, the brother

* See vol. i. p. 362.

† See first volume pp. 68-70.

of the zealous native missionary, the Rev. Naráyaṇa Shéshádrí.

On the origin of the name Maháráṣhṭra as applied to the provinces of India, from which the Maráṭhá Bráhmans now noticed have received their designation, various opinions have been formed. The Bráhmans themselves, with etymological propriety, render the word Maháráṣhṭra by "great country"; but neither in its ancient geographical extent nor in its historical importance is any very good reason found for such a designation. The Mahárs, who form one of its old degraded tribes, and are everywhere found in the province, say that Maháráṣhṭra means the "Country of the Mahárs."* The Maráṭhí language is spoken on the West along the Indian Ocean from the Portuguese territories of Daman on the north to the Portuguese territories of Goa on the south; and it runs eastward, with a varying and lessening width, till it extends about half way to the Bay of Bengal.† This language, owing to its comparative purity and copiousness, the energy and conquests of the Maráṭhá people, the exigencies of commerce, and the influence of certain political arrangements, has in late times proved an advancing language. It is making ground against the cognate Konkaṇí in the country of Goa, where it is now used in public schools. It is advancing from the banks of the Kriṣhná into the proper territory of the Kánarese. It is gaining ground on the Goṇḍí in the Nágpur Districts. It is encroaching both on the Nimádí and Rangadí on the banks of the Narmadá. With its expansion

* See Notes on the Maráṭhí Language, by the Author, prefixed to the second edition of Molesworth's Maráṭhí Dictionary, p. xxiii.

† Ib. pp. xxiv-xxv.

there is of course an increase of the influence of the Maráṭhá. Bráhmans, though that influence is not what it was in the day of their political power. It is a matter of congratulation that they continue to cultivate their vernacular tongue, which is both pure and copious.

In connexion with the Maháráshṭra Bráhmans, a very small section (apparently near extinction) requires to be separately noticed.

(31.) *The Maitráyaníyas.*

The *Maitráyaníyas** have still a few representatives at Násik, and perhaps at a few other places on the banks of the Godávarí. They are in possession of complete copies of the Mánava Kalpa Sútras, of which the fragments in Europe were lately ably edited by Dr. Goldstücker. They do not intermarry with other classes of Maráṭhá Bráhmans, though they may eat with them.

Associated with the Maráṭhá Bráhmans, as speaking their language, but keeping aloof from them in caste intercourse, are the two classes which follow:—

(32-33.) *The Varáḍís, or Berár Bráhmans.*

The *Varáḍís*, or *Baráḍís*, are the Bráhmans of the province of Berár. They are principally of the White Yajur-Véda, of the *Mádhyandina Shákhá*, but some of them also are (33) *Ṛig-Vedís*. These two sections do not intermarry, and are in fact two castes claiming the same position in the Bráhmanhood. Having been long under a Muhammadan government (that of the Nizám), they are in a state of comparative depression. It must not be supposed from this fact, however, that they are destitute of Bráhmanical pride. At Badnérá, near Amravatí, I lately observed one of them most furiously buffeting a "Dhéḍ," as he called him, with his shoe, for having incidentally touched him in a crowd in the public market place. The Bráhmans near him so much sympathized with him, that they were quite surprised when I expostulated with him for his violence and inhumanity. Most of the Berár Bráhmans follow secular engagements, as those of clerks, shopkeepers, and cultivators. The Maráṭhá Bráhmans often travel in their

* See above, pp. 9-10.

country for the purpose of reading the Puráṇas to the people, of whom the Varáḍís might naturally be supposed to be the instructors.

(34.) *The Jháḍé, or Nágpur Bráhmans.*

Many Maráṭhá Bráhmans are settled in the Nágpur Territories, their forefathers having been introduced into these regions principally by the conquest of the country by the Maráṭha Bhoṅslés. The proper Bráhmans of the Nágpur territories, however, call themselves *Jháḍé Bráhmans*, or Bráhmans of the Forest. They are divided into four or five castes, according to the Védas which they profess; but most of them profess the White Yajur-Véda, according to the Mádhyandina and Kánva Shákhás. They may eat with the Maráṭhá Bráhmans, in different panktís; but they do not intermarry with them, or with the different Shákhás among themselves. Considerable numbers of them follow secular employments; but they are not wanting in Vaidiks, Pauráṇiks, and Astrologers.

The state of education among the Bráhmans of the Berár and Nágpur territories, which was long very much depressed, is now rapidly improving under European auspices. Few of our public administrators have shown such zeal in this good cause as Mr. Temple, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

2. *The A'ndhra, or Tailanga Bráhmans.*

The *A'ndhra Bráhmans* have their home in the *A'ndhra Désha* of the Hindu writings, now called the Tailanga (from *Trilinga?*) the country in which the Tailanga (or Tailinga, or Telugu) language is spoken. Their territory lies to the south-east of the Maráṭhá country, and extends to the eastern shores of the peninsula from the neighbourhood of Manipura on the north to the Pulikat Lake on the south, being thus intermediate between the Odra (or Orissa) language and the Tamiḷ. They have been instrumental in the successful culture of that tongue, which very distinctly belongs to the Dráviḍian family, and which, as

well shown by Mr. C. P. Brown, possesses a vernacular literature of considerable interest.*

Of the A'ndhra Bráhmans no very definite account has yet been published. The following notices of them rest principally on a Statistical Report of the Eastern Districts of Haidarábád by the late Dr. A. Walker;† my own personal conversations with Tailanga Bráhmans at Bombay and Nágpur; and my correspondence with friends, particularly Captain W. Tweedie of the Residency at Haidarábád, and the Rev. J. G. Cooper, of Nágpur.

* Madras Journal of Science and Literature, vol. x. pp. 43-59.

"This language was sometimes called by the Europeans of the last generation the 'Gentoo,' from the Portuguese word for heathens, or 'Gentiles.' The Telugu is spoken all along the eastern coast of the Peninsula, from the neighbourhood of Pulikat, where it supersedes the Tamiḷ, to Chikakol, where it begins to yield to the Uriya; and inland it prevails as far as the eastern boundary of the Maráṭhá Country and the Mysore; including within its range the 'Ceded districts' and Karnul, the greater part of the territories of the Nizam, or the Hyderabad country, and a portion of the Nagpore country and Gondwana. Formerly Telugu appears to have been spoken as far north as the mouth of the Ganges. This appears both from the geographical limits which are assigned by the Greeks to the territory of the A'ndhras, or Northern Telugus, and from many of the names of places mentioned by Ptolemy as far as the mouths of the Ganges being found to be Telugu. The Telugu people, though not the most enterprising or migratory, are undoubtedly the most numerous branch of the Drâviḍian race. Including the Naiks or Naidoos ('Nâyakas'), Reddies, and other Telugu tribes settled in the Tamiḷ country, who are chiefly the descendants of those soldiers of fortune by whom the Pâṇḍiya and Chôla kingdoms were subverted, and who number not much less than a million of souls; and including also the Telugu settlers in Mysore, and the indigenous Telugu inhabitants of the Nizám's territory and other native states, the people who speak the Telugu language may be estimated as amounting to at least fourteen millions." Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, pp. 5-6.

† Madras Journal of Literature and Science, vol. xvi. pp. 195-198.

(1.) *The Varnasálus.*

The *Varnasálus* profess the Rig-Véda and belong to the *Smárta* sect. They are found near Médak and in other districts.

(2.) *The Kamarukulu.*

The *Kamarukulu* belong to the same Véda and sect as do the Varnasálu, with whom they eat, and sometimes intermarry.

(3.) *The Karnakamalu.*

The *Karnakamalu* are also Ṛigvédis and Smártas. They are said to have been originally from the Karnáṭika. They do not intermarry with the Varnasálu, though they eat with them.

(4.) *The Mádhyandinas.*

The *Mádhyandinas* of Tailangáná have the same religious position as those of the Maháráshṭra, and profess like them the White Yajur-Véda. They are found near Médak and in other places. Dr. Walker says, "They make pujá to the sun when they bathe, and also to the full moon;" but so do most other Bráhmans.

(5.) *The Tailangas.*

The *Tailangas*, or *Tailingáni*, or *Taligánís* also principally profess the White and Black Yajur-Védas. Representatives of the other Védas are also to be found among them. Many of them are settled in the Guntur country.

(6.) *The Murakanáḍus.*

The *Murakanáḍus* get their denomination from the district of Muraka, náḍu meaning country. They are found to the south of the river Krishṇá. They profess the White Yajur-Véda.

(7.) *The Arádhyas.*

The *Arádhyas* (or Venerables), though White Yajurvédís, belong to the sect of the Lingáyats, to which they were introduced by Basava, its founder, in the middle of the twelfth century. They do not intermarry with any other classes of Bráhmans in the province to which they belong. They, nevertheless, act as gurus (personal or family instructors) of the higher classes of natives, avoiding altogether the lower castes, who resort for spiritual advice to Jangams, Dékkulwars, and other mendicants. They adhere to caste; and though they believe in the unity of the deity as Mahádéva, symbolized by the linga, they observe the Bráhmanical initiation, and worship the sun by the repetition of the gáyatrí. On this account they are treated as idolators by the Jangams, the principal mendicant priests of the Lingadhárís, who violently oppose caste and every form of idolatry but that which reco-

nizes the symbol of Shiva. They practise infant marriages like other Bráhmans. The Jangams refuse to eat with them ; and they refuse to eat with the Jangams. They are kept in a state of isolation by other Bráhmans ; and they are consequently obliged to act as gurus of their own children, which the Bráhmans in general never do. Yet they view themselves as of great importance in the Indian community. By the Lingáyats in general they are considered only half converts to their peculiar system of Shaiva worship. They have but a slight knowledge of any portion of the Védas, to which they refer principally for sectarial purposes, putting upon them a forced allegorical meaning.*

(8.) *The Yájnavalkyas.*

This name might comprehend all the professors of the White Yajur-Véda, which is said to have been at first revealed to the sage Yájnavalkya ;† but in Tailangáná it is given to the division of Bráhmans who in the Maháráshtra are called *Káṇvas* (from Kaṇva a reputed disciple of Yájnavalkya), or *Prathama Shákhís*, and whose principal habitat is at Masulipatam and its neighbourhood.

* See an excellent paper by Mr. C. P. Brown, on the Creed, Customs, and Literature of the Jangams, in the Madras Journ. of Lit. and Science, vol. xi. pp. 143-177.

† The legend of the revelation alleged to have been given to Yájnavalkya, is thus found in the Vishṇu Puráṇá. The Munis called their fraternity to an assembly on Mount Méru, with the intimation that any of them absenting themselves should within seven nights be guilty of the crime of Brahmahatya. Vaishampáyana alone failed to keep the appointment, and as a consequence he killed the child of his sister by an accidental kick of his foot. He called upon his disciples to aid him in performing the necessary penance; but one of them, Yájnavalkya, refused to take part in the prescribed tapa. Vaishampáyana in a rage commanded him to disgorge all the knowledge which he had received from him ; which he immediately did, out-vomiting the texts of the Yajush stained with blood. These texts, dirty though they were, were gobbled up by other disciples in the form of partridges (Tittiri) ; and collected together they form the Taittiríya Sanhitá of the Black Yajur-Véda. Deprived of them Yájnavalkya praised the sun, who appeared to him in the form of a horse, and offered him as a boon whatever he might desire. 'Give me,' he said, 'a knowledge of those texts of the Yajush with which even my preceptor is unacquamted. The Sun complied with his wishes, and gave him the texts which were unknown to Vishampáyana. Because they were revealed by the Sun in the form of a horse (Vají), the Bráhmans who study this portion of the Yajush are called Vajís (or Vajasaniyas). Fifteen branches of this school sprang from Kaṇva and other pupils of Yájnavalkya. [See Charaṇavyúha, at p. 15 above, and note in Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa, p. 281.]

No notice of this legend occurs in the Véda itself. The term Taittiríya is more rationally accounted for in the index of the Black Yajush, in which it was said that Vaishampáyana taught it to Yáska, who taught it to Tittiri, who taught it to others. "The Taittiríyas," says Páṇini, "are those who repeat (or read) what was taught by Tittiri." See Wilson's V. P. pp. 279-281.

(9.) *The Kásaranáḍu.*

The *Kásaranáḍu* likewise profess the White Yajur-Véda.

(10.) *The Vélanáḍus.*

The *Vélanáḍus*, who principally profess the White and Black Yajur-Védas, are numerous in the Nizám's portion of the A'ndhra territory. They marry in their own body and sometimes with the Tailangas. From them was sprung Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the father of Vallabha, the founder of the infamous Vallabhachárya sect; but his descendants of the present day (the Mahárájas!) have no caste intercourse properly so called, except with the meanest or most unworthy portion of that community.

(11.) *The Vengináḍus.*

The *Vengináḍus* (or *Vegináḍus*) receive their name from the district of Vengipura, which in olden times comprized the territory between the Godávarí and the Krishṇá below the Eastern Gháṭs.* Most of them are said to profess one or other of the Yajur-Védas; but the reciters of the other Védas are not wanting among them. With the Velanáḍus they form the most important Bráhmans of the province in which they are found. They are now widely distributed.

(12.) *The Vedináḍus.*

The *Vedináḍus* profess the Ṛig-Véda. They are found principally in the country near Gantur and Masulipatam.

(13.) *The Tailanga Sámavédís.*

The *Tailanga Sámavédís* are not a numerous class of Bráhmans. They consider themselves *Raṇáyaníyas*.† In sect they are Smártas. They have seven Gotras—those of Bháradvaja, Vádhulusha, Gautama, Atri, Nityundina, Vásishṭha, and Kauṇḍiṇya.‡

(14.) *The Rámánuj.*

The *Rámánuj* in the Tailinga country are so much under the influence of sectarial feelings that they form a caste of their own. There are two divisions among them—(13) the *Vaḍagadalu* and (14) the *Tryangaḍalu*, who eat but do not generally intermarry together. They take their meals in secret, according to the custom of their sect. They are strict Purists, and do religious service only to persons of high caste. From their jealousy of the Mádhavácháryas, who in the Tailinga country are principally Karṇáṭikas, they refrain from all worship of Hanumán. Both Ṛig-védís and Yajur-védís are to be found among them.

* Mr. Walter Elliot. See J. of R. A. S. vol. iv., and vol. 1, N. S. p. 251.

† See p. 11 above. ‡ Information of Subhá Avadhání.

(15.) *The Mádhaváchâryas.*

The *Mádhaváchâryas* in the Telugu country, as now intimated, are principally from the Karṇaṭika. They are noted for the worship of Hanumán. They profess the Ṛig-Véda.

(16.) *The Niyogís.*

The secularized Bráhmans of Tailingáṇá are called *Niyogís*, or the "Occupied." Many of them are engaged as writers and village accountants. They eat with most of the classes of Vaidiks, but do not intermarry with them. Those of them with whom I have met profess the Black Yajur-Véda.

Of the Tailanga Bráhmans, the different castes of Yajur-védís do not intermarry with one another, except sometimes in the case of the Tailingas and Velanáḍus; but generally speaking they are at liberty to form matrimonial connexions with the Ṛigvédís, when they are of the same sect.

The Védic learning of all classes of the Tailanga Bráhmans at the present day is but of a limited character. The few Bráhmans who live by the Védas, says Mr. C. P. Brown, commit twenty or thirty chapters to memory, which are recited at certain ceremonies in weddings, funerals and yajnas; but they never pretend to know their meaning. Not even ten Bráhmans, he adds, could be found throughout the peninsula who are really skilled in the Védas. The arrogance and violence of caste are but little mitigated among them. When one of their number loses caste (and this he may do from accident as well as from fault), his co-religionists "immediately turn upon him as fish or savage beasts do on a wounded member of their communities."*

The Tailanga Bráhmans usually visiting the Maráṭhá Country are generally considered poor, illiterate, and superstitious. They are viewed, however, as careful of their Bráhmanical áchára. In reference to the sweet-

* C. P. Brown in Madras Journal of L. and S. vol. xi. p. 154.

ness of their language the following verse, which I first heard from the Rev. J. van S. Taylor (an excellent vernacularist) is repeated by them:—

The Maráthí is sand; the Turuku (Hindí) is dust; the Kanaḍí is musk;
The Ténugu (Telugu) is honey; the Oḍá (Odra) is strength.

3. *The Drávidian Bráhmans.*

The *Drávida Bráhmans* properly so called are found in the countries in which the Tamiḷ or Tamiṛ, the most southern of the Indian languages east of the Western Gháṭs is spoken. Their country lies to the south of Tailangána and Mahishásur (Mysore) and the east of the Cochin and the Travankur, or more properly the Tiravánakuḍí* territories.† They are more united

* Literally "the abode that has become holy," alleged to be the result of Parashuráma's sanctification of it for holy Bráhmans.

† "The Tamiḷ language is spoken throughout the vast plain of the Carnatic, or country below the Ghauts, from Pulicat to Cape Comorin, and from the Ghauts, or central mountain range of Southern India, to the Bay of Bengal. It is also spoken in the southern part of the Travancore country on the western side of the Ghauts, from Cape Comorin to the neighbourhood of Trivandrum; and in the northern and north-western parts of Ceylon, where Tamiḷians commenced to form settlements prior even to the Christian era, and from whence they have gradually thrust out the Singhalese. All throughout Ceylon the coolies in the coffee plantations are Tamiḷians; the majority of the money-making classes even in Colombo are Tamiḷians; and ere long the Tamiḷians will have excluded the Singhalese from almost every office of profit and trust in their own island. The majority of the domestic servants of Europeans and of the camp-followers in every part of the presidency of Madras being Tamiḷ people, Tamiḷ is the prevailing language in all military cantonments in Southern India, whatever be the vernacular language of the district. Hence, at Cannanore in the Malayâla country, at Bangalore in the Canarese country, at Bellary in the Telugu country, and at Secunderabad, where Hindústání may be considered as the vernacular, the language which most frequently meets the ear in the bazaars is the Tamiḷ." Caldwell's Grammar, p. 4.

together than even the A'ndhras. Their principal divisions are connected either with their respective Shákhás or their Sects or Religious Orders.

Connected with their Vedic relations they have the following divisions:—

(1.) *The Rig-Védis.*

The *Rig-Védis* are the most numerous class of the Tamilian Bráhmans. They are all of the Shákala Shákhá, followed by Shaunaka.* They may intermarry with the class which follows, as is the case with their denomination in the Maráthí country.

(2.) *The Krishna Yajur-Védis.*

These, as now elsewhere, are now all of the Taittiríya Shákhá.

(3-4.) *The Shukla Yajur-Védis.*

Those in the Tamil country are either *Mádhyandinas* or *Kánvas*, who eat together but do not intermarry.

(5.) *The Sáma-Védis.*

Those in the Tamil country are but few in number, and do not intermarry with other classes.

(6.) *The Dráviḍa Atharva-Védis.*

The *Atharva-Védis* are also but few in number. They conceal themselves, says the Abbé Dubois, with more caution than the others from the fear of being suspected to be initiated in the magic mysteries and other dreaded secrets which this work (the Atharva-Véda) is supposed to teach.†

(7.) *The Numbí Bráhmans.*

The *Numbí*, who are found both in the Tamil and Kanarese districts, are Vaidik Bráhmans, who all act as pujárís in the temples, and are consequently degraded.‡

In reference to sect the Draviḍian Bráhmans are either—

(1.) *Smártas*, followers of Shankaráchárya, in the sense of upholding the *Smriti*, from which their name is derived, and compre-

* For the names of the Rig-Veda Shákhás, see above, p. 9. Shaunaka is said to have united the Shákala and Báshkala Shákhás. Dr. Max Müller (Hist. of S. L. p. 118) says, that as far as the Sanhitá of the Véda, he was a follower of the Shaishira Shákhá.

† Abbé Dubois on the Manners and Customs of the People of India, p. 37, Dr. Pope's edition.

‡ F. Buchanan's Journey, vol. i. p. 333.

hending according to Dr. Francis Buchanan about a half of all the Bráhmans of the lower Karnáṭik.*

(2.) *Vaishṇavas*, or *Víra-Vaishṇavas*, followers of Madhvácharya, who occasionally take wives from the Smártas, but who refuse to give them their own daughters. They eat with the Smártas.

(3.) The *Shri-Vaishṇavas*, or followers of Rámánujácharya, who wont even eat with other classes of Bráhmans. They form according to Dr. F. Buchanan about three-tenths of the Bráhmanhood of their district.†

(4.) The *Bhágavatas* hold the views of the Smártas with some modifications, and profess to view Shiva and Vishṇu with equal favour. They bear, however, the marks of Vishṇu, and in some of their festivals follow the customs of the Vaishṇavas rather than those of the Smártas.

(5.) The *Sháktas*, or worshippers of the female energies, are not perhaps so numerous in the south as in the north of India; though it is feared they are there an increasing body, where in some districts the Váma-Márga, or left-handed path, seems to be becoming popular in certain districts.

These sects I shall afterwards have occasion to notice. They have undoubtedly to a good extent affected the relationship of caste, practically imposing restraints on Bráhmanical social intercommunion and intermarriage.

The Dráviḍa Bráhmans profess to be the most scrupulous in India in reference to caste observance and practice, and in support of their pretensions in this respect they exhibit all kinds of absurdities and puerilities. They are great opponents of the remarriage of widows and other proposals of reform. In regard to Sanskrit learning, they have been far from being contemptible for many centuries. The vernacular Tamiḷian literature is the most varied and interesting in India; but others besides Bráhmans have contributed to its formation. The Abbé

* Journey through Mysore, etc., vol. i. p. 13.

† Buchanan's Journey, vol. i. p. 14. Dr. B. mentions an ignorant division of them called Saukhéṭí Bráhmans, the proprietors of betel-nut gardens near Haltore, vol. iii. p. 401.

Dubois says, "it has been chiefly cultivated by the Shúdras."*

A great many of the Drávida Bráhmans, as those of their brethren in other parts of India, are now completely secularized. "The greater part of the Bráhmans in the lower Karnátika," says Dr. F. Buchanan, "follow secular professions. They almost entirely fill the different offices in the collection of the revenue, and the administration of justice; and they are exclusively employed as Hirkárahs, that is guides and messengers, and as the keepers of inns or choltris. Much of the land is rented to them; but like the Jews they seldom put their hand to actual labour, and on no account will they hold the plough."† Their farms they chiefly cultivate by persons of the inferior castes. Their aversion to hold the plough arises from their aversion to take animal life. "Qui facit per alterum facit per se" has not yet become a maxim of caste life. There is but little intermarriage between Tamilian laukika and vaidik families.

Some of the Drávida Bráhmans are found in the Kánarese country. Referring to the Nagara division of the Mysore, Mr. Huddlestone Stokes, late of the M. C. S.,

* Abbé Dubois, p. 189, Pope's edition. The existing works of the Pariahs certainly substantiate the remark; but no poet of consequence has appeared among them in modern times. See Address of Sir Alex. Johnston in Journal R. A. S. vol. i. p. 159. The Rev. Josiah Rhenius, the author of the instructive Memoir of his distinguished father, on the authority of Dr. B. Schmid, ascribes the culture of the Tamil language to the Pandian Princes of Madura, who were long Buddhists. When these princes afterwards patronized the Bráhmans the Tamil literature declined.—Memoir of C. T. E. Rhenius, p. 564. Mr. John Murdoch, of the Christian Vernacular Society, has just compiled a full Catalogue of Tamil publications, carefully arranged.

† Buchanan's Journey, vol. i pp. 18-19.

says, "The Drávida or Southern Bráhmans, including the *Sankhétegalu*, are chiefly found in Agraháras, where they have been invited by the sovereigns of former times, and induced to settle by grants of land. They still retain a colloquial knowledge of Tamil, though they mostly use Kánarese. Their books are in the grantha character. Some say they came originally from Tinnevelly (Trinavalí), and others from Kánchí. The Kúdali Shringiri Svámi is of this tribe, and most of the caste are Smártas."*

4. *The Karnátika Bráhmans.*

The *Karnátika Bráhmans* are the predominating Bráhmans of the Karnátika country or the districts in which the Kanarese language is spoken. "The boundary of the Kánarese tongue on the W. and N.," says Mr. Walter Elliot, in one of his numerous valuable contributions to our Asiatic Societies, "may be designated by a line drawn from Sadáshivagadh, on the Malabar Coast, to the westward of Dhárwár, Belgáum, and Húkeiri, through Kágal and Karandwár, passing between Kéligáum and Pandégáum, through Brahmapurí on the Bhimá and Solápur, and thence east to the neighbourhood of Béder. From Sadáshivagadh, following the southern boundary of Sundá to the top of the Western Gháts, it comprehends the whole of Mysore and Koimbatúr, and the line of Eastern Gháts,—including much of the Cholá and Belála kingdoms, and even Dvára-Samudra, the capital of the latter, which was never subdued by the Chálukyas."† In certain portions of this extensive territory, however, the Karnátika Bráhmans

* MS. paper sent to the author.

† Hindu Inscriptions, J. R. A. S., vol. iv. pp. 3-4.

are commingled with other classes,—above the Western Ghâts especially, with Maráthá Déshasthas and Karhádas, and on the shores of the Indian Ocean with other classes which will be immediately mentioned. Some of them, indeed, are now settled in the commercial capital of the West of India.

The Karnâṭika Bráhmans in appearance differ but little from the Déshasthas, whom they resemble in dress, except in the turban, which they wear in a lower and less rounded form. In the Belgâum and Dhârwár Collectorates some of them, who are cultivators, are but little to be distinguished in apparel from the common peasantry. They have generally their abodes in particular portions of the villages in which they reside, chosen for purposes of caste purity. As among the other Drávidians but few distinctions are recognized among them. They have the exact differences founded on their respective Védas and sects which the Tamilian Bráhmans have; so a particular enumeration of them need not here be made.* Yet some distinctive classes of them may be mentioned, in addition to the five classes (1-5) formed by the distinctions of the Védas.

(6.) *The Kumé Bráhmans.*

The *Kumé* (or Cummays) are, says Dr. F. Buchanan, a kind of Bráhmans differing from the others. They consist of four divisions which never intermarry—the Kanada, Arava Tokal, Urichi, and Bobora Kumé. The three first are said to be of Karnâṭa descent, the last of Tailinga extraction.†

(7.) *The Nagara Bráhmans.*

Speaking of those in the Nagara districts (including the *Badaganád*, *Vaishyamá*, and the *Aruvuttu Wokkal*), Mr. Stokes says, "They

* The Atharvá-Vedis among them are found principally at Hubalí and Hyabhallí.

† Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 64.

appear originally to have come from the countries north-east of Nagara, and to have settled here under the A'nágundí and Vijayanagara kings. They are mostly Smártas of the Shringiri Svámi, but not all of them. They speak Kánarese only, but their books are in the Nágarí and Bálabodha character. They are found chiefly in public offices." "There are many learned men among them, and generally they are respectably educated, good accountants and intelligent men."

The Karnáṭika Bráhmans in general have not in modern times been remarkable for learning, on which account, perhaps, the Lingáyats (forming a comparatively lately instituted Shaiva sect) have made great progress in the territories with which they are most intimately connected. The great majority of them follow secular pursuits. Many of them rent lands and engage in agriculture. It was principally with the Karnáṭika Bráhmans that the Abbé J. A. Dubois had his experiences. Their character, as practically exhibited, he has drawn in too dark lines. "Besides that great connecting link of human society, filial reverence, a virtue so little appreciated among the Hindus, the Bráhmans are likewise destitute of the other high moral sentiments which infuse the spirit of mutual agreement and union into the social body, moulding it into a large community of brothers, aiding one another in every difficulty, and mutually contributing whatever is in their power to each other's welfare. The Bráhman lives but for himself. Bred in the belief that the whole world is his debtor, and that he himself is called upon for no return, he conducts himself in every circumstance of his life with the most absolute selfishness. The feelings of commiseration and pity, as far as respects the sufferings of others, never enter into his heart. He will see an unhappy being perish on the road, or even at his own gate, if

belonging to another caste; and will not stir to help him to a drop of water, though it were to save his life."* More to the same effect follows. Though the tendency of the caste system in the case of the Bráhman does encourage such results (except in the matter of filial reverence which he really cultivates and practises), its evils, counteracted by other circumstances, certainly do not in general reach the extremity here indicated. More considerate and sympathizing are the observations made upon them by the great missionary Rhenius, who, however, justly says (Memoir, p. 187):—"Nothing, perhaps, is so difficult to be understood and fully comprehended as a Bráhman's mind."†

The Vaidik Karnáṭika Bráhmans, viewed as a low and useless class, were much persecuted under the government of Tippu Sultán, which, however, favoured their Laukika brethren as the only men of business in the country.‡ More fortunate they were under the ancient Vijayanagar Rájás, who had very extensive dominions. Krishṇa Ráyalu is said to have granted them a tenth of his land revenue.§ They are still the only Bráhmans employed in their own districts in connexion with births, marriages and deaths, the great occasions throughout India for the employment of the priestly caste.

According to the Shloka enumerating the Vidhis, or

* Abbé Dubois, pp. 144-145, Pope's Ed.

† Speaking of the revenue officers under Tippu, Dr. Buchanan says, "These were all Bráhmans, and spent the whole of their money on dancing girls, and in what they called charity, that is money given to men reputed holy." Buchanan's Journey, vol. ii. p. 231.

‡ Journey of Dr. F. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 47.

§ Ib., p. 195.

great Divisions of the Bráhmans, the Gurjara Bráhmans would here fall to be noticed. But they must be reserved for the present. Few of the generalizations in the Hindu literature are either accurate or sufficiently comprehensive. This is the case with that of the *Pancha-Drávidas* applied to the Bráhmanical bodies south of the Vindhya range. They are not all comprehensible in those of the *Mahárá*ṣ*h*ṭ*ra*, *A'ndhras*, *Dravidas* (or Tamiḷians), *Karnaṭikas* and *Gurjaras*. In the country west of the Sahyádrí Gháṭs, there are several large Bráhman communities which are not included in this enumeration. These it remains for us to notice before we leave in this brief survey the southern peninsula of India.

5. *The Konkaṇí Bráhmans.*

The *Konkaṇi Bráhmans* are to be distinguished from the *Konkanasthas* of that part of the Konkan in which the pure Máraṭhí language is spoken, which extends from the Portuguese settlement of Daman on the borders of Gujarát to the Portuguese territories of Goa beginning at Terákol, fourteen miles north of the Goa river, and runs on to Sadáshivagaḍh or Kárwár and partially even to Honáwar. Their original language belongs to the A'ryan family; but it has peculiarities of grammar, and an infusion of Kanarese and Tulava words, which distinguish it from the Maráṭhí which it much resembles.* Though their first establishment seems to have taken place in the district here indicated, they are scattered

* This remark I make from personal knowledge; but see on this language the opinions of the Rev. Dr. Möegling and the late R. X. Murphy, Esq., in an interesting paper by Sir Erskine Perry in Journal of B. B. R. A. S., vol. iv. p. 300.

over the whole country extending from Goa to Cape Comorin.* From among them were considerable numbers of converts to the Romish church in the early Portuguese times. Most of them who are still adherents of Hinduism have entirely secularized themselves ; and many of them are engaged particularly as shopkeepers, writers, and cultivators. They have not much intercommunion with Bráhmans of other classes. They belong to the Pancha-Gauḍa division of the Bráhmans; and are Sárasvatas of kin to the Shéṇavís already noticed.† Goa was originally their principal seat.‡ With them are associated the *Hubu Bráhmans*, holders of some of the lands near Kárwár.§

6. *The Hubu Bráhmans.*

Speaking of Sadáshivagaḍ, or Kárwár, Dr. F. Buchanan says, "It would appear that all the lands of this district belonged to Jaina landlords; but all these have been either killed, or so oppressed that they have disappeared. After their expulsion, part of the lands were annexed to the Government, and part given to landlords

* Of the Konkaṇís in the Cochin State, Mr. Day writes:—"They are nearly twice as numerous as the Námburí Bráhmans. They are not allowed to officiate in the temples of the latter, or the Námburís in theirs, whilst many deny them the title of Bráhmans, to which they are undoubtedly entitled. They came originally to Malabar from the Konkaṇ, from which their name is derived." Land of the Permauls, p. 208.

† See above, p. 29.

‡ "After being expelled thence by the Portuguese, they dispersed, and are now mostly become traders. A few are still priests (Pujárís), and a very small number call themselves Vaidikas." Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. p. 194. There are Konkaṇí Shúdras as well as Konkaṇí Bráhmans on the Malabar Coast.

§ F. Buchanan, vol. iii. p. 179.

called *Hubu Bráhmans.* These are of the Pancha-Drâviḍa division; but are considered as degraded by Shankarácháchârya, and are now reduced to a miserable state of ignorance. None of them here can give any account of the time when they came into the country, who brought them, or whence they came. They are the common almanac-keepers of the country, and in some temples are priests (pujâris). The lands formerly granted to the Hubu Bráhmans, and which form by far the greater part of the country are called *mula* lands, and may be transferred by sale whenever the proprietor pleases. The Hubus have indeed alienated a great part of it."*

7. *The Gaukarṇa Bráhmans.*

The *Gaukarna Bráhmans* profess to be of the Pancha-Drâvida, being a colony from Chichaitra, and despise the Haiga Bráhmans seated in their neighbourhood. They say they were brought to their present position by Mayura Varma. They are all Smártas,† and are in possession of a linga feigned to have been brought to the place by Rávana. Gokarṇa (Cow's Horn) is mentioned in early Indian history.‡

8. *The Haiga Bráhmans.*

(1.) The *Haigas*, or rather *Havikas*, are scattered over the country extending through the region of the now perishing *Tuḷava* language, to the neighbourhood of Telichari on the coast, and even beyond the top of the Ghâts. They rank themselves among the *Gauḍas*, and generally speak the Kánarese language. Like the *Tirgulas* or

* Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. pp. 179-180.

† Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. p. 166.

‡ See vol. i. p. 248.

Trigulas of the Maháráshtra, they are cultivators of the pepper-vine, and of the betel-nut palm. Speaking of them, Mr. H. Stokes says: "They are of the Smárta sect, and acknowledge the Rámchandrapura and other gurus. They state that they came originally from A'ndhra; but have been long settled in the North-West of Nagara, Soda, and Honávar, which is from them properly called *Haiga*. They have no language but Kánarese. They are very fair, with large eyes and aquiline noses. They hold much of the land in Ságara, Nagara, Chandragutí, and Sorab, and are the great proprietors of betel-nut gardens.* They perform the different kinds of agricultural labour except holding the plough. Among them are a few rich traders and public servants; but generally their education is much neglected.† Their number may be estimated at 12,000." My own intercourse with them in a journey through their country led me to the inferences here stated.

Dr. F. Buchanan gives similar information respecting them with a few additions:—"The Haiga Bráhmans seem to have changed countries with the Karnátika, who in Haiga are in greatest estimation, while the Bráhmans of that country have all the valuable property in Sudha (Soda), and their guru has taken up his abode in its capital at Honavalí Matham, or the golden convent. Whatever truth may be in the story of Mayura Varma, the Haiga

* "The Haiga Bráhmans say that all the forests spontaneously producing pepper, with the gardens and rice fields intermixed, are their private property." Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. p. 208. This sweeping claim has not been admitted in any case without the examination of actual tenures.

† MS. of Mr. H. Stokes. See also Report, p. 79 in Mysore Collections.

Bráhmans were certainly the first of the Pancha-Drávida division, who penetrated among the Jainas of these parts. It seems to have been with the view of depriving them of their property, that the pretence of their having lost a part of their caste, or rank, was set up by the subsequent intruders, who followed the conquests of the Vijayanagar monarchs. The character which the Haiga Bráhmans use in writing books on science, is the Grantha of Kérala, which they say includes all the countries created by Parashu-Ráma. The Haiga Bráhmans, however, consider the Karnáṭika language as their native tongue; and accompts and inscriptions on stone, whether in the vulgar language or in Sanskrit, are written in the Karnátika character, which is nearly the same with the A'ndhrí, or old writing of Télingáná."* The Haiga Bráhmans have the good sense to use animal food, in the form of fish. Some of my German friends visiting their country have doubts of their original Bráhmanhood. They claim to be Ṛigvédís and Yajurvédís, but specify no Shákhá to which they belong.†

9. *The Tuḷava Bráhmans.*

The *Tuḷava Bráhmans* receive their designation from the Tuḷava country and language. "Tuḷu," says Sir Erskine Perry (who received precise information from Dr. Möegling respecting it), "is spoken in the very limited district extending from the northern limits of Malayálam at the Niléshvara river, lat. 12° 10' N. to the Bhahávara (Brahmavara) river four miles north of Upi (Udapi) 13° 30'. It is broken in upon by many languages, both north and south, and appears to be in a

* F. Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. p. 213.

† Letter of L. B. Bowring, Esq., Commissioner of Mysore.

state of progressive decay. To the humbler classes at Mangalur, the German missionaries find it is the only language in which they can make themselves intelligible, though they preach in Kánarese to the upper classes; and it ascends to the mountains in Coorg (Koḍaga) 6,000 feet high."* The Bráhmans taking to themselves the designation of *Tuḷavas* are scattered not merely through this province, but through some of the territories above the Gháts, where they have nearly forgotten their original language.† Mr. Stokes mentions the following local varieties of them as found in the Nagara districts:—(2—5.) *Shivalí*, *Panchagrámadavaru*, *Kota*, and *Kandavaru*. "These are all varieties," he adds, "of Tuḷava Bráhmans, and appear to be almost aboriginal (in a certain sense). They are very numerous in the south of Nagara, Kauladurgá, Koppa, and Lakávalí, where they hold the greatest portion of the betelnut gardens. They are mostly of the Smárta sect, and disciples of the Shringiri and its subordinate Maṭhas of Tirtha, Muthar, Hariharapura, Bhandigaḍa,

* Journal of B. B. R. A. S. No. xvii. p. 308.

† The translation of a curious Malayálam MS. called the *Keralodbhava*, by the Rev. Dr. Gundert, is found in the O. C. S. for 1840, pp. 305-315. It throws some light on the Bráhmanical history of Tuḷava and the more southern provinces of the Malabar Coast. After noticing the introduction by the Bráhmans of various Perumal rulers into the country (the Réyá, Cholá, Páṇḍya, etc.,) it comes to Arya Perumal, of whom it says, "He travelled through the whole of Kérala, a way of 160 káṭhas, and divided it into four provinces, and named this country from Gokarna to Pérumpula, the *Tuḷu* kingdom; the next part, between Pérumpula and the Puthupatna (new-town), estuary, *Kumbala* or *Kúva;* the country between Puthupatna and Kunnatí (near Quilon) was to be the *Kérala* Proper; and the southern end, from Kunnatí to Kanyá-Kumárí (Cape Comorin) received the name *Múshika.*" Other MSS. transpose *Kúva* and *Múshika.*

Múlavagal, etc. They speak Kánarese only, but their books are written partly in the Grantha and partly in the Bálbodha character. Some sign their names in the Tuḷava character. They are indifferently educated, except a few who are either brokers or in public employ."*

The Tuḷava Bráhmans do not intermarry with the other Bráhmans on the Malabar Coast. In the Regulations attributed to Shankaráchárya possessed by the Námburí Bráhmans, "it is decreed that intermarriages among the Bráhmans north of Parampol, forming thirty-two grámas of Tuḷanád with the Bráhmans of thirty-two grámas to the south called Malayálam are forbidden."† A synonym of the Tuḷa Bráhmans is *Imbran* or rather *Tambaran*. They have classes (6—7) among them who profess respectively the Ṛig, Sáma, and Yajur Védas.‡

The Tuḷava Bráhmans resemble the Námburís, and consider themselves as the proper lords of their country, pretending that it was created expressly for their use by Parashuráma. They are polygamists. They cohabit, too, Dr. F. Buchanan tells us, with the daughters of Rájás. Speaking of the Kumalí Rájá, a professed Kshatriya, he says, "The eldest daughter in the female line cohabits with a Tuḷava Bráhman; her sons become Rájás, and her eldest daughter continues the line of the family. Whenever she pleases, she changes her Bráhman."§ They prevent widow remarriage, but promote widow prostitution in the name of religion; and with widows

* Manuscript Notes. Report, p. 79.

† MS. of Col. Mackenzie, quoted in S. Indian Christ. Repository, vol. ii. p. 408.

‡ Letter from L. B. Bowring, Esq.

§ Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. pp. 31, 16.

and women who may have forsaken their husbands and become "Moylar" and attached to the temples, they hold intercourse. They burn their dead. They abstain from animal food and spirituous liquors.*

Of some of the illegitimate offspring of the Tuḷava Bráhmans, the following account is given by Dr. F. Buchanan:—

"In the temples of Tuḷava there prevails a very singular custom, which has given origin to a caste named (8) *Moylar*. Any woman of the four pure castes—Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shúdra, who is tired of her husband, or (who being a widow, and consequently incapable of marriage,) is tired of a life of celibacy, goes to a temple, and eats some of the rice that is offered to the idol. She is then taken before the officers of government, who assemble some people of her caste to inquire into the cause of her resolution; and, if she be of the Bráhman caste, to give her an option of living either in the temple or out of its precincts. If she choose the former, she gets a daily allowance of rice, and annually a piece of cloth. She must sweep the temple, fan the idol with a Tibet cow's tail (Bos gruniens), and confine her amours to the Bráhmans. In fact, she generally becomes a concubine to some officer of revenue, who gives her a trifle in addition to her public allowance, and who will flog her severely if she grant favours to any other person. The male children of these women are called Moylar, but are fond of assuming the title of Sthánikas, and wear the Brahmanical thread. As many of them as can procure employment live about the temples, sweep the areas, sprinkle them with an infusion of cow-dung, carry flambeaus before the gods, and perform other similar low offices. The others are reduced to betake themselves to agriculture, or some honest employment. The daughters are partly brought up to live like their mothers, and the remainder are given in marriage to the Sthánikas. The Bráhmaṇí women who do not choose to live in the temple, and the women of the three lower castes, cohabit with any man of pure descent that they please; but they must pay annually to the temple from one-sixteenth to half a pagoda. Their children are also called Moylar; those descended from Bráhman women can marry the daughters of the Moylar who live in the temples; but neither of them ever intermarry

* F. Buchanan, vol. iii. pp. 65, 95.

with persons descended from a woman of inferior caste. It is remarkable in this caste, where, from the corrupt examples of their mothers, the chastity of the women might be considered as doubtful, that a man's children are his heirs; while in most other castes the custom of Tuḷava requires a man's sister's children, by way of securing the succession in the family. The Moylar differ much in their customs, each endeavouring to follow those of the caste from which his mother derived her origin. Thus the descendants of a Bráhmaṇí prostitute wear the thread, eat no animal food, drink no spirituous liquors, and make marks on their faces and bodies similar to those which are used by the sacred caste. They are not, however, permitted to read the Védas, nor the eighteen Puráṇas."*

The Tuḷava Bráhmans are divided between the sects of Shankarácharya and Madhvácharya. They hold that the former guru was first born at Sivulí in Tuḷava; and the latter at Pádukáchaitra. The principal Maṭhas, or monasteries, of the Mádhavas are near the great temple of Krishṇa at Udapí (or Udipí), where their eight great Gurus officiate successively for a course of two years.†

10. *Amma Koḍaga or Káverí Bráhmans.*

It is a curious fact that in Koḍaga (or "Coorg") where only a few Havika, Tulu, and Márka or old Canarese Bráhmans have as yet been able to establish themselves, a class of people called *Amma Koḍagas* (devotees of the goddess Amma) have put themselves forward with priestly pretensions, and are in this patronized by a Bráhmanical family.‡ Of these curious people, the Rev. G. Richter writes:—"The Amma-Koḍagas live principally in the S. W. parts of Coorg, and are the indigenous priesthood

* Journey of Dr. F. Buchanan, vol. iii. pp. 65-66.

† See the specification of their arrangements in Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii p. 93. See also p. 99 of that work for notices of other Maṭhas.

‡ Möegling's Coorg Memoirs, in O. C. S. 1856, p. 82.

devoted to the worship of Amma, the Kavérí Goddess. They are of a quiet unobtrusive character; do not intermarry with other Coorgs, and are generally speaking inferior to them in personal appearance, and strength of body. Their number is about 50. They are unlettered, and devoid of Bráhmanical lore. Their diet is vegetable food only, and they abstain from drinking liquor. Their complexion is rather fair, their eyes dark brown, and their hair black and straight."* They do not profess to belong to any Shákhá of the Védas. They do not exercise any sacerdotal functions, though sometimes they officiate at marriages. They are probably the original priestly class of the Koḍagas.

11. *The Námburí Bráhmans.*

The *Námburí Bráhmans* are the principal Bráhmans of the country in which the Malayálam (cognate with the Tamiḷ) is spoken. That language commences where the Tuḷava ends, and extends to Cape Comorin, embracing the western face of the mountainous range to the east as well as the southern shores of the Malabar Coast; although the Tamiḷ, especially near the Pálghát and Cape Comorin, seems to be encroaching upon it. The Námburís are not less proud and pretentious than most of their compeers in other parts of India. They absurdly hold that the Kéraladésha, in a portion of which they reside, was made for them by Parashuráma himself; and that they are the descendants of Bráhmans introduced by him into that land from the pure A'ryávarta, and that

* Descriptive Sketch of the various Tribes and Castes in the Province of Coorg, p. 1. For this small pamphlet, I am indebted to L. B. Bowring, Esq., Commissioner of Mysore, who has kindly furnished me with the information following the quotation.

they received the name of *Nambutarí*, (the faithless, so called for forsaking their original inheritance), which has been contracted into *Námburí.** They have a good many marked peculiarities of their own. They wear the chuḍá or sacred tuft of hair not on the crown of the head but on the forehead. They are averse to leave their native country, and favour only local pilgrimages. In these respects they are unlike the great Shankaráchárya, whose father is said to have belonged to their community. "A Shúdra is not to approach a (Námburí) Bráhman so as to touch him, or even within three feet of him. It is considered a defilement if a Bráhman performs his ablution within the precincts of the Shúdra's habitation. An Elaven or Shánár is to keep at the distance of twenty-four paces from him: and the slaves thirty-six paces.† If a Pulyar or slave touch a Bráhman, the Bráhman must immediately bathe, and change his Bráhmanical thread and clothes, and absolve himself by reading the Védas

* Another origin is given to the name. "The term Námburí is said to be derived from *nambu*, a paddle, which is used in this part of India to steer boats with, and is believed to signify, that these priests can steer persons, free from the shoals and quicksands on which others less favoured are recked." Day's Land of the Permauls, pp. 299-300. For other explanations, see Asiatic Researches vol. v. p. 29.

† "The system of observation in regard to distance to be observed by the several castes in Malabar, is (according to the Rájá of Kartináḍ's explanation,) as under specified :—

"A *Náyar* [highest caste Shúdra] may approach, but must not touch, a Námburí Bráhman.

"A *Tír* [cultivator] is to remain thirty-six steps off from one.

"A *Malayar* [hillman ?] three or four steps further.

"A *Pulyar* [of a degraded caste] ninety-six steps.

"A *Tír* is to remain twelve steps distant from a Náyar.

"A *Malayar* may approach, but is not to touch the Tír.

before he dares to enter his house: and the life of the Pulyar is at stake. The Námburí Bráhmans seldom go abroad without holding a chhatra or large umbrella: their women especially in all their excursions screen themselves with a large chhatra, having one or more Shúdra women to accompany them. The wife of a Námburí is restrained from appearing before any of her own, or her husband's brothers, or strange visitors, and many are said never once to have been out of their doors. None of the brothers in a Námburí family are allowed to marry, but the eldest; but if it is declared that his wife is barren, the next in rank is permitted to marry, and the heirs male of their body become the sole inheritors of their property. Widows are not permitted to marry. Celibacy amongst the women is not uncommon among the Námburís. If a woman dies before she has been betrothed by the Tallí, it is considered impure and sinful to commit her body to the funeral pile without the ceremony of the nuptial rites; an Auręa Paṭṭár Bráhman is engaged for eight or sixteen fanams to perform the ceremony of the Talli, before the body is committed to the flames. The poorer classes of Bráhmans, however, are said to burn the body without the cere-

"A *Pulyar* is not to come near even to a Malayar, or any other caste but a *Mápilla*, the name given to the Mahomedans who are natives of Malabar. If a Pulyar wishes to speak to a Bráhman, or Náyar, or Tír, or Malayar, he must stand at the above prescribed, and cry aloud to them.

"If a *Pulyar* touch a Bráhman, the latter must make expiation by immediately bathing, and reading much of the divine books, and changing his Bráhmanical thread. If a Pulyar touch a Náyar he has only to bathe, and so of the other castes." Jonathan Duncan in Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 5.

mony of the Talli."* The Námburís do not intermarry with other Bráhmans. Their women may be married long after they have arrived at puberty; but they are not remarried after being widows. The younger brothers of their families who, as above said, are forbidden marriage, form connexions with Kshatriya and Náyar women. The men among them eat with Kshatriyas; but the women do not. They abstain from all animal food. They exact great deference from other classes of natives whom they meet.† They are divided into the usual classes founded on the Védas (1—5); but only a small number of them are attached to the Atharvavéda. The Rájá of Travankur is invested by one of them (a tantṛí or priest of a temple) with the sword of state on the occasion of his inauguration. They profess to be guided by certain rules prescribed for them by Shankaráchárya. Some of the most curious of these are the following:—

"The Antarjanma or Bráhmaní woman is strictly prohibited from having access to or seeing any other man besides her lawful husband: and likewise her own male children are restricted from having access to her after they have attained the age of fourteen years. Such women are moreover strictly enjoined, when any of them have to go abroad, to

* MS. of Col. Mackenzie, in S. I. Christ. Repository, vol. ii. p. 401.

† "Arrogant and oppressive, vindictive and grasping, these Bráhmans will turn aside sooner than tread on a worm or any other insect, but think the murder of a slave no crime, should he provoke his death by too near an approach to one of their bigoted race, or by showing them any impertinence. They raise temples in which to feed animals, but will let a Charamara die sooner than give him a morsel of food to save him from starvation. When they walk along a road, runners always precede them, to drive away all low-caste persons; in olden times, certain roads were exclusively appropriated to them. Every one must alight from his carriage or horse before passing into a temple which is usually surrounded by a wall." Land of the Permauls, p. 306.

screen themselves by holding a large chhatra, and be accompanied by a Shúdra woman, as it will otherwise be accounted abominable.

"It is decreed that all unmarried women among the Antarjanmas, who die, are not to be burned, without the ceremony of the Tallí, which ceremony must be performed by a hired Bráhman; as without this, it will be an abomination.

"In an Illam, (or house of the Námburí,) no Karmas or ceremonies are to be performed without the attendance of a Shúdra; therefore it is decreed, that in all Illams Shúdras must be employed as servants to the Námburís.

"It is decreed that none but the genuine Bráhmans of Kérala alone are permitted to enter into the Ambalam of a Dévásthánam, where the god is placed. The Antarjanma Ambalawásí girls and Shúdras only are to have access to the Sannidhi, and all other inferior castes are strictly enjoined to stand without at certain distances according to their several distinctions of caste and profession.

"It is decreed that Illams and baranams (the houses of the Shúdras) must not be constructed so as to form regular streets and lanes, but they are to be scattered, and every individual is permitted to build at his own convenience and pleasure.

"Bráhmans alone are permitted to sit on boards formed in the shape of a tortoise shell, and it is decreed that if any of the other castes are found to use such boards, as seats, they will be liable to be capitally punished.*

"It is decreed that Shúdras in their baranams or houses, who have a desire to keep their favourite deities as objects of their adoration, must have Bráhmans, at least once or twice in the year, to perform certain ceremonies.

"With reference to the sixth law, allowing the younger sons of an Illam to form connexions with the Shúdra woman, it is decreed that the latter are not considered pure.

"It is decreed that Bráhmans are prohibited from the observance of one of the six actions or Karmas called bhikshádánam, by which they are restricted from the practice of receiving alms.

"It is decreed that the Rajastrís of the Kshatriya tribe are pure: Bráhmans alone may cohabit with them, and eating what is cooked by these women in their house, will not be considered an abomination.

* This is according to the Smṛitis. See vol. i. p. 22.

"When a Bráhmaṇí woman has children, the eldest of them alone is eligible to marry, and his son and heir must consider all his uncles by the father's side, and revere them as his own father; and to each of these he is bound to perform the Karma, as the presumptive heir.

"It is decreed that Bráhmans have the right of preventing a Rájá or Prince of the country from putting any individual to death, and his right is derived from a pre-eminence of holding the birth-right inheritance as a gift from Parashuráma.*

"Certain Bráhmans have studied surgical operations, which is an abomination to a Bráhman; it is therefore decreed that those persons be ranked among an inferior class, and be called Muttadu or Elder.

"Certain Bráhmans having attended on the Shúdras, and performed the office of Purohita; it is therefore decreed, that those persons also rank among the low class of Bráhmans, and be called Eledu or Younger.

"Certain Bráhmans, having made their confession and drank of the water, and received the flowers to make an atonement for the bloodshed committed by Parashuráma [in his supposed slaughter of the Kshatriyas], it is decreed, that those persons also be ranked below the genuine Bráhmans of Kérala, and be called *Ramnaḍakira-Uril-Paráska* [not now found in Travankur proper].

"It is decreed that a Bráhman must wear unbleached cloths whilst performing the office of Karma among them; otherwise it would be an abomination.

"It is decreed that it is not considered a violation of the law for a Bráhmáṇí woman to marry, after she attains the age of puberty.

"It is not considered impure for a Bráhman not to clean his teeth or for him to let his nails grow to a prodigious length, nor is it uncomely for them to shave every part of their body with the exception of the hair on their head.

"It is decreed that the right of inheritance among the Princes of the country, Shúdras, etc., must descend to their sisters' children; but that of Bráhmans must follow the direct male line.

"It is not an abominable thing for a Bráhman to eat of the pickle made by the Ambalavásí and Shúdra castes, and the Pápaḍas, or light fried cakes, made by Konkaṇis and Kshatriyas.

* Visscher in his letters from India, which will immediately be mentioned, says they have their own subjects sometimes, over whom they have "the power of capital punishment." Letters from Malabar, p. 84. The authority which they had in this matter is now circumscribed.

"It is decreed that Bráhmans of whatever denomination and rank who are natives of Kérala may perform the office of *Sandhyás* or *Pujárís* in all Dévasthána Chaitras.

"Besides the Bráhmans, all other castes of whatever description, are expressly forbidden to cover the upper part of their body above the navel.

"Bráhmans, Shúdras and other castes indiscriminately are forbidden to wear a covering on their head, or a covering to the foot.

"It is decreed by these precepts that the regulations of the Bráhmans are never to be altered."*

In these specimens of legislation the presumption of the Námburí Bráhmans appears with a witness!

The Námburí Bráhmans are said to acknowledge a chief with eight councillors ; but this is probably only for consultation. In Travankur, in 1854, their population was estimated at 10,238 souls. In the Cochin State, in 1849, it amounted to 3,764.† These numbers perhaps include the three classes of Bráhmans about to be mentioned. The Námburís devoted to Viṣhṇu, it is right to mention, are sometimes called *Panyan*, and those devoted to Shiva, *Chovar*.

Associated with the Námburís are other classes of Bráhmans requiring distinctive notice :—

(12.) *The Poṭṭis.*

The *Poṭṭís* are mentioned in the above notice of the Námburís, with whom they are much associated in temple services. They are found more in the south than in the north of Travankur. They eat, but do not intermarry with the Námburís. "Their Védas and doctrines of religion, service, laws, morals, and rank and hereditary possessions do not differ."‡ Among themselves their families avoid intermarriage in their own gotras.

* Mackenzie MS. ut Sup. pp. 406-409.

† Trevandrum Calendar, for 1858, forwarded by J. A. Broun, F.R.S., Astronomer to H. H. the Rájá of Travankur.

‡ Mackenzie MS. ut Supra, p. 406.

(13.) *The Múttadus.*

The *Múttadus* seem, according to the regulations quoted above, to be merely a portion of the original Bráhmans of the Kéraladésha, degraded for their (really laudable) study of surgery.

(14.) *The Eledus.*

The *Eledus* are represented above as having had a similar origin, and having been degraded for attendance on Shúdras. Though the Námburís act as the gurus of the Náyars, Eledus perform many of their religious ceremonies.

(15.) *The Ramanaḍ-Uril-Parásashas.*

The *Ramanaḍ-Uril-Parásashas*, probably found near Cape Comorin, have a degraded position, also alluded to above, professedly founded on an entire fable.

(16.) *The Paṭṭaras.*

The *Paṭṭaras* are the foreign Bráhmans without distinctive appellations resident in Malayálam. Speaking of those of the Cochin state, Mr. Day says, " They are all foreign Bráhmans, in fact all those in the country excepting the Námburís and Konkaṇís.* They amount to about six thousand, and often reside in a room of a Nair's house. They are mostly worshippers of Shiva."† The population of the foreign Bráhmans in the Travankur census for 1854 is stated at 24,409 souls. They seem to be of the pure Dráviḍa stock. The Rev. Jacob Canter Visscher, Dutch Chaplain at Cochin, whose interesting letters from Malabar were published in 1743, and lately translated by Major Heber Drury, says, " Their native country is the district round Tutacorin, Coromandel, Madura, Kotur and the neighbourhood. They hold themselves higher than the Malabar Bráhmans and Námburís; their occupation is trading, and the conveyance of commodities into the interior." "They are divided into three castes, which differ but little in rank, though the respective members refuse to eat out of the same dish, or to intermarry with each other." The names of these castes are thus given by the Dutch minister :—" *Pandy* or *Tanlour ; Toele* or *Choolia ; Toelegen or Mockeramby.*"‡

* On the Konkaṇis, see above p. 64. † Land of the Permauls, p. 308.

‡ Letters from Malabar pp. 130-131.

(17.) *The Ambalavásís or Amalavásís.*

The *Ambalavásís* are principally employed as Pujárís in the temples of Malayálam. They are said to be descendants of Námburí fathers. There are eight or nine sub-divisions among them resembling castes founded on the special duties which they may have been discharging for some generations.* They are held in no great respect by the Námburí and their associated Bráhmans, for whom in fact some classes of them discharge rather menial offices. They resemble even in their higher employments the *Dévalakas,* whom we have found disparaged in the law-books, and the *Guravas* (formerly a pastoral people), who generally act as Pujárís in the Shaiva temples of the Maráthá country. The population of them in the Cochin territories in 1849 amounted to 4,796, and in the Travankur State, in 1854, to 18,870 souls. They get the offerings made in the Shaiva temples which the Námburí Bráhmans will not touch.

Little light can be thrown on the entrance of the Bráhmans into Southern India, into which, as we have seen, the A'ryan religion had not spread in very early times.† The oldest A'ryan colonies of which we read connected with that part of India were those of the Paṇḍyas, Cholas, and Chéras, of which very ancient dynastic lists (extending probably to pre-Buddhist times) exist, but without dates, and which are alluded to by the geographer Ptolemy of the second century.‡ The localities of the Paṇḍyas in particular were probably first reached by the Western Coast, by the Siñhas, from

* These are (1) the *Nambaḍi,* who are accountants and superintendents of the others; (2) the *Pishiroti*; (3) the *Varyan*; (4) the *Pushpattu* or *Nambydr,* who make garlands for the idols; (5) the *Pudaval,* who are sweepers; (6) the *Múttadu*; (7) the *Mússattadu,* who are the Bráhman's barbers; (8) the *Unṇi,* who may follow almost any employment; and (9) the *Máráns* or *Shidran,* who are tom-tom beaters. Day's Land of the Permauls, p. 308. I suspect that the difference of rank and employment of these Ambalavásís indicates a difference in parentage, either on the part of the father or mother.

† See vol. i. pp. 82-87, 226-228, 224-250.

‡ Prinsep's Indian Antiquities (by Thomas) vol. ii. pp. 275, 279-280; Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii. p. 472. Ptol. Geog. cap. vii.

11

Siñhapur (now Sihor) in Sauráshṭra,* who gave their name to Ceylon (Siñhaladvípa),† and who, aided by emigrants from the north-east coast of the Indian Peninsula, ultimately extended their settlements to Siñhapur and various other places in the Straits leading to the Chinese Seas. They were doubtless the great navigators of the western shores of India, and the portion of its southern shores most accessible from the West and from Ceylon. Their original country Sauráṣhṭra, as indicated by its name, was early brought under A'ryan influence.‡ They must have had the tolerably good seaports of the peninsula of Gujarát and the Gulf of Cambay on the west, from which to commence their navigation. Prabhása, identified locally with Virával Patan, contiguous to Somanáth, and which is early mentioned, was probably of their founding. At any rate it was in their possession. Gokarṇa, too, (north of Honávara) would be accessible to them as they would pass along the western coast of India. Rounding Cape Comorin, they would have the low country, east of the Gháts, also accessible to them, either from the north or from Ceylon when possessed by them. Mathurá, a name which had become classical from the legends about the deified Kriṣhṇa, was in the smoother form Madurá, an early capital of the Paṇḍyas. It reappears near Dondra Head in Ceylon, and in one of the islands contiguous to Java. It may have been because of some connection with the Dráviḍa country that the Gujarát Bráhmans generally (by no means univer-

* See Author's Second Memoir on Cave Temples in Journ. B. B. R. A. S. Jan. 1853.

† The island of the Siñhas.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 228, 248.

sally, as we shall soon see) rank themselves among the Pancha-Drávidas. I make these remarks with great deference, particularly as some orientalists are of opinion that the Pándyan colony must have been established by navigation in the Bay of Bengal. But be the state of matters what it may, the early A'ryan colonies in the South of India must have been favourable to the spread of Bráhmanism and Bráhmanic influence.

Next, if not superior, in importance to the settlements now referred to, connected with which there were probably several extended dynasties, was in the A'ndhra Bhritya dynasty, the seat of which was in the A'ndhra-désha, now Telingáná. Its chronological position, commencing with the twentieth year preceding the Christian era, is approximately reached by the help of the Pauránika tables.* In early times its sovereigns were patrons of Buddhism, as we learn from the Cave inscriptions of Western India; but before it expired it had returned to the profession of Bráhmanism.

Of Bráhmanism, too, the Chálukyas, who about the end of the third century after Christ entered the peninsula of India from the north, and became the dominant race in succession to the Pallavas, of whom little is known,† were the professors and supporters, as abundantly appears from their numerous inscriptions collected by Sir Walter Elliot. Pulakéshí, the fourth in the list of this dynasty, is mentioned under the date of A.D. 489. He is said to have "reconquered his own dominions, and (afterwards) the three kingdoms of Chéra, Chola, and

* See Wilson's Vishnu Purána, p. 472, et seq.

† The Pallavas were perhaps identical with the Pahlavas, a Persian tribe, which have been already noticed in our first volume.

Paṇḍya."* The Chálukyas soon separated into two branches, the Western and the Eastern; the latter of which was established by Vishṇu Vardhan the Second at Vengipura, the capital of Véngídésha in Telingáṇa, when he conquered that district A. D. 605; while the former continued at Kalyáṇ in the Dakhan. Both of these branches, which continued in power till about the close of the twelfth century, appear to have cleaved to Bráhmanism, their principal God being Vishṇu. Most of their existing grants on copper-plates contain assignments of lands to the priestly caste. The oldest of these existing grants was found by my friend Dr. Alexander Burn at Khéḍa (Kaira) in 1837. It is dated Samvatsara 394, shown by Professor Dowson, who has published a satisfactory decipherment and translation of it, to correspond with A. D. 338. Its substance is this: "He (Shrí Vijaya Rájá Sarvva) announces to all governors of provinces, chief men of districts, heads of villages, and others (as follows): Be it known to you that we have granted, with the pouring out of water, in the full moon of Vaishákha, for the increase of the merit and fame of ourself and parents, to the general body of priests *(adhvaryus)* and students (*brahmacháris*) belonging to the Kaṇva school of the Vájasanéya (division of the Yajur-véda) in the town of Jambusara, for the performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaishvádévá, Agnihotra, and other rites, the village of Paryachasa, etc." This village, which must have been in the Bharoch collectorate in Gujarát, shows how extensive was the Chálukya kingdom at the time of this grant.

* See Sir W. Elliot's paper in Journ. of R. A. S. vol. iv.

For the sake of connexion and illustration of the royal patronage, which must have been long extended to Bráhmanism by the Chálukyas, and later Cholyas, I here give the valuable historical findings connected with them of Sir W. Elliot:—

"Previous to the arrival of the first Chálukya in the Dakhan, the Pallavas were the dominant race. In the reign of Trilochana Pallava, an invading army, headed by Jaya Siñha, surnamed Vijayáditya, of the Chálukya-Kula, crossed the Nerbudda, but failed to obtain a permanent footing. Jaya Siñha seems to have lost his life in the attempt, for his queen, then pregnant, is described as flying after his death and taking refuge with a Bráhman called Vishnu Somáyájí, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Rájá Siñha, who subsequently assumed the titles of Ranarája and Vishṇu Vardhana. On attaining to man's estate, he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race, and transmitting the kingdom thus founded to his posterity. His son and successor was named Pulakéshí, and his son was Vijayáditya II. A copper Shásanam, recording a grant made by Pulakéshí, which bears date S.S. 411 or A.D. 489, is extant in the British Museum. The next prince was Kírtti Varma, who left two sons, the elder of whom, Satyáshraya, succeeded him in the kingdom of Kuntala-désha, the capital of which was Kalyáṇ, a city still existing under the same name, about one hundred miles west and a little north of Hyderabad; while the younger, Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana or Vishṇu Vardhana the Little, established a new seat for himself in Telingáná by the conquest of Vengipuram, the capital of the Vengi-desham, which comprised the districts between the Godávarí and the Krishṇá below the Ghats. This event appears to have taken place about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

"The two families ruled over the whole of the table-land between the Nerbudda and the Kṛishṇá together with the coast of the Bay of Bengal from Ganjam to Nellore, for about five centuries. The power of the Kalyáṇ dynasty was subverted for a time in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and the emigrant prince or his son succeeded by marriage in A. D. 931 to the throne of Anhilwárá

Pattan in Gujarát, which his descendants occupied with great glory till A. D. 1145. But in A. D. 973 the dynasty of Kalyáṇ was restored in the person of Tailapa Déva, and ruled with greater splendour than before till its distinction in A. D. 1189 by Bijjala Déva, the founder of the Kalabhuriya dynasty.

"The junior branch extended their territories northwards from Vengí to the frontiers of Cuttack, and ultimately fixed their capital at Rájamahendrí, the modern Rajamundry. More than one revolution appears to have occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power, until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rajéndra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas had reached its zenith. Whether the acquisition of Telingáṇá was due entirely to inheritance or to the joint influence of force cemented by matrimonial alliance, is not clear. The fact, however, is certain, that the Chola power was established in the eastern Chálukya territories for upwards of a century and a half, and has left permanent traces of its existence. Rájendra Chola was succeeded by his son Vikrama Déva, surnamed Kulottunga Chola. On the death of his uncle Vijayáditya, who had been Viceroy of Vengi-deṣham, the king deputed his son Rája Rája to assume the office; but after holding it for one year, A.D. 1078, he resigned it in favour of his younger brother, Víra Déva Chola, who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chola. His grants are found in great numbers from A. D. 1079 up to the year 1135, when a partial restoration of the Chálukya line appears to have taken place, and they maintained a feeble and divided influence till the latter part of the twelfth century, when the country fell under the sway of the Kakátiya dynasty of Warangal."*

The Chola dynasty here referred to was a revival of the more ancient one. To it we are indebted for the magnificent Pagoda at Tanjur or Tangapur, dedicated to the god Shiva. With one of its members, Víra Chola, I have ventured to connect the great Bráhmanical Excavations at Elora, denominated on one of its Jaina

* Journ. of R. A. S. vol. iv. and vol. i. N. S. pp. 251-2.

inscriptions, *Virola*, quasi *Vira* + *Chola* (by contraction), as the magnum opus of that king.* This would account for the Bráhmanical Excavations now mentioned belonging to the Shaiva form of Hinduism, patronized by the Cholas, and not by the Chálukyas, who, as we have seen, were Vaiṣhnavas. Grants of Víra Chola above referred to, and extending from A.D. 1079 to A.D. 1135, are made to Bráhmans and temples.†

The Kálabhuriya dynasty, also referred to above, seems to have been connected with the Chálukyas, the surname of its kings being *Malla*, in common with that of the later Chálukyas. It was succeeded by the Yádava dynasty of Dvára Samudra, and afterwards by the Yádava dynasty of Dévagiri (postea Daulatábád). Khaṇḍéráya (or Khaṇḍobá) of this dynasty fought against and overcame some of the successors of the Mallas, hence called *Mallári*, the enemy of the Mallas, and got from the Bráhmans of the Maráthá Country, the apotheosis as an incarnation of Shiva.‡ Among all the changes which took place there was no intermission in the patronage of Bráhmans and Bráhmanism in some form or other, especially after the overthrow of Buddhism and the depression of Jainism.

* Second Memoir on Cave-Temples of Western India, p. 31, also in Journ. B. R. A. S., Jan. 1853.

Some of the names of Víra Chola seem to be given as those of different kings in Prinsep's Lists. See Essays on Indian Antiquities, ably edited by Thomas, vol. ii. p. 279.

† See Mr. Elliot's paper ut sup., and Prinsep's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 277.

‡ See note by the Author, in Notes on the Maráṭhí Language prefixed to second edition of Molesworth's Maráṭhí Dictionary, p. xxvi.

This remark is applicable to all the later dynasties in the South of India as well as to those of an earlier date. The grants of the Kákatiya dynasty of Varangal,—which as found in Véngidésha, now the Northern Sirkárs, extend from A.D. 1175 to 1336,—are of the usual character. Pratápa Rudra, one of the Kings of that dynasty, is mentioned as building a temple. Learned Bráhmans, as Vidyáraṇya (Mádhaváchárya, and Sáyaṇacharya) the great commentators on the Védas, (if indeed these names apply to different persons) raised to the throne of Víjayanagar* (cir. 1334) Bukka, who afterwards became their great patron. The names and temples of this dynasty show their attachment to the Vaíṣhṇava form of Bráhmanism, which they largely supported. One of them, Kriṣhna Déva (cir. 1524), extended his sway to Gujarát.† It was one of his officers, Nágama Náyak, who founded the Náyak dynasty at Madurá, (which assumed independence on the fall of the Vijayanagar dynasty) fertile of Bráhmanical works, till it fell into the hands of the Nawáb of the Karnátic, and afterwards into those of the British. Similar zeal was all along shown by the Vadiyar dynasty of Mysore or Mahishásur, and which, though commencing about the beginning of the sixteenth century, had no difficulty of getting certification of the most ancient descent even from the Yádava line. On the Western Coast, the Chéraman Perumáls, or governors from Chéra, who afterwards became independent, and the Rájás of Travankur, who together were the great patrons of the Tuḷava and Námburí Bráhmans, were

* As. Res. vol. xx. and Prinsep's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 281. Bukka is mentioned at the end of the commentaries of Mádhava and Sáyaṇa as their patron.

† F. Buchanan's Journ. vol. iii. p. 474.

great supporters of the Indian priestly class. The Bráhmans of the Western Coast, indeed, claim all the country as a special gift to them by Parashuráma. Malabar is distinguished to the present time by the name of the *Karmma Bhumi*, the land of (good) works;* and Travancore bears as its proper name *Tiravánakuḍí*, or the land that has become holy. The great temples and religious establishments of the South of India,—at Madurá, Tanjur, Kánchí, Seringham, Halibíd, Vijayapur, Anágundí, Bélur, etc., all bear overwhelming testimony to the importance and influence of the Southern Bráhmans.† This circumstance, and the connexion of these Bráhmans with the origin of the greatest of the Hindu sects, give countenance to their pretensions to be now *primi in Indis*, though they themselves,—as is evident from the decay of their religious structures, and the decline of their influence, as marked by the growth of the Lingáyats, the advancing courage of the lower castes, the weakening of their political power, and many other circumstances‡—are undoubtedly in manifest decadence.

* Day's Land of the Permauls, p. 40.

† Of the more important of these temples, admirable photographs, by Col. Tripe, were exhibited at the Nágpur Exhibition of 1866.

‡ As an illustration of the advancing courage of the lower castes in the South of India, see a curious petition of the Panchálars (ironsmiths, carpenters, braziers, masons, and goldsmiths) of Salem, addressed to the Board of Revenue in Madras on the 17th February 1840, and published in the appendix to the excellent Essay on Hindu Caste by the Rev. H. Bower. This petition sets forth that the Panchálas (as artizans) are the descendants of the Brahma Ṛishis; that the Bráhmans are the descendants of Ṛishis of mongrel tribes; that the Polygars were deprived of their authority for showing favour to Bráhmans; and that all classes of men, to the destruction of Bráhmanical monopoly, should be appointed to public offices without distinction.

To this, it has to be added, that some very pungent satires on Bráhmanism have appeared in the vernacular poetry of the South of India, both East and West.

Vémana, the most popular of the Telugu poets, says:—

"The daily prayers and the Bráhmanical cord are wanting both at birth and at the time of death; his mother never enjoyed either of these, and if his mother be a Shúdra, how can he be a Bráhman?" "If we carefully observe and examine the universe, we shall see that all castes equally originated therein; then all are equal; surely all men are brothers." "Disputations as to which caste is the best, are all fruitless; all the tribes originated in the same origin, who can decide as to the superiority or inferiority of any one?" "Why should we constantly revile the Paryar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our own? And of what caste is he who pervades the Paryar as well as all other men?" "Place one dish before all men in the world, and let them eat together, abolishing their castes; lay thy hands on their heads, and convince them that their present distinctions are absurd."

The following passage occurs in the ancient Tamiḷ work attributed to Agastya:—"Know that the distinctions of high and low caste were made for men to get a livelihood. The Védas were made the support of Bráhmans." Subramanyar the poet, in his jnánam, says, "Hear this, the birth of all is alike, and all are subject to death. The life that leaves the body mingles with the other. All life proceeds from one source. Do not therefore speak ill of castes. All are alike. There is no distinction." In the Súkshma Vedánta, it is said: "Men, after exercising particular trades and professions, divide themselves accordingly into as many castes. But if we properly consider the matter, we shall find that the nature of man is the same. If so, how is it then that one man considers himself of superior caste to another? These distinctions only become demons, not men, who are of one origin."*

The effect of such passages as these occurring in the popular literature is not inconsiderable.

* Bower's Essay on Hindu Caste, pp. 19-23. Mr. Bower quotes the following prose passage to the same effect from the Sapta-prakaranam:—"The title Bráhman is similar to the names given by children to toys in play; it is nothing in reality. So said Vásudéva."

12. *The Gurjjara Bráhmans.*

The *Gurjjara* or *Gurjaráṣhṭra Bráhmans* get their designation from *Gurjaráṣhṭra*, the "country of the Gurjaras" (now known by the name of Gujarát), which has received its designation not from a great influx into it of the Scythian tribe called *Gurjjara*, but from the fact that a dynasty belonging to these *Gurjjaras* (or *Gurjaras*) was at one time established in a portion of it territories.*

Their general habitat is that of the Gujarátí language, which is supposed to be spoken by six millions of people. Its northern boundary is the Gulf of Kachha (Kutch), and a line drawn from the extremity of that gulf, and passing near Disá to the south of the A'bu mountains, and to the Arávalí range on the east. Its eastern boundary is the range of hills running from the shrine of Ambábhavání, through Chámpánér to Hámp on the Narmadá, which forms its southern boundary, and from Hámp to the jungles of Rájpípalá ; from whence it extends again to the south, its eastern line being that of the Sahyádri Gháts till opposite Daman, near which its extension to the south terminates, its southern boundary in this direction being the Daman-Gangá river. From Daman to the Gulf of Kachha including the peninsula of Gujarát,—

* In the lack of Gurjaras in Gujarát at present, the question, "How did this part of India get its present name ?" has hitherto been a puzzling one. The solution, I think, is that which I have here given. Two copperplate grants, assigning land to Bráhmans of Jambusar, were found by Dr. Burn at Khéḍá in 1837 (along with the Chálukya plates referred to above). They are by the royal race of Gurjjara (*gurjjaranṛipativansha*), dated Samvat 380 and 385 (A. D. 305 and 310,) and mention Sámantadatta, Shrí Vítarága (alias Shrí Jaya Bhaṭa), and Shrí Datta Kushalí of this dynasty. See Professor Dowson's paper in Journal of R. A. S. vol. 1. N. S.

the Saurâshṭra of the ancient Hindus, and the Kaṭhiá-wáḍ of the Maráṭhás and English,—the ocean is its boundary. It is spoken, too, to a considerable extent in Kachha, and among the Baniás and other merchants, originally from Gujarát, who are so widely scattered throughout Western and Central India and the shores of the adjoining countries.* It is also spoken by the Gurjjara Bráhmans in the provinces of their peregrinations.

In the general classification of the Bráhmans usually current among the Natives, the Gurjjara Bráhmans are said to belong to the Pancha Dráviḍa,† though the greater portion of Gujarát lies to the north of the river Narmadá and the Vindhya range. An examination of them in detail, however, shows that not a few of their castes belong to the Pancha-Gauḍa ; while some of them have been so long isolated from the other Bráhmanical fraternities that they have lost sight altogether of their former connexions. They are generally estimated at eighty-four in number. Various lists professedly framed on this theory are at present before me; but an examination of them shows that viewed collectively they comprehend many more than this estimate. It is correctly said by Mr. Kinloch Forbes that " the Bráhmans of Gujarát are believed to be subdivided into more castes than those of any other part of India."‡ In here treating of them, I shall first exhaust the list of the intelligent Dalpatráma Daya, contained in his Jnáti-Nibandha, published by the Ahmadábád Vernacular Society, giving what information I have been able to collect respecting them individually from intercourse with their own

* Historical View (by the author) of the Operations of the Bombay Aux. Bible Society in O. C. S. 1854, pp. 398-99.

† See before, p. 1.

‡ Rásmálá, vol. ii. p. 232.

members and other sources of information, which will be mentioned as I proceed. Some of them have baffled alike my own research and that of the friends whose kind assistance I have solicited.

(1-11). *The Audíchya Bráhmans.*

The *Audíchya Bráhmans* are the most numerous class of Bráhmans in Gujarát. They probably derive their name from the *Audíchyas* (the northerners) of old situated in the ancient province of Ayodhyá (*Audh* or Oude).* They are now divided into three great separate local castes: (1) the *Siddhpura Audíchya*, (2) the *Sihor Audíchya*, and (3) the *Tolkiya Audíchya*, who may eat but not intermarry with one another. Other caste factions, also standing socially aloof from one another, are to be found among them, as (4) the *Kunbígor*, who act as gurus to the cultivators; (5) the *Mochígor*, so called from their officiating as gurus to shoe-makers; (6) the *Darjígor*, who render their services to tailors; (7) the *Grandhrapagor*, the gurus of players; and (8) the *Kolígor*, who officiate among the Kolís. New provincial divisions have appeared among them, as (9) the *Márwáḍí Audíchya*, (10) the *Kachhi Audíchya*, and (11) the *Vágaḍiya Audíchya.*† The *Vágadíyas*, here referred to, are treated almost as out-castes. Even Ványas and Kulambís (merchants and cultivators) will not take water at their hands. Yet, with other supposed-to-be degraded Bráhmans, the *Audíchyas* effect marriages with them for their daughters. Unitedly viewed they are the most numerous class of Bráhmans in Gujarát. They are principally found in the north of Gujarát, in Kachh, and on the western coast of the Gulf of Cambay. When they first settled in these parts large endowments in land were conferred upon them; but they have mostly all been resumed by the native princes, the successors of the donors. They are said to have among them numerous hereditary professors of the four Védas, particularly of the Sáma and Yajush. Besides performing the common religious services, they act as clerks, astrologers, mendicants, and domestic servants, particularly water-carriers for the higher classes of

* *Udíchya* is thus correctly rendered in Benfey's Dictionary:—"*Udíchya*, i. e. *Udanchya* I. adj. Northern II. in the country to the north and west of the river Sharávatí, M. Bh. 8, 14774. pl. Its inhabitants, Ram. 2, 82. 7."

† Dalpatrám's Jnáti-Nibandha, pp. 80-81. Vágaḍ is, anglice, the "Waghar" province of Kutch.

native families, who escape defilement by receiving it at their hands. They are worshippers of Shiva, and generally wear, when they wish to be thought in a state of purity, the horizontal sectarial marks of that deity. The Márwádí Shrímálí Bráhmans decline to take water at their hands, from its being believed that they have come from the north of the Vindhya range. The Bhíkshukas, or alms-seekers, are very numerous in their community. They are said to tolerate widow remarriage.

The Audíchyas preserve among themselves various traditions, which, though not altogether worthy of confidence, contain some grains of historical truth. The following is the substance of them as extracted from the Audíchya Prakásha (a reputed section of the Skanda Puráṇa) by the poet of Gujarát, Dalpatráma Dayá. Mulráj, king of [Anhilwádá] Pattana, the Hindu capital of Gujarát, collected the following numbers of Bráhmans from the different sacred places mentioned:—from the junction of the Gangá and Yamuná, 105; from the Chyavanáshrama, 100, Sámavedís; from the country of Kanyákubja, 200; from Káshí, 100; from the Kurukshétra, 272; from Gangádvára, 100; from the Naimiṣha Forest, and from Kurukshétra, an additional supply of 132, making a total of 1,109. He conferred upon them as a Krishnárpana, the town of Sihor, with 150 adjoining villages, and the town of Siddhapura with 100 adjacent villages. By this liberality he did what satisfied these Bráhmans denominated the Sahasra (thousand) Audíchyas. But other intelligent Audíchyas did not accept his dána (largesses), but forming a *ṭolí* (of their own) became the *Ṭolakyá Audíchya*, who acquired for themselves Khambhát (Cambay) and twelve other villages, while of the other, 500 were of Sidhapura and 500 of Sihor. Dalpatráma says that the date of the reign of this Mulráj, the first of the Chávaḍas of Gujarát, is not given in the Skanda Purána, lest its modern character should appear; but that that date extended from Samvat 998 (A. D. 941), and continued for 55 years.*

* Jnáti-Nibandha, pp. 35–37. Dalpatráma gives as his principal authorities for the date the Jaina works the Prabandha Chintámaṇa and the Kumarapála-Charitra, but without marking the chapters from which he extracts. He gives in full those of the Chávaḍas and Solankis (from the Chálukyas). There are a few (not great) differences between his lists and those of Col. Tod in his Travels in Western India, p. 150; but both authors agree as to the commencement of the reign of Múlráj, the first of the Solankís at Pattan. Mr. Kinloch Forbes (Rás-Málá, vol. i. p. 40) says, "Vana Ráj, the first of the Chávaḍas, was born in A. D. 696, and reigned sixty years in Anhilawáḍá. He died in (Samvat 806)." The chronology of the kings of Gujarát may probably yet be correctly set forth from tabular inscriptions.

Probably all that can be safely inferred from these notices is, that Múlráj was very liberal in his favours to the Audíchya Bráhmans. Many Bráhmans must have been settled in Sihor long before his day, if we take, as we do, Sihor to have been Siñhapur, the capital of the ancient Siñhas of Gujarát. Speaking of Sihor, Colonel Tod says: "Its original sanctity arose from a fountain of medicinal virtue, sacred to Gotama (one of the great sages of antiquity) and from the use of whose waters Múlráj was cured of some inveterate disorder, on which occasion he made a grant of Sihor and its lands to the Bráhmans. With them it remained, until internal dissensions arose, ending in a political conflict, when the survivors of these Church militants determined to give themselves a master. They made choice of the Gohil of Ghogho, but while they invested their new lord with all the rights that regarded the defence and political control of the community, with the exception of sufficient ground for a garden, they reserved all its lands for themselves; and the Gohil, not having yet overcome early prejudices, has not dared to abrogate the Shásana or religious grant of eight centuries' duration, the punishment for which act would be sixty thousand years' residence in hell."* Much further back than this Colonel Tod might have gone had he recognized the derivation of *Sihor* from *Siñhapur*, as I have found done by the Bráhmans resident in the locality.†

Very great social inconveniences have occurred among the Audíchyas from the divisions which have arisen among them, now referred

* Tod's Travels in Western India, p. 269.

† "We are disposed to consider it the capital of the *Siñhas*, who made the first A'ryan invasion of Ceylon, from which it, perhaps, received the name of *Siñhaldvipa*,—and the seat of whose authority, we agree with Professor Lassen in thinking, must have been in Gujarát. We make another conjecture respecting it. It was probably the capital of the *Sah* kings (*Siñha*, as Mr. E. Thomas supposes) of *Sauráshtra*. Their coins we found wholly unknown in the locality. Though they have been procured in many parts of India, from Kachha,—where they have again been lately found by Major LeGrand Jacob,—to Elichpur and Nágpur, from which places specimens have been forwarded to us by Brigadier Mackenzie, N. A., and the Rev. Stephen Hislop,—it is remarkable that none of them have been known to have been found in the peninsula of Gujarát till a few months ago, when some were brought to the notice of Colonel Lang, who has sent them to us for inspection. These coins, which have been so ably dealt with by Mr. Thomas, bear evident marks of Grecian influence." Author's Second Memoir on the Cave-Temples, etc. in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. January 1853. The coins of the Siñhas, and also of the Vallabhís have again been reviewed (in a very able and satisfactory manner) by Mr. Justice Newton, in No. xxii. of this Journal.

to. These particularly appear in the matter of their marriages and eating and drinking, as may be easily understood. They are not confined, however, to the Audíchyas.*

"The Shrimálí Bráhmans treat the Audíchyas as belonging to the Pancha-Gauḍas, who do not observe the rule of Shankaráchárya as to abstinence from flesh meat."†

(12-21.) *The Nágara Bráhmans.*

The word *Nágara* is the adjective form of *nagar*, a city. It is applied to several (six) principal castes of Bráhmans in Gujarát, getting their designations respectively from certain towns in the north-eastern portion of that province. They have great influence in Gujarát, particularly in its peninsular portion, where they are largely employed by the native chiefs. They consider themselves Dráviḍas, but without any reference to the languages spoken in the south of India.

(12.) The *Vaḍanagara Bráhmans* receive their designation from the city of *Vaḍanagara* lying to the east of Anhílaváḍá Pattana. They are mostly found in the peninsula of Gujarát, formerly Sauráshṭra, now Káṭhiáwaḍ, where the business of the native states is principally in their hands; but individuals of them are scattered over nearly the whole of the province of Gujarát, being found at Naḍiyád, Ahmadábád, Baroda, Surat, etc. Most of them are Ṛig-Vedís, following the Shákháyana Sútras; but some of them profess the other three Védas, particularly the White Yajur-Véda. The majority of them are Smártas; but an inconsiderable number of them are Vaishṇavas of the sects of Svámi Náráyáṇa and Vallabhácharya. None of them are practical cultivators; but a few of them act as Désáís. The mendicants among them are few in number. They do not eat even with the Nágars of other denominations. One of their number, Mr. Mahipatrám Ruprám, a well-educated young man, had the courage a few years ago to visit Europe. An atonement, however, was demanded of him for this caste offence; but happily he has not so far complied with the exactions made of him as to be restored to free intercourse with the Vaḍanagaras. He is now lending his efforts to the cause of reform, particularly in social worship, in which many wish him abundant success.

* For some curious illustrations of this matter, see Dalpatráma's Jnáti-Nibandha, pp. 90-91.

† Rev. Dunlop Moore.

(13.) The *Vishalanagara Bráhmans* receive their name from the town of *Vishal*,—founded by Vishal, the first king of the Vághéla dynasty of Gujarát, sometimes called Visaldéva, (said by Colonel Tod* to have been installed in Samvat 1249, A. D. 1192),—and which lies a little to the south-west of Vaḍanagara. They are principally Ṛig-Védís, and are either Smártas or Vaishṇavas of the sect of Svámi Náráyaṇa. They are mainly either public servants or agriculturists. It is said that they would willingly eat of food prepared by the Vaḍanagaras, if the Vaḍanagaras would eat with them.

(14.) The *Sáṭhodra Bráhmans* get their name from the town of *Sáṭhod* on the Narmadá. There are some Ṛig-Vedís among them; but they are principally of the Mádhyandina Shákhá of the White Yajur-Véda. They are found at A'nanda, Naḷiyáḍ, Ahmadábád, Dabhoí, and other places. Some of them are in public service, or engaged in buying and selling; but a good many of them are still Bhikshukas, or act as gurus. They are principally, if not wholly, Smártas.

(15.) The *Prashṇoras* are said to belong to *Prashṇora*. They are Ṛig-Vedís, and of the Vallabhácharya sect, their chief residence being in Káthiawáḍ. They are principally mendicants, though a few of them are in service, or are buyers or sellers.

(16.) The *Kṛishṇoras*, of *Krishnapura*, are of the Ṛig, Sáma, and Yajur-Védas. Most of them are Bhikshukas, but, as my informants say, of a "kind respectable for learning."

(17.) The *Chitroḍas* are of the town of Chitroḍ.† They are found at Bhávanagar and Baroda. They say they have among themselves professors of each of the Védas, who confine themselves to the service of the gods of the Védas. But this matter is doubtful. They are not a numerous body.

(18.) The *Báraḍas* are a split from the Vishalanagaras and Vaḍanagaras, who, from difficulties found by them in marrying in their own castes, take wives from another. Mr. Kinloch Forbes says, "They

* Travels in Western India, p. 151. Vishvalanagara is the Sanskrit form.

† This is not Chitroḍ in the eastern part of Wágar in Kachh; but as my learned friend Mr. Dunlop Moore thinks, it lies south-east of Pálanpur. *Saṭhod* is thought by an intelligent Sáthodra Bráhman to be near Shuklatírtha in the zilla of Bharoch. Priashnor is thought by Mr. Dalpatrám Dayá to be near Bhávanagar. These localities seem too remote, however, from the other Nágara towns. The situation of *Kṛishṇor* is now unknown.

are much despised after such a marriage, and compelled to quit their native village; but the sect continues, notwithstanding, to increase. Their women, contrary to ordinary practice, are permitted to remarry."*

According to Dalpatráma, founding on the Nágara Pravarádhyáya, many Nágaras of different gotras were resident at A'nandapur in Samvat 283 (A. D. 226). In subsequent times, the divisions now existing were formed. When Visaldéva built Visalnagar, he called many Bráhmans to a sacrifice. Many of those of Vaḍanagar obeyed his summons, but declined to take dakshiṇá at his hands. Some of them, however, received from him rolled-up leaves upon which the names of villages were written, which they ultimately accepted. On this account they were outcasted, and became Visalnagara Bráhmans. In a similar way were originated by Visaldéva, those of Sáṭhod and Chitroḍ, and the Prishnoras and Krishnoras.† This story looks as if intended to vindicate the Vaḍanagaras for their nearly entire secularization of themselves and consequent declinature of religious alms, and to disparage the other Nágaras for accepting of them.

Many modern local divisions have originated among the Nágaras. For marriage and other purposes they have arranged themselves into the following consociations of villages (sañvagámas) :—

(19.) *Gujarátís.*	(20.) *Soraṭhís.*	(21.) *Of Various Towns.*
Ahmadábád.	Junágaḍhamukhya.	Surat.
Peṭlád.	Mángarol.	Dungarpur.
Naḍyád.	Porbandar.	Váñsavádá.
Vaḍodrá.	Navanagar.	Páṭan (or Pattana).
Khambhát.	Bhuj.	Mathurá.
Sojítrá.	U'ná.	Káshí (Surat, Burhánpur, and Káshí keeping apart, and Páṭan and the others of the six keeping apart.‡)
Kanyálí.	Délváḍá.	
Sínor.	Prabhásapáṭaṇ.	
Dholká.	Mahuvá.	
Viramgám.	Vasáv. ḍá.	
Mumdhá ?	Ghoghá.	
A'shí.	Amrélí.	

Other splits are threatened, if they have not actually occurred, as is the case with Junágaḍh and Ghoghá, and Páṭaṇ and Dongarpur, the

* Rásmálá, vol. ii. p. 233.

† Jnáti-nibandha, pp. 48-50.

‡ Jnátí-nibandha, pp. 87-88.

Nágaras of whom will have no intercommunion with one another in marriage. Gṛihastha and Bhikshuka families are similarly affected. All this among a people reckoned so sensible in secular matters as the Nágaras!

Speaking of the Gujarát Bráhmans in general, and of the Nágara Bráhmans in particular, General LeGrand Jacob, C.B., a close observer of the state of Indian society, says: "The Bráhmanical priesthood, as a body, can scarcely be said to have any weight in the country; there are no colleges for their education. The father gives the son such smattering of spiritual matters as may suffice to gain his bread; some pretend to cast horoscopes, and are consulted on births for the purpose; a few are sufficiently versed in the Hindu astronomical tables to be able to calculate eclipses, and some three or four of these are well acquainted with Sanskrit; but I doubt whether the whole province could produce one person coming under the denomination of a learned Paṇḍit. The late Ranchodjí of Junágaḍh, a Nágara Bráhman, to whose family, as Omras of the Nawáb, the Junágaḍh dynasty owes much of its present power, was the nearest approach to an educated native gentleman the country contained. His tastes and habits of thought were above his age; but he departed without casting his mantle on a successor. The Nágara community is very powerful in the peninsula; they are by profession a corps diplomatique, and devoted to the arts of government; their principal residence is Junágaḍh, but there are many families at Nawanagar, Bháwanagar and other large towns. One family received a grant of land during the time of the Subahs, and are the present Chiefs of the Vasávaḍh Táluká, but these have given up the industrious habits of their race, and taken to opium and indolence, in imitation of the other lords of the soil. The Nágars are a shrewd race, and work their way into almost every Darbár by their ability and tact: most of the native servants of Government are of this class. The number in the peninsula is estimated at 1,263 families, of which 920 call themselves simply Nágars, in contradistinction to the remaining 343, who are termed Bráhmans. The caste is, however, the same, but the habits of the more numerous body are purely secular, whilst the others live by alms and the practice of their religion. The above estimate is exclusive of numerous Nágar families from Ahmadábád, and other parts of Gujarát, temporarily residing within the province."*

* Bombay Government Selections, Province of Káṭhiawáḍ, p. 29.

(22.) *The Sáchora Bráhmans.*

The *Sáchora Bráhmans*, named from the village of *Sáchora* in the south of Márwáḍ, profess the four Védas; but they devote little attention to any of them. They should perhaps be viewed as belonging to Rájputáná, where (at Jodhpur in 1835) they acted, according to Gen. Boileau, as "officers of state."* They are, however, always found in the Gujarát lists. They are Vallabhácháryas, and are cooks to the households of the Mahárájas in Bombay, Surat, Ahmadábád and other places.

(23.) *The Udambaras.*

The *Udambaras* are said to have received their name from the sage called *Udambara.* But some think they get their denomination from their "high," or light, "clothing." They officiate among the lower castes; and in no part of Gujarát are to be found in considerable numbers. I have heard of individuals of them being in the Ahmadábád and Khéḍa Zillahs, and in the districts of Khambhát or Cambay. Capt. E. Conolly mentions them among the mendicant Bráhman guides (from Gujarát) at Ujjayin in Central India.† A few of them were found at Banáras in 1823, when Mr. James Prinsep's census of that city was made.‡

(24.) *The Narsíparas.*

The *Narsíparas* are said to get their name from the village of *Narsipura* (from *Narsiñhapura*) in the Pálanpor Zillah. [?] They are of two kinds, the Ṛig-vedi and (White) Yajur-vedí. They are Vallabhácháryas, and act as Pujárís at the shrine of Krishṇa at Ḍakor (in the Khéḍa Collectorate.)

(25.) *The Vaḷádras or Vaḍádras.*

The *Vaḷádra* Bráhmans receive their designation from the village of *Valád*, or *Vaḍád*, about fourteen miles from Ahmadábád, in the zillah of which, and in the adjoining one of Khéḍa, they are principally to be found. Their families, with thirteen gotras, are estimated at about 1,500. They are Yajur-vedís; but they do not devote themselves to study or religious services. In sect, they are Dévíbhaktas

* Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rájwárá, p. 238. Their houses in Jodhpur were reckoned at 100.

† Journ. of As. Soc. for 1837, p. 822.

‡ Asiatic Res. vol. xvii. p. 492.

and Smártas. Many of them are mendicants, formerly of no great repute. Considerable numbers of them are now cultivators or merchants. One of their number, Hargovind Girdharlál, is reckoned a staunch reformer in Gujarát, often taking due liberties in the matter of eating and drinking. He is a large farmer on the banks of the Vátrak.

(26.) *The Pangoras.*

The *Pangoras* are said to belong to Márwáḍ. I have not been able to hear of any of them being at present in Gujarát, though they remain on the lists of the Gujarát Bráhmans.

(27.) *The Nándodras.*

The *Nándodras* get their name from the village of *Nándod,* above Bharoch on the Narmadá river, and near Rájpipalá. They profess all the Védas but the Atharvan. Most of them are mendicants, while a few are cultivators. They are said to be gurus to the Rájás of Rájpipalá, and Dharampur.

(28-30.) *The Girnáras.*

The *Girnáras* derive their name from the ancient mountain city of *Girinagar*, now represented by Junágaḍh, the old fort, at the root of the celebrated Girnára mountain. They nevertheless reckon themselves to belong to the Pancha-Gauḍas. In this locality they are principally to be found. They are also met with in other towns of the peninsula of Gujarát. A few of them are in Bombay. They are divided into the following castes:—

(28.) The *Junágaḍhya Girnáras*, of *Junágaḍh*, now mentioned.

(29.) The *Chorvádá Girnáras*,* of the town of Chorváḍ, on the coast between Pattana-Somnáth and Mangrol.

(30.) The *A'jakiyas*, so called from the village of *A'jak.* These three castes readily eat together, but do not intermarry. They now rank low in the Bráhmanhood, from their acting as gurus to Kolís, and having a variety of occupations, as those of administrators to native chiefs, clerks, astrologers, cultivators, mendicants. They are of various sects as suits them for the time being. They are said to profess all the Védas but the Sáma, but are principally of the White Yajur-véda. They must be a very ancient confederation of Bráhmans. On a granite rock near Girnára are en-

* So named from the town of Chorwád, lying on the coast of the Peninsula of Gujarát, between Mangrol and Virával-Pattana.

graven the now well-known Buddhist proclamations of the Emperor Ashoka, first copied for myself under the direction of my friend General Lang.

(31.) *The Somaparas.*

The *Somaparas* or *Somapáḍas* (for their name is spelled in both ways) receive their denomination from the celebrated Somanátha, the great temple of which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazní.* They are principally Smárttas, followers of Shiva, and are in charge of the temples of that deity in their original locality, the principal of which now in use was built by the famous lady of the Indor Court, Ahalyá Bái. They are well skilled, however, as I have found from their guidance, in pointing out the spots in their neighbourhood sacred to the god Kṛishṇa, who is feigned to have terminated his earthly career in that locality. In an inscription of Shrídhara Rájá [A. D. 1215] on a pillar at Somanátha, found by Colonel Tod and translated by Mr. Wathen, the "Sompara Bráhman" is spoken of as "perfect, and well acquainted with the rites of sacrifice, and the rules of meditation, worship, and the ceremonies of making offerings." Of the temple of Somanátha, it is said in the same inscription, "This temple is the abode of saints; it is inhabited by Lakshmí; by worshipping this Shiva's feet all sin is removed. By sight of this temple even the stain of evil deeds becomes effaced; pain and disease also disappear." A temple to Kṛishṇa is also mentioned in the inscription. It is difficult to say whether it praises most the gods or the Bráhmans.†

(32.) *The Harsoras.*

The *Harsoras* derive their name from *Harsor* or *Harsol*, south-east of Parántej, on the Mésva river. They are only a small body of Bráhmans. They are said to profess the Yajur-Véda. They are the gurus of the Harsora Váṇyás, whom they follow in all their mercantile wanderings.

* The remains of the temple shown by the Somapara Bráhmans as those of the temple injured by Máhmud are shown by Mr. Kinloch Forbes, in a paper read before the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, to have belonged to a temple "constructed by Bhíma Déva I., and which was at last destroyed by the zeal of the renegade Hindu Sultán Muzaffar I." The rebuilding of the temple by Bhíma Déva is referred in one of the Somanátha inscriptions given in the appendix to Tod's Travels in Western India. A Kinojya (Kanyákubja) Bráhman seems then to have been in the favour of the Pramára prince.

† See Tod's Travels in Western India, pp. 513-516.

(33.) *The Sajodhras.*

The *Sajodhras* are named from the town of *Sajodh*, south-west of Bharoch. They eat with the agricultural Bhátélas (afterwards to be mentioned), with whom they are sometimes confounded, though they do not intermarry with them. They are said to be Samá-Védís; but their employment is that of cultivation.

(34.) *The Gaṇgáputras.*

The *Gangáputras* are represented as a detachment of the Tírtha mendicants of the Kányakubja Bráhmans, who have found their way to Gujarát from the banks of the Ganges and Yamuná, and who have consequently become isolated from the main body of their caste. They are said to be Sáma-Védís, like many other Bráhman communities who cannot give a definite account of themselves.

(35.) *The Moḍha-Maitras.*

Of the *Moḍha-Maitras* but little is known. Perhaps, they are some isolated body from the East of India now associated with the Moḍhas. They are said to be found in the Khéḍa Zillah.

(36.) *The Gomitras.*

The *Gomitras* are said to be of Kányakubja, or Sárasvata origin, and to be Ṛig-védís. They are found at A'mbají Mátá, south-east of Mount A'bu.

(37.) *Shrí-Gauḍas.*

The *Shrí-Gauḍas* in Gujarát are a body isolated from the Shrí-Gauḍas of the East of India. They are principally found in the Khéḍa and Ahmadábád zillahs and in Bombay. Most of them are followers of the new Vaiṣhṇava sect of Svámi Náráyaṇa.

(38.) *Gurjara-Gauḍas.*

The *Gurjara-Gauḍas* get their denomination either from their acting as priests of the Gurjara tribe, or from their having been isolated from the other Gauḍas because of their residence in Gujarát, in which many of them are found, as well as in the different provinces of Ráj-putáṇá and Málwá. Both Ṛig-védís and Yajur-védís are to be found among them. Some of them are denominated *Séválas*, and some *Upádhyas.*

(39.) *The Karéḍas.*

The *Karéḍas* or *Karéṭhas* are an off-set of the Maráthá Karháḍa Bráhmans, said to be found in the I'dar Pargaṇá.

(40.) *The Váyaḍas.*

The *Váyaḍas* are the Gurus of the *Váyaḍá* Váṇyás, said to be originally from the island of Beṭ. They are not very numerous, but are found in the Khéḍá and Ahmadábád zilla and in Bombay and other towns. They are mostly of the Black Yajur-Véda. Ṛig-védís and Atharva-védís are also said to be among them.

(41-43.) *The Mévádás.*

The *Mévádás* properly belong to the province of Meváḍ in Rajputáṇá. The following offsets from them, forming distinct castes, are, however, found in Gujarát.

(41.) The *Bhaṭa-Mévádas*, who profess the four Védas, especially the Sáma and Yajush, and who are principally found in the Khéḍa zillah and Khambát.

(42.) The *Trívádí Mevádas* are also found in the Khedá Collectorate, particularly at Naḍyáḍ, Kapadwanj, and Ḍákor, but though not very numerous they are widely scattered. They are mendicants principally, and profess the four Védas. Some of them I have found, acting as grocers and tobacconists in the Maráṭhá country, south of Puṇá.

(43.) The *Chorásí Mévádás*, who are also principally mendicants, are found in the Khéḍa zillah and the territories of the Gáíkawáḍ. They profess all the Védas, particularly the Yajush and Sáma.

(44.) *The Dráviḍas.*

The *Dráviḍas* stand in all the Gujarát lists ; but I have heard of none of them in that province who are now isolated from their brethren in the south of India. Travelling Dráviḍas frequently visit Gujarát.

(45-46.) *The Désháválas.*

The *Désháválas* receive their name from *désha* a country, and have some pretensions to be, par excellence, the Bráhmans of the country of Gujarát. They are principally found, however, in the Khéḍá zillah. Those of them who reside at Surat form a distinct caste of their own, named *Deshávála Bráhman Suratí*. They profess all the Védas but the Atharvan. They are, probably an ancient caste.

(47-48.) *The Ráyakaválas.*

The *Ráyakaválas* are now divided into the following non-intercommuning castes :—

(47.) The *Nánas* or *Navas*, the Little-ones or New-ones.

(48.) The *Moṭhas* or *Junas*, the Great-ones or Old-ones. They are found not only in Gujarát (especially in the Khéḍa zillah) but in Kachha, where they act as gurus to His Highness the Ráo. They are said to be Yajur-Védís.

(49.) *The Roḍhavālas.*

The *Roḍhavālas* are found in the Mahíkánta and in the neighbourhood of Vánkanír, and are principally cultivators and mendicants. A few of them are merchants and servants. Not long ago they were supposed to be inclined to act occasionally as freebooters. A few of them were at Banáras in 1823.

(50-53.) *The Kheḍávālas.*

The *Kheḍávālas* receive their designation from the ancient town of *Khéḍá* (Kaira). They have the following divisions :—

(50.) *The Kheḍaváḷa Bájas.*
(51.) *The Kheḍaváḷa Bhitaras.*
(52.) *The Khéḍava Bájas.*
(53.) *The Khéḍava Bhitaras.*

The Bájas eat with Bájas, and the Bhitaras with Bhitaras, of both kinds. They embrace professors of the four Védas, particularly of the Yajush. They are principally found in their original habitat.

(54.) *The Sindhuválas*, or *Sindhava Sárasvatas.*

The only Bráhmans of Sindh federation known in Gujarát are the *Sindhava Sárasvatas.* Káṭhiawáḍ is their principal habitat. They are also found in Kachha. They are the priests of the Loháṇá and Bhaṇasálí merchants, with whom they do not scruple to eat. In Gujarát they abstain from animal food, though their brethren in Sindh freely indulge in it. They wisely permit the remarriage of widows. They profess the White Yajur-Véda.

(55.) *The Padmiválas.*

The *Padmiválas* are now little known in Gujarát, in which even the origin of their name does not seem to be known. Perhaps it has a reference to the *padma*, or lotus-flower sacred to Vishṇu. Some of them are said to be found in Málvá, especially at Ujjayin.

(56.) *The Gomativálas.*

The *Gomativálas* are said by some to get their name because of their alleged descent from Gotama Ṛishi, and by others from Gomatí,

the name of several rivers in different provinces. They are mendicants, found in the I'dar districts, and are mostly Yajur-Védís.

(57.) *The I'ṭávála s.*

The I'ṭávála s, though still on the Gujarat lists, appear to have entirely or nearly entirely disappeared from the country.

(58.) *The Méḍatavála s.*

The original consociation of the *Méḍatavála s* took place at Méḍat in the Jodhpur State. Offsets from them are found in Gujarát as the "*Shri-Gauḍa Bráhman Meratavála Suratí*," found in Mr. Borrodaile's Surat Census List.*

(59.) *The Gayavála s.*

The *Gayavála s* are an offset from the Mendicant Bráhmans of Gaya. They are Yajur-Védís, and are found in the Khéḍa zillah, in the villages of Adás and Naḍyád.

(60.) *The Agastyavála s.*

The *Agastyavála s* derive their name from the Rishi Agasti. They are said to be Yajur-Védís, found at Nimaḍí and Vadaván in Káthiawáḍ, and at Ahmadábád and Dholká.

(67.) *The Prétavála s.*

The *Prétavála s* are also Yajur-Védís found in Káṭhiawáḍ, They are now cultivators.

(68.) *The Yájnikvála s.*

The *Yajnikvála s* are Ṛig-Védís and Yajur-Védís. Surat and the neighbourhood of A'bu are mentioned as places of their residence.

(69.) *The Ghoḍavála s.*

The *Ghoḍavála s* are said to be from Márwáḍ, and to act as priests to Shrávaks, or Jaina laymen.

(70.) *The Puḍavála s.*

The *Puḍavála s* also act as priests to Jainas, though they profess the Sáma and Yajur-Védas.

(71.) *The Unévála s.*

The *Unévála s*, though professing the four Védas, particularly the Yajur-Véda, are principally cultivators and mendicants. They are said to be found at Vaṭádara, Khambhát, and Surat.

* Jnáti-nibandha, p. 111.

(72.) *The Rajavalas.*

The *Rajavalas* are found in the Khéḍa zilla, particularly at Kapaḍwanj. They profess the Yajur-Véda.

(73.) *The Kanojiyas.*

The *Kanojiyas* are an offset from the Kányakubjyas of the East, who do not, however, eat with them. Some of them are in Bombay. They belong to the Pan̈cha-Gauḍa, as do the three castes which follow:—

(74.) *The Sarvariyas.*

The *Sarvariyas* get their name from the ancient rivet Saryu. They are of the Kauthamí Shákhá of the Sáma-Véda, and of the sect of Svámi Náráyaṇa, who belonged to their caste. They are found at Vartál in the Khéḍa zillah.

(75.) *The Kanḍoliyas.*

The *Kanḍoliyas* are named from the town of Kanḍol in the Máhíkántá agency. They act as cooks to Thákurs, and as family priests to Kapola and Soraṭhiya Banyas. They are worshippers of Dévі́-Samudrí. They profess the White Yajur-Véda. It is said in the Kanḍol Puráṇa that 18,000 of them wore the Brahmanical thread.

(76.) *The Kharkhéliyas.*

The *Kharkhéliyas* are sometimes called Pardéshís of Meváḍ, and may have come from that province. With the three last mentioned castes, they are sometimes denominated Kápola Nágaras.

(77.) *The Parvaliyas.*

The *Parvaliyas* (perhaps the name should be written *Purvaliyas*) are a class of eastern Bráhmans said to have of late years disappeared from Gujarát.

(78.) *The Soraṭhiyas.*

The *Soraṭhiyas* are of *Soraṭh,* the ancient Sauráshtra. Their principal habitat is the Junágaḍh territories. They profess the Sáma and Yajur-Védas.

(79.) *The Tangamoḍiyas.*

The *Tangamoḍiyas* are Bráhmans of dubious position, perhaps on account of the liberties which they have taken when in straits for a livelihood.

(80.) *The Sanoḍhyas.*

The *Sanoḍhyas* are an offset from the Gauḍa caste of the *Sanoḍhyas*, abundant in Central India and the Rajput States.

(81.) *The Motálas.*

The *Motálas* derive their name from the town of Motá, eighteen miles south-east of Surat. They are found in various places of that zillah, as at Saras and Ulpáḍ, and also in Bombay. They are principally Yajur-Vedís; but some Ṛig-Védis are found among them. They act as clerks, Shástrís, Joshís, and mendicants. Their most learned man is Bháskar Bhaṭṭa of Motá.

(82.) *The Járolas.*

The *Járolas*, or more properly the *Jhálora s*, are said to derive their name from Jhálor, south of Udayapur in Rajputáṇa. They are generally Yajur-Vedís.

(83.) *The Ráyapulas.*

The *Ráyapulas* are said to derive their name from Rayapur, a suburb of Ahmadábád.

(84.) *The Kapilas.*

The *Kapilas* are named from the sage Kapila, and profess to belong to his gotra. They are worshippers of Dévi, and are principally Sáma-Védís. They are found in the Surat and Bharoch zillas, particularly Jambusar.

(85.) *The Akshayamangalas.*

The *Akshayamangalas*, the "Indestructible Puritans," are found at Pálanpur, and Palí, and Bhinmál in Marwaḍ.

(86.) *The Gugalís.*

The *Gugalís* are said to derive their name from *Gokula*, sacred to Kṛishṇa. They are the Pujárís of this god at Beṭ, Dváriká, and Ḍakor; and numbers of them are in Bombay, servants of the Vallabhácháryas, of whom they are enthusiastic supporters. They are not much respected by other Bráhmans.

(87.) *The Nápalas.*

The *Nápalas* get their name from the village of *Nápa* near Borsad. They are cultivators, and famous for their raising tobacco. They are now comparatively few in number.

(88.) *The Anávalas or Bhátélas.*

The *Anávalas* are named from the village of *Anával*, near Wásdá, about forty miles from Surat. They are called *Bhátélas* from their raising of rice. Sometimes they are called *Mastánas* (quasi *Mahásthání*, of great territory), a name applied to cultivating Bráhmans in many parts of India. They are settled between the rivers Kim (south of Bharoch) and the Daman-Gangá (South of Daman).* The late well-known and amiable Desáí of Gandaví was a great ornament of their community.† They are principally cultivators and dealers in country produce, though some of them act as Government servants and mercantile assistants.

(89-98.) *The Shrímálís.*

The *Shrímálís* derive their designation from the town of *Shrímál*, now called *Bhinmál*, lying to the N. W. of A'bu and intermediate between that mountain and the river Loṇí. Their first representatives are said to have been collected by a local prince from no fewer than forty-five of the most sacred places of the north, west, south, and east of India; but to the traditions to this effect little importance is to be ascribed. The A'ryan physiognomy is perhaps more distinctly marked in them than in any other class of Bráhmans in India; and this indicates but little mixture of blood connected with them since

* The Dunga, I think, of Ptolemy.

† In one of my missionary journals (under date the 26th December 1834), I find the following note of interviews with this gentleman at his own residence: "In the morning I had very large congregations in the bázár. On returning from it, I was invited to visit the Désáí, which I accordingly did. He proved very affable and kind, and what was of more consequence, very desirous of hearing the Gospel. When I was leaving him, he urged me to renew my visit, which accordingly, along with Dr. Smyttan, I did. We found him candid and intelligent, but quite a native in his manners, mode of living, etc. He spoke several languages, and was very desirous to hear all that could be said respecting his own and other religions.........This Sirdár has an income of about a lákh-and-a-half rupees per annum. He is the Chief of the Bhátéla Bráhmans, who are nothing but agriculturists, with the adhikár (authority) of reading the Védas, and performing all priestly acts, which, they say, they obtained from Ráma Chandra on his journey to Lanká. I would infer from the situation they hold, that they proved rather refractory when Hindúism was originally propagated in this province, and that they obtained their peculiar privileges as a bribe to obedience," Whether they are cultivators, or proprietors of the soil, raised to the Bráhmanhood, or Bráhmans who have become cultivators, it is of course difficult to say. Their A'ryan form is not so marked as that of the generality of Bráhmans. Perhaps they are a mixed race.

their first settlement in India, either by their forming connexions with Shúdras as their fourth wives according to the ancient permission of the Hindu Shástras, or with other Bráhmans into whose families an effusion of Shúdra blood had in this way been made by the adoption (also of old permitted by the Shástras) of the mixed issue into the Bráhman caste. In fact they do not appear to differ much from the type of some of the European nations, especially of those who have claims to Roman descent. Their costume is generally of a simple but not unbecoming character. Their turbans are on the whole of a graceful form, though not so large as those of many of the other natives of India. On their brows they wear the sectarial marks of the Vaiṣhṇavas, Viṣhṇu being their favourite deity. The Shrímálís are now scattered not only through several of the provinces of Rájputáṇá, but through Gujarát and Kachha, Central India, the countries bordering on the Indus, and the island of Bombay, at a single locality of which (Válukeshwar) about 300 of them took up their abode in the rains of 1865. In consequence of this dispersion of their body (in some cases existing for several centuries) they have been broken up into several distinct castes, most of which now neither eat nor intermarry with one another. Among these may be mentioned (89) the *Marwáḍí Shrímálí*, (90) the *Meváḍí Shrímálí* (not indisposed to marry with one another), (91) the *Kachhí Shrímálí*, (92) the *Káṭhiaváḍí Shrímálí*, (93) the *Gujarátí Shrímdlí*, (subdivided again into the *Ahmadábádí Shrímálí*, (94) the *Suratí Shrímálí*, (95) the *Ghoghárí Shrímálí*, (96) the *Khambátí Shrímálí*, etc.) who do not intermarry with the others. They are also divided into two castes, founded on the Védas which they profess, (97)—the *Yajurvédí* (White and Black), and (98) the *Sámavédí* of the Kauthumí Shákhá. In the former there are seven Gotras, or lines of family lineage—the Gautama, Sháṇḍilya, the Chandrás, Lauḍaván. Mauḍalas (or Mauḍala) Kapinjalas (or Kapichalas). In the latter there are also seven Gotras, the Shaunakas, Bháradváj, Paráshara, Kaushikas, Vatsas, Aupamanyava and Káshyapa. Most of all their classes are either mendicants or officiating priests, though secular service appears to be on the increase among them. They act as gurus and ceremonial Bráhmans

* The Yajurvédí Shrímális say that they belong to the Mardaní Shákhá. Is *Mardaná* with them a corruption of Mádhyandina?

to the Shrímálí, Porával, and Paṭolya, and Urvála Ványás (merchants) and Sonís or goldsmiths; and about 5,000 of them, now apart from their brethren, act as gurus to the Osválas, a class of mercantile Jainas, and are called (87) *Osvála Bráhmans*. A favourite Kuladéví, or family goddess, among them is that of Mahalakshmí, the spouse of Vishṇu, a celebrated image of whom was transferred from Bhinmál to Anhilpur, or Pattan in the times of the Gujarát Kings. The celebrated Sanskrit poet Mágha, who is said to have lived in the times of Bhoja Rájá, belonged to their fraternity. Their greatest living ornament is Dalpatarám Daya, the Kavirój, or poet laureate of Gujarát, who is also distinguished for his historical research, and sincere aims at social reform. This stirring author and singer supposes that there are 5,000 Shrímálí houses in Kachha and Káthiáwáḍ; 5,000 in Gujárát; and 35,000 in Márwáḍ, and Méwáḍ, exclusive of 50 of impure birth called (88) *Daskorí* near Ahmadábád, 1,500 of them being in Jodhpur (the capital of Márwáḍ) alone.* Captain Boileau gives the number of Shrímálí and Dahimá Bráhmans at Jodhpur in 1835 at 1,000 houses and 5,000 of population.† The Shrímális, overlooking geographical boundaries, claim connexion with the Drávidas.

(99-107.) *The Modhas.*

The *Moḍha Bráhmans* receive their name from the village of *Modháṇá*, near Siddhapura. They are fabled to have received this village as a Krishṇárpana on the occasion of the marriage of Ráma to Sita! They are subdivided into several distinct castes, which neither eat nor intermarry with one another.

(99.) The *Trivédí Moḍhas* receive their designation from their professing the third, or Sama-véda, or from their professing three of the Védas. Shivarám of Sarkhej (near Ahmadábád) one of their number, who flourished about two hundred years ago, was distinguished for his learning, and composed several works illustrative of the ceremonial of the Sáma-véda, as the Subodhaní, Shánti-Chíntámaṇí, etc.

(100.) The *Chátur-védí Moḍhas* receive their designation from their professing the fourth or Atharva-véda, or any one of the four Védas.

* Jnatí-nibandha, pp. 46-47.

† Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rájwárá, pp. 237-38.

From these two classes of Moḍhas have sprung the following additional castes:—

(101.) The *Agihaṇa* (query *A'giasána*, or *A'gyarakshana?**) *Moḍhas.*

(102.) The *Trípála Moḍhas.*

(103.) The *Khíjadíya Sañváná Moḍhas.*

(104.) The *Ekádashádhra Moḍhas.*

(105.) The *Tándulotha Moḍhas*, and *Utanjaliya Moḍhas.*

(106.) The *Jéthímala Moḍhas*, and *Cháturvédí Dhinoja Moḍhas.*

(107.) *The Dhinoja Moḍhas.*

Besides these castes of Moḍhas there are various provincial associations of Moḍhas forming other distinct castes in the matter of food and intermarriage.†

The Moḍhas reckon themselves Drávidas. They are now found principally in the Ahmadábád and Khéda zillahs; but are widely scattered in other districts, coming as far as Bombay, following the Moḍha Banyas, to whom they act as Gurus. The Sáma-Védís are the most numerous among them. Considerable numbers of them are idlers and unscrupulous mendicants.

(108.) *The Válmikas.*

The *Válmikas* take their name from the Ṛishi Valmika. They are found in the Kheḍá, Khambhát, and I'dar districts. A few of them were at Banáras in 1823. Professors are found among them, it is said, of the four Védas. They are Bhikshukas and cultivators. They profess to be strict observers of caste.

(109.) *The Náradikas.*

The *Náradikas* (so named from the sage Nárada) are located in Khambhát, and its neighbourhood. A few of them were at Banáras in 1823. They profess the Sáma and Black Yajur-Védas. They are cultivators, mendicants and servants. They are not a numerous body of Bráhmans.

(110.) *The Kalingas.*

The *Kalingas* are a division of the Pancha-Gauḍa Bráhmans, now principally settled at Kalingapatan on the southern coast of Orissa,

* Fire-keepers. See Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii. p. 490.

† Jnáti-nibandha of Dalpatrám Dayá, pp. 54-56.

who will be onwards mentioned. They have certainly now no recognizable settled offsets in Gujarát, whatever they may have had in the time of the Gujarát princes of Anhílapur. Individuals of the original stock may still be visitors or pilgrims in Gujarát.

(111.) *The Tilingas.*

The *Tilingas* are the same as the Tailangas already mentioned.* Their settled offsets in Gujarát are now extinct, though individual Bráhmans of the Tailanga country visit the principal places of Hindu pilgrimage in Gujarát as Siddhapur, Dváraká, Pattan Somnáth, Ḍakor, &c.

(112.) *The Bhárgavas.*

The *Bhárgavas* derive their designation from *Bhárgava*, the adjective form of *Bhṛigu*, the name of one of the ancient Ṛishis. Their chief habitat is the district of Bharoch, which must have got its name from a colony of the school of Bhṛigu having been early established in this *Kshétra*, probably granted to them by some conqueror of the district. In the name *Barygaza* given to it by Ptolemy,† we have a Greek corruption of *Bhṛigukshétra*, (the territory of Bhṛigu) or *Bhṛigukachha* (the tongueland of Bhṛigu). Speaking of the Bhárgavas Dr. Drummond,‡ in his Grammatical Illustrations, says :—"These Bráhmans are indeed poor and ignorant. Many of them, and other illiterate Gujarátís, would in attempting to articulate *Bhṛigukshétra*, lose the half in coalescence, and call it *Barygacha*, whence the Greeks, having no *ch*, wrote it Barygaza." The Bhárgavas are certainly rising under the British government. One of them, Kiṣhandás Jogaldás, was reckoned the best pleader in the Saddar Adálat at Bombay in 1830. He took an active part in the public discussions held in the Scotch Mission-house that year, in which he certainly showed more truthfulness and honesty than some of the other advocates of Hinduism.§ These discussions were renewed with me by the Bhárgavas in Bharoch in January 1835. On that occasion they quoted the Védas without scruple, and candidly admitted that the Gáyatrí is addressed simply

* See above, pp. 50-55.

† He denominates it Βαρυγάζα ἐμπόριον, and speaks of it as on the Namad (Narmadá) river. Ptol. Geo. lib. vii. Ed. Bertii. p. 203.

‡ Drummond's Glossary appended to Illustrations of the Mar., Guj., and Eng. Languages.

§ See Oriental Christian Spectator, vol. i. p. 186.

to the sun, without a resort to any of the usual far-fetched Vedántist deductions. They are of the Mádhyandina Sháhkhá of the White Yajur-Véda.

(113.) *The Málavís or Málavikas.*

This is a name which has arisen from the province of *Málwá*, of which Sir John Malcolm says, "There is perhaps no part of India where the tribes of Bráhmans are so various, and their numbers so great, as in Central India."* Many of the Gujarátí Bráhmans of different castes have settled in Málwá, and many of the Málwá Brahmans in Gujarát. There is, nevertheless, a caste of Bráhmans called Málavís, par excellence, some of whom have entered Gujarát.

(114.) *The Nanduáṇas.*

The *Nanduáṇas* or *Nandaváṇás* are named from the village of *Nandaváṇa*, in Márwár; but an offset of them is said to be found in a village near Bharoch. They are said to be principally Yajurvédís.†

(115.) *The Bharatháṇas.*

The *Bharatháṇas* are also named after their village in Márwár. An offset from them is found on the banks of the Narmadá above Bharoch.

(116.) *The Pushkaraṇas.*

The *Pushkaraṇas*, or *Pokharaṇas*, derive their name from the Puṣhkara, or Pokhar Lake, near A'jmír.‡ They are scattered over all the Rájputáṇá states, and the neighbouring provinces. "The Pokharṇa Bráhmans," says Dr. Irvine, "are said to have been Béldárs who dug out Puṣhkar lake, and in consequence were created Bráhmans.

* Memoir of Central India, vol. ii. p. 124.

† See under Pallivális, in advance.

‡ "Puṣhkar," says Colonel Tod, "is the most sacred lake in India; that of Manusarovar in Thibet may alone compete with it in this respect. It is placed in the centre of the valley, which here becomes wider, and affords abundant space for the numerous shrines and cenotaphs with which the hopes and fears of the virtuous and the wicked amongst the magnates of India have studded its margin. It is surrounded by sand-hills of considerable magnitude, excepting on the east, where a swamp extends to the very base of the mountains. The form of the lake may be called an irregular ellipse. Around its margin, except towards the marshy outlet, is a display of varied architecture. Every Hindu family of rank has its niche here for the purposes of devotional pursuits when they could abstract themselves from mundane affairs. The most conspicuous are those erected by Rájá Mán of Jayapur, Ahilya Báí, the Holkar Queen, Jowahir Mal of Bhartpur, and Biji Singh of Márwár. The

They still worship the Kodhalí or pickaxe at the Dasará; they are most numerous at Pokharṇ in Márwár."* Buying and selling are now their main concern; and they are much employed by the Márwáḍí merchants. Some of them are settled in the Kheḍá zilla in Gujarát; and some of them visit Bombay.

(117.) *The Sárasvatas.*

Sárasvata is a generic name of one of the Pancha-Gauḍa classes, to be afterwards noticed. There are two castes of them in Gujarát, the *Soraṭhíya Sárasvatas*, and the *Sindhava-Sárasvatas* (already noticed).† They are principally found in Kathiawáḍ, though they are widely scattered and extend even to Bombay. They profess the White Yajur-véda. The Soraṭhíyas are the priests of the Khatrís (remnants of the Kshatriyas) and the Parájya goldsmiths; and the Sindhavas (as already said) of the Loháṇás, and Bhaṇasálís. Some of them are schoolmasters. But few of them engage in secular employment. The two castes don't eat together, or intermarry with one another; though the Sindhavas (as formerly noticed) eat with Loháṇás and Bhaṇasalís. Neither of the castes uses animal food in Gujarát, though the Sindh Sárasvatas do so in their own country. They are both Smárttas. The Soraṭhíya Sárasvatas don't eat with the Sárasvatas of other provinces. Some of them are settled in Rájputáṇá.‡

cenotaphs are also numerous. The ashes of Jaya Appa, who was assassinated at Nágor, are superbly covered; as are those of his brother Santají, who was killed during the siege of that place. By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Brimha (Brahma), erected about four years ago, by a private individual, if we may so designate Gokul Pák, the minister of Sindya; it cost the sum of 1,30,000 rupees (about £15,000) though all the materials were at hand, and labour could be had for almost nothing. This is the sole tabernacle to the ONE GOD which I ever saw or have heard of in India. The statue is quadrifrons; and what struck me as not a little curious was that the *sikra*, or pinnacle of the temple, is surmounted by a cross." Tod's Rajasthán, vol. ii pp. 773-74. The shrine here referred to did not appear to me, when I visited it in 1860 with my kind friend Dr. Small, to be of the costly character here indicated. It is dedicated not to Brahma, the fountain of deity in the Védántic sense; but to Brahmá, the consociate of Vishṇu and Shiva. There is one other temple devoted to Brahmá in the Panjáb. Very few Pokharṇa Brahmans are now found at Pokhar. The temples are in charge of Bráhmans of other castes, except that of Brahmá, which is cared for by devotees.

* Topography of Ajmere, p. 90.

† See p. 105, above.

‡ Information of Náráyaṇa Rámachandra Bhaṭṭa.

(118.) *The Khadáyatas.*

The *Khadáyatas* get their name from the town of Khadát, on the banks of the Vátrak in the Khéḍa Collectorate, in which they are still found, as well as in the Ahmádábad and Bharoch zillahs. They are principally Ṛigvédís and Yajurvédís, and act as priests and gurus.

(119.) *The Márus.*

The *Márus* derive their name from *Máru* or *Márwáḍ* (the region of death, from its great deserts); but there are not now many Bráhmans in Gujarát who go under this general designation. A few are mentioned by the Rev. J. V. S. Taylor as being at Khéḍá.

(120.) *The Dáhimas.*

The *Dáhimas* get their name from the tribe of Rajputs so-called (to be afterwards noticed), with which they are associated. The offset of them in Gujarát is known by its wandering propensities. They belong to the A'di-Gauḍa, and are Yajurvédís.

(121.) *The Chovíshas.*

The *Chovíshas* are of high pretensions, of the "twenty-fourth grade" in dignity. They are divided into *Moṭas* and *Nhánás* "Great ones," and "Small ones." They are found at Baroda, and at Sinor and Janor near the Narmadá. They profess the Sáma, Black Yajur, and Ṛig-Védas.

(122.) *The Jámbus.*

The *Jámbus* are the Bráhmans of the town of *Jambusara* in the Bharoch Collectorate near the Gulf of Cambay. Priestly fraternities seem to have existed at this place in early times; for, according to Dr. Burn's Copperplate Grants, translated by Professor Dowson,* the villages and grounds, in certain measurements, of Pariyachasa and Shirísha Padraka, and of Jambusara itself, were granted by Chálukya and Gurjjara princes in Samvatsara 380, 385 and 394, (A. D. 322, 328, and 337). The Bráhmans of these fraternities (whose gotras are mentioned) are said to be of the Káṇva, A'shvaláyana, Kauthuma, and Pippaláda Shákhás, to which I believe their local successors still more or less belong. These Bráhmans are now principally astrologers, mendicants, or cultivators. A very bad character has been given of them by Surgeon Thomas Marshall in his excellent statistical

* Journ. of R. A. S., New Series, vol. i. p. 268-283.

report of the Jambusar Parganá; but his evidence has been mitigated by the not less excellent "Memoir of the Zillah of Baroche," by Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams, from which the following is a quotation, referring not only to the Jámbu but other Bráhmans of this part of Gujarát:—"Bráhmans of different sects are found in this collectorate, as Patéls, Bhágdárs, and cultivators; performing, like other cultivators, the manual labour of tilling the ground. The villages where this is the case indicate, perhaps, in general, inferior management; and it is, there is reason to believe, more difficult to preserve the rights of Government unencroached upon, where the Patéls and Bhágdárs are Bráhmans, than in other villages. These Bráhmans differ little or nothing in dress and appearance from their brother husbandmen of the country; they are sunburned and rugged, and exhibit not the sleek skin or pampered person, which many people associate with the word 'Bráhman,' in the notion that they are all of the sacerdotal order. A large proportion of the Bráhmans of Gujarát are métahs, writers, revenue officers, désáís, etc.; they are, indeed, an highly useful race of people in this quarter. It is rare to see any of them engaged in a military life, although there are instances of it. In a paper of Mr. Marshall, which I have only very lately seen, and which is, I believe, likely to be published in the transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, the very worst character is given to this caste; and I think it but fair to say, that my experience does not at all corroborate the statement."*

(122.) *The Maréṭhas*† *or Maháráṣhṭras.*

There are numerous *Maráṭhá* Bráhmans resident in Gujarát, especially since the establishment of the Gaikawáḍ Government at Baroda; but they are all now in social and religious fellowship with the respective castes in the country from which they take their name.

(123.) *The Dadhíchas.*

The *Dadhíchas* take their name from one of the Ṛishis. They beg, cultivate land, or act as Gurus. They are found at Valávad on the Mahí. Speaking of them, the Nápalas, and others already mentioned, the Rev. Mr. Taylor thus writes to me: "Many of the castes are numerically insignificant. In such there is a tendency to dwindle away. This is the case with the Nápalas, and I think also with the Dadhíchas."

* Colonel Monier Williams, p. 96.

† So, often thus pronounced and written in Gujarát.

(124.) *The Laláṭas.*

The *Laláṭas* are said by some to be in Kachha, near Lakhpat; but I did not recognize any of them in that locality, when I visited it with Dr. Duff in 1840. By others, but their opinion is probably incorrect, they are said to be denominated from the ancient province of *Láṭa*, located by Ptolemy (under the name of *Lariká*) near the Narmada and Baragaza.*

In lists of the Eighty-four Castes presented to me in 1841 by the Darbár of Rájkoṭ, and by a learned Bráhman of the same place, the following castes, not inserted in other tables, occur:—

(125.) *The Vatulas.*

The *Vatulas* are said to belong to the neighbourhood of Amrélí in Káṭhíawáḍ.

(126.) *The Borsidhas.*

The *Borsidhas*, who profess the White Yajur-Veda, are named from their ancestor *Varahsiddhaḥ*, of whom the Rev. J. V. S. Taylor, of Borsad, thus writes to me:—

"He founded a settlement in these parts which was named after him, and is now corrupted into *Borsad*. They say this was about Samvat 712, when this part of the country was cleared of jungle, and settled by Varahsiddha and several other Siddhas, who have left their names in other places ending with *sad*." Some of the neighbours of these Borsad Bráhmans don't assent to this dignified account of their origin, but say they were originally only Rabáḍís, or camel herdsmen. Perhaps this belief may have originated in their having married sometime or other, women of that caste. I am not able to make an adjudication between the parties in this case.

(126.) *The Golaválas.*

The *Golaválas* perhaps correspond with the *Golás* of other districts, as being of mixed origin. Some would make them *Gohilaválas*, from an alleged connexion with the Gohil Rajputs. I have been told that they are found at Bárya in the Khedá zillah, and, as stragglers, in Khándesh.

* Ptol. Geo. ib. vii. Bert. p. 203. The few natives, who know anything of *Láṭa*, place it farther to the East, as in the Dasha-Kumára Charitra. From *Láṭa*, the *Láḍ*Ványas receive their designation.

(127.) *The Prayágaválas.*

The *Prayágaválas* are from the junction of the Gangá and Yamuná. I have known of the designation in Gujarát merely as applied to Bráhmans who have become wandering devotees and solicitors for the Prayága pilgrimage.

(128.) *The Náyakaválas.*

The *Náyakaválas* may have got their designation from officiating for Kolí Náyaks. They are found near Dváriká.

(129.) The *Utkalas.*

The *Utkalas* are the Bráhmans of Orisá. An offset of them is said to be found at Déhagaum, north of Ahmadábád. They act as gurus to cultivators, and have not a high standing in their neighbourhood.

(129.) *The Palliválas.*

The *Palliváła* Bráhmans receive their name from the town of Pálí, the commercial capital of Márwáḍ in Rajputáná. They have twelve gotras. My informant was a Sáma-Védí.* They are shráfs, merchants, and cultivators, but serve only in their own caste. They don't eat or intermarry with other Bráhmans. They are found in Jodhpur, Bhikanír, and Jaisalmír, and some others of the Rajput states. A few of them are at Dilli, Agra, and in the Panjáb, Gujarát, and Mewáḍ. Only one or two of them are in Bombay. They are Smártas, and don't use animal food. They don't drink the water of the houses of their own daughters, or any persons not belonging to their own castes. They don't eat with those of their own caste, who have got isolated from them as with the Gurjas and Mewáḍ Paliválas. They belong to the Kányakubja division of the Bráhmans. "The Nandaváṇá and Palliválа Bráhmans are traders; were formerly located at Nandavaṇa and Pálí, and were there chiefly robbers, conducting their excursions on horseback. They subsequently became traders. They are said still to worship a bridle on the Dasará, in memory of their former state."† They are scattered through the north of India as Bohras, or middlemen between the cultivators and Government."

(130.) *The Máthuras.*

The *Máthuras*, or *Mathulas*, are named from the city of *Mathurá*. I have not been able to hear anything satisfactory respecting their location in Gujarát.

* Chunilál Bastaráma.

† Irvine's Topography of Ajmer.

(131.) *The Maithilas.*

The *Maithilas*, or Bráhmans of *Mithilá*, are now only known in Gujarát as visitors from the East of India.

(132.) *The Kulabhas.*

This is a name obviously given to a certain class of Bráhmans not born in lawful wedlock.

(133.) *The Beduás.*

The *Beduás* get their name (or nickname?) from *Bedu*, a waterpot.

(134.) *The Ravavālas.*

The *Ravavālas* (*Ravālas ?*) are said to get their names from a village named Ravá. They are found at Naḍyád and other places in the Khéḍa collectorate.

(135.) *The Dashaharas.*

The *Dashaharas* are said to be found near Anhilwáḍá Paṭan. They are worshippers of Dévī.

(136.) *The Karnáṭikas.*

The *Karnáṭikas* are now known in Gujarát only as visitors from the Kanarese country.

(137.) *The Talájíyas.*

The *Talájíyas* get their name from the ancient town of *Talájá*, lying on the coast of the peninsula of Gujarát, to the south-west of Ghoghá.* They are principally Yajur-vedís of the Mádhyandina Shákhá. They are now found at Jambusar, Surat, Bombay and Násik. Many of them are shopkeepers.

(138.) *The Párāshariyas.*

The *Párāshariyas* are named from the sage Paráshara. They are said to be found in the south-east of Káṭhiáwaḍ, and in the Jodhpur State.

(139.) *The A'bhíras.*

The *A'bhíras* are of Rajput origin. They have got their name, as already mentioned, from their acting as priests to A'bhíras, now popularly called *A'hirs*.†

* There are Buddhist caves in the neighbourhood of these towns, first brought to my notice by H. Young, Esq., and the Rev. James Wallace. See Journ. of B. B. R. A. S. 1850.

† See before p. 26.

(140.) *The Kuṇḍus.*

Of the *Kuṇḍus* I have not been able to hear anything. The word *Kuṇḍuṅ* in Gujarátí means either a vessel, or an ornament of the ear.

(141.) *The Hiraṇyajíyas.*

The *Hiraṇyajíyas* seem now unknown in Gujarát, though they are said to be found in Rájputáṇá and at Banáras.

(142.) *The Mástánas.*

The *Mástánas* (*Mahásthání?*) are cultivators like the Bhátélas.* I found great numbers of them at Siddhapura, the religious capital of Gujarát, in 1859. They have abandoned Bráhmanical rites, if indeed they ever practised them.

(143). *The Sthitishas.*

Of these so-called Bráhmans nothing certain can now be heard.

The following additional castes are named in a list of the "eighty-four" furnished to Dr. Drummond by Bhavánishankar of Bharoch :—

(144) *Prédataválas;* (145) *Rámpuras*, of the village of Rámpur, now found in the Parganá of Ḍákor, and professing the Sáma Véda ; (146) *Jílas;* (147) *Tilotyas*, said to be found at Umrá in the Khéḍa zillah; (148) *Durmalas;* (149) *Kodavas*, belonging to the village of *Koda*, near Cambay; (150) *Hanushunas* (query, *Andushí?*) said to be found near Cambay; (151) *Shévaḍás*, a class of *Rájgurus* (to be afterwards noticed), who occupy themselves not only in the usual services of the *Rájgors*, but perform literary and priestly labour for the Jainas; (152) *Titragas;* (153) *Basuládas(?);* (154) *Magmaryas ;* (155) *Ráyathalas;* and (156) *Chapílas*, some of whom were at Surat in 1827. Of these Bráhmans, it will be noticed, little is now known.

Of the following castes of Gujarát Bráhmans I have heard, though I have not found their names in any of the lists usually circulated.

(157.) *The Báradás.*

The *Báradás* are the ancient Bráhmans of the province of *Baradá*, now possessed by the Jaitva Ráṇá of Porbandar.

* See before p. 109.

(158.) *The Bhukaníyas.*

The *Bhukaníyas* are said to be in Káthiáwáḍ.

(159.) *The Garoḍas.*

The *Garoḍas* are the priests of the Antyaja Dhéḍs, with whom they eat, but don't intermarry. They look like Bráhmans, and speak Gujarátí.

(160.) *The Tapodanas.*

The *Tapodana* Bráhmans are found on the banks of the Táptí near Surat. Most of them are cultivators; and many of them act as Pujárís of the temples of Shiva, the offerings at which, contrary to general usage, they accept. They have consequently not the respect of the local Bráhmanhood. They are much in the position of the Gaurava Pujárís of the Maráṭhá Country.

The *Rájgurus*, *Bháṭṭas*, and *Cháraṇas* will be noticed in connexion with Rájputáṇá.

Speaking of the Gurjjara Bráhmans in general, my observant friend the Rev. J. Van S. Taylor writes as follows: —"Many of the castes are numerically insignificant. In such there is a tendency to dwindle away. This is the case with the *Nápalas*, and I think also with the *Dadhíchas*. Frequent intermarriage, producing physical deterioration, especially when the blood is poisoned by disease, is one cause of this. Another cause is the non-marriage of widows. Widows are at once a loss to the population and their own caste. But Brahmaṇís sometimes become feeders to other castes. Many Rajputs, Kolis, Kulambís, and Musalmans (I know of one case, even of a Bhangí,) get Bráhmanic widows as either their second or secondary wives!"

"From the same cause *Bháṙava* or *Bháravada* castes spring up. These are the progeny of mixtures between persons of different Bráhmanical castes. They are strictly out-castes, and sometimes are numerous enough to form a little community among themselves.

But there is a great temptation on the part of the small castes to smuggle in *Bháravas*, the children of their own caste widows. The *Nágaras* are said to do this more than the others. Their desire to maintain their provincial strength is given as the reason. Natural affection and natural resistance to the unnatural restrictions of caste may also have their share in inducing to this course.

"Bráhmans in these parts do not give in to the pretensions of the [Vallabhácháryа] Mahárájas. They consider themselves superior to the Mahárajas, who are only the gurus of the Bháṭyas, etc. But Sachora Bráḥmans act as cooks to the Mahárájas, that is to their attendants. The Mahárájas do their own cooking."

In the early days of the A'ryas both in continental and peninsular Gujarát, and in the days of the Hindu kings of Anhilávádá Pattan, the Chávaḍas (or Sauras), the Solankís (or Chálukyas), and the Vághélas,—the Bráhmans must have had great political influence, though it must have been considerably impaired when Kumárapála (of the Solankís) and some of his successors became professors and supporters of the Jaina faith.

The long-maintained connection (both friendly and hostile) of Rájputána and Central India with Gujarát explains the introduction into Gujarát of various classes of Bráhmans from those provinces. That connection, now, is principally of a mercantile character. The mercantile classes of Gujarát, in modern times, do more for the Bráhmans than the Rájás or Chiefs who are still in power in the districts to which they belong. Considerable numbers of Gurjjara Bráhmans now seem inclined to become the rivals of the Váṇyas in trade.

(II.)—The Five Gauḍas.

The Pancha-Gauḍas, or Five Classes of Northern Bráhmans, are, from a Hindu point of view, more corrupted, broken, and scattered than the Pancha-Dráviḍas, or Five Classes of Southern Bráhmans. The deterioration of the more remote of them (as viewed from a Bráhmanical point of view) occurred, as we have seen in early times.* That deterioration, in whatever it may have originated, must have been much increased, not only by the great wars of the Páṇḍavas and Kauravas, and of the Solar and Lunar Races, carried on between the A'ryan tribes, but by the numerous invasions from the exterior of India by Scythians, Persians, Greeks, Parthians, Bactrians, Indo-Scythians, Shakas, Huṇas, Arabs, Tartars, Moghals, and other peoples and tribes; not to speak of the rise and development of Buddhism, and the interior military and political contests of later times. In treating of the Pancha-Gauḍas, consequently, we cannot so distinctively refer to them geographically as we have been able to do in the case of the Pancha-Dráviḍas.

(1.) *The Sárasvata Bráhmans.*

The Sárasvata Bráhmans receive their name from the river Sárasvatí which belongs to the north-western system of rivers, though it loses itself in the sands of the deserts north of Rájputáṇá.† The A'ryas reached

* See vol. i. pp. 261-2, in which the Sauvíras and the people of the Panchanada are held up to shame as well as those dwelling beyond the Indus.

† Referring to the Sárasvatí, (under the barbarous name of Caggar, which it bears on our olden maps, as noticed by Prof. H. H. Wilson in V. Puráṇa, p. 181), Colonel Tod says: "the Caggar, which rises in the Siválik, passes Hansí Hissár, and flowed under the walls of

its banks, and settled on them, even in Védic times. "The Sárasvata," it is correctly remarked by Colebrooke, "was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Sárasvatí. Bráhmans, who are still distinguished by the name of their nation, inhabit chiefly the Panjáb or Panchanada, west of the river from which they take their appellation. Their original language may have once prevailed through the southern and western parts of Hindustán proper, and is probably the idiom to which the name Prákṛit is generally appropriated. This has been more cultivated than any other among the dialects which will be here enumerated [in the paper on the Sanskrit and Prákṛit languages], and it occupies a principal place in the dialogue of most dramas. Many beautiful poems composed wholly in this language, or intermixed with stanzas of pure Sanskṛit, have perpetuated the memory of it, though it may have long ceased to be a vernacular tongue. Grammars have been compiled for the purpose of teaching this language and its prosody, and several treatises of rhetoric have been written to illustrate its beauties."* It is certainly no longer spoken as it is found in books; and the Sárasvata Bráhmans form the only class of natives of India now

Bhatnér, at which place they have yet their wells in its bed" (Rájasthán, vol. ii. p. 295). The river which passes Hansí and Hissár is not the Sarasvatí but its associated river the Dṛiṣhadvatí, forming with it the boundary of the Brahmavarta of Manu (ii. 17). The Sarasvatí is the Sarsutí near Thánésar (Stháneshvar). Vasiṣhṭha devotes to it two hymns, in the Fifth Aṣhṭaka of the Ṛig-Véda. Its disappearance [in the sands] is noticed in the Mahabhárata, and attributed to its approach to the [non-A'ryan] Nishádas. See vol. i. p. 251 of this work. See on the agreement of the Zend word Haraquaiti with Sarasvatí, India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 23.

* Asiatic Transactions, vol. vii. pp. 218-19.

distinctly recognized as connected with the Sárasvata nation. They are found, not only in the Pánjáb and Sindh, where they abound, but in Rajputáṇá, Gujarát, the North West Provinces, and even, as we have seen, throughout the southern provinces of India.*

(A.) The PANJAB and the adjoining territories form at present the principal habitat of the Sárasvatas.

For the following list of them I am indebted to Pandit Rádhá Kṛishṇa, who is so favourably known for his zealous and effective efforts for the advancement of female education. He most kindly prepared it for me, after no little trouble and research, on his learning my need of such a reliable document from Sir Donald F. McLeod, the present energetic and philanthropic Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb. I have added to it a few notes, some of which are on his own authority.

"I submit," says the learned Pandit, "a list of the different sections of the Sársut (Sárasvata) Bráhmans. The total number, as far as I have been able to collect it, after consultation with a good many Bráhmans, is 469. A complete and accurate list can only be prepared from the records and registers of the Páṇḍas† of Hardwár, Thánesar, and Mathurá. These contain the genealogies of every family of note, any member of which has visited the holy places within the last three or four centuries. I have compared my list with the books of two Páṇḍas of Hardwár who had lately come here (to Láhor). It will be observed that a large number of the sects have derived their names from those of the localities in which their ancestors had settled or from the nicknames given to

* See pp. 29-30, 65 above.

† Panderers for pilgrims, who wander about extolling the Hindu Tírthas.

individuals.* In a book named the Bhaktamálá,† written by Nábhájí about 400 years ago, the name of Náráyaṇadás Navalé, one of my ancestors, is mentioned. I cannot find mention of any other sect of Sárasvata Bráhmans in any other book."

"There are four great classes of Sárasvata Bráhmans in the Panjáb, according to locality as shown in the list." In this province they occupy the highest place in the Bráhmanhood.

Connected with these classes, Rádhá Kishan makes the two following general observations, which quite agree with information which I have received from other quarters. 1. "As a general rule Bráhmans of one class do not intermarry with those of another. But when they settle in different districts for a long time, they are compelled to contract marriages with those around them, and in course of time become intermixed with them. 2. Tribes having numerical values marry their daughters among themselves, but they take the daughters of lower classes in marriage."

(1.) Sárasvata Bráhmans of the districts of *Láhor*, *Amṛitsar*, *Baṭálá*, *Gurdáspur*, *Jalandar*, *Multán*, *Jhang*, and *Sháhpur*.‡

(*High Caste.*)

1 Navalé.§	4 Sarvalíyé.	6 Tikhé.
2 Chuní.	5 Paṇḍit.‖	7 Jhingaṇ.
3 Rávaḍé.		8 Kumaḍíyé.¶

* Some of them, it will also be seen, are named from their ancient gotras.

† Of this work a lithographed edition was published a few years ago in Bombay. Manuscripts of it are abundant among the Maráṭhas.

‡ The names in the lists occur in the plural.

§ Panjátí, or of the numerical value of five, from the classes with whom they intermarry.

‖ In the districts of Multán, Jhang, and Sháhpur the tribe of Lamb is included instead of Chuní.

¶ To the Kumaḍiyé belonged the Rájá Sáheb Dayál, celebrated in the service of the Sikh Government.

9 Jétlé.
10 Mohlé or Molé.*

11 Tikhé-A'ṇḍé.
12 Jhingaṇ-Pingaṇ.
13 Jétlí-Pétlí.
14 Kumaḍíyé-Lumaḍíyé
15 Mohlé-Bohlé.†

16 Bagé.
17 Kapúríyé.
18 Bhaṭúríyé.
19 Málíyé.
20 Kálíyé.‡

20½ Sánda.

21 Páṭhak.
22 Kural.
23 Bháradwájí.
24 Joshí.
25 Shorí.
26 Tiwáḍí.
27 Marúḍ.§

28 Datta.
29 Mujhál.
30 Chhibar.
31 Bálí.
32 Mohana.
33 Lava.
34 Vaidya.
35 Prabhákar.‖

36 Sháme-Potré.
37 Bhoja-Potré.
38 Singhé-Potré.
39 Vatté-Potré.
40 Dhannan-Potré.¶
41 Druvaḍé.
42 Gaindhar.
43 Takht Laladí.
44 Sháma Dásí.
45 Sétpal (or Shétpál)
46 Pushrat.
47 Bháradvájí.**
48 Káṭpálé.
49 Ghotké.
50 Pukarṇé. ††

(Lower Classes.)

51 Tiḍḍí.
52 Shrídhara.
53 Vináyaka.
54 Majjú.
55 Khindaríyé.
56 Harad.
57 Prabhákar.‡‡

58 Vásudéva.

59 Paráshara.
60 Mohana.
61 Panjan.
62 Tivára.
63 Kapála.
64 Bhárkharí.
65 Soḍhí.

66 Kaijar.

67 Sangad.
68 Bháradvájí.§§
69 Nágé.
70 Makávar.
71 Vaṣhiṣhṭha.‖‖
72 Dangaval.
73 Jálap.
74 Tripáṇé.
75 Bhárathé.

* Panjátí.—The tribe of Pambu was formerly one of these five, but owing to some quarrels they were excluded, and the Mohlé were admitted in their stead.

† Panjátí.—"These five are descended from those immediately preceding, to whom however they are considered a little inferior."

‡ Panjátí.

§ Aṣhṭa Vanshi or of the numerical value of eight.

‖ The Prabhákar served as soldiers, and were styled Khán during the Muhammadan rule. They never received charitable gifts like other Bráhmans.

¶ Potré is from Putra, a son.

** Different from that at No. 23.

†† From No. 36 to 50 are purohits of the Arorá (Vaishya) caste.

‡‡ Different from that at No. 35. To some lists the *Puríyé* are added.

§§ Different from those numbered 23 to 47.

‖‖ So named from their Gotra.

76 Hánsalé.
77 Gangáhar.
78 Jotashí.
79 Rikhí (or Ṛishí).
80 Manḍár.
81 Brahmí.
82 Téjpál.
83 Pál.
84 Rupál.
85 Lakhanpál.
86 Ratanpál.
87 Shétpál.
88 Bhinḍé.
89 Dhamí.
90 Chanan.
91 Randéha.
92 Bhúta.
93 Ratí.
94 Kundi.
95 Hasadhír.
96 Punj.
97 Sandhí.
98 Báhoyé.
99 Viraḍ.
100 Kaland.
101 Súran.
102 Súdan.
103 Ojhé.
104 Bramha-Sukul.
105 Haríyé.
106 Gajésu.
107 Bhaṇot.
108 Tinúní.
109 Jallí.
110 Tolé.
111 Jálap.
112 Chitchoṭ.*
113 Pádhé or Pandhé.
114 Marúḍ.
115 Laladíyé.
116 Toté.
117 Kusarit.
118 Ramtál.
119 Kapálé.
120 Masodaré.
121 Ratníyé.
122 Chandan.
123 Churávan.
124 Mandahar.
125 Madharé.
126 Airé.
127 Lakarphár.
128 Kunḍ.
129 Kardam.
130 Dhandé.
131 Sahajpál.
132 Pabhí.
133 Ratí.
134 Jaitké.
135 Didriyé.
136 Bhaṭaré.
137 Kalí.
138 Jálpot.
139 Maitra.
140 Sankhatré.
141 Ludra.
142 Vyása.
143 Paltu.
144 Kirár.
145 Pujé.
146 Isar.
147 Laṭṭu.
148 Dhámí.
149 Kalhan.
150 Madarkhamb.
151 Dabésar.
152 Sáliváhan.
153 Dhanḍé.
154 Maruḍ.
155 Batúré.
156 Jotí.
157 Soyarí.
158 Téjpál.
159 Kuralpál.
160 Kalas.
161 Jalap.
162 Tinmaṇí.
163 Tangaṇívaté.
164 Jálpot.
165 Pattu.
166 Jasrava.
167 Jayachand.
168 Saṇwal.
169 Agnihotri.
170 Agraphakka.
171 Ruthadé.
172 Bhájí.
173 Kuchhí.
174 Sailí.
175 Bhambí.
176 Médu.
177 Méhaḍ.
178 Yamyé.
179 Sangar.
180 Sáng.
181 Náhar.
182 Ghakpálíyé.
183 Bijráya.
184 Nárad.
185 Kuṭwál.
186 Koṭpál.
187 Nábh.
188 Nád.
189 Parénjé.

* Purohits of the Rájás of Nábhá, Patiálá, Jind and Kaithál.

190 Khétí.	201 Karddam.	212 Láhad.
191 A'rí.	202 Jhamàṇ.	213 Ṭád.
192 Chavhé.	203 Rángaḍé.	214 Káyí.
193 Bibḍé.	204 Bhog.	215 Ludh.
194 Bandú.	205 Paṇḍé.	216 Gándar.
195 Machh.	206 Ganḍé.	217 Mahé.
196 Sundar.	207 Paṇṭé.	218 Sailí.
197 Káraḍagé.	208 Gándhé.	219 Bhágí.
198 Chhibbé.	209 Dhíndé.	220 Pándé.
199 Saddí.	210 Tagálé.	221 Pipar.
200 Tallaṇ.	211 Dagálé.	222 Jaṭhré.

(2.) Sárasvata Bráhmans of *Kángaḍá* and the adjacent Hill Country.

(High Caste.)

1 Osdí.	5 Nága.	9 Panchkarṇ.
2 Paṇḍit Kashmírí.	6 Dikshit.	10 Ráiṇé.
3 Sotri.	7 Misrí Kashmírí.	11 Kuruḍu.
4 Védvé.	8 Madihátu.	12 A'cháríyé.*

(Lower Classes.)

13 Chithu.	21 Maité	28 Chhutwan.
14 Panyálu.	22 Prot (Purohita) Jadṭotrotíyé.	29 Bhanwál.
15 Ḍumbu.		30 Rambé.
16 Ḍehaídu.	23 Vishṭ Prot.	31 Mangrúḍiyé.
17 Rukhé.	24 Pádhé Saroj.	32 Khurvadh.
18 Pambar.	25 Pádhé Khajuré.	33 Galvaḍh.
19 Gutré.	26 Pádhé Mahité.	34 Ḍángmár.
20 Dyábhuḍu.	27 Khajuré.	35 Chaliválé.

(3.) Sárasvata Bráhmans of *Dattárpur*, *Hoshyárpur*, and the Adjacent Country.

(High Caste.)

1 Dogré.	4 Lakhanpál.	7 Pádhé Dadíyé.
2 Sarmáyí.	5 Pádhé Dholbálvaiyé.	8 Pádhé Khindaḍíyé.
3 Dubé.	6 Pádhé Ghohasníyé.	9 Khajuríyé.

* "A Katoch Rájá, one of the ancestors of Sansár Chand, had, it is said, a quarrel with the Bráhmans of his own country. He therefore caused the above twelve sects to settle in his dominions, and highly honored them. They do not partake of the food prepared by other Bráhmans." [Some of them, it appears, are of Kashmír origin.]

The Osdí are subdivided into the Chandyál, Kaphuriálál and Chiṭu.

The Nága are subdivided into Pundarik, Khaḍapé, and Goslé.

(Lower Classes.)

10 Kapáhatiyé.
11 Bharadhíyál.
12 Chaprohíyé.
13 Makaḍé.
14 Kutallaiḍíyé.
15 Sárad.
16 Dagaḍu.
17 Vantaḍé.
18 Muchlé.
19 Samṇol.
20 Dhosé.
21 Bhaṭol.
22 Rajohaḍ.
23 Thaník.
24 Panyál.
25 Chibbé.
26 Maḍoté.
27 Misar.
28 Chhakotar.
29 Jalréíyé.
30 Láhad.
31 Sél.
32 Bhasúl.
33 Paṇḍit.
34 Changhial.
35 Laṭh.
36 Sanḍ.
37 Laí.
38 Gadottaré.
39 Chirṇol.
40 Báḍhlé.
41 Shrídhar.
42 Patḍu.
43 Juwál.
44 Maité.
45 Káklíyé.
46 Ṭák.
47 Jhol.
48 Bhaḍoé.
49 Ṭándí.
50 Jhummutiyár.
51 Ál.
52 Miraṭ.
53 Mukátí.
54 Dalohallíé.
55 Bhatohayé.
56 Tyáháyé.
57 Bhataré.

(4.) Sárasvata Bráhmans of *Jammu*, *Jasroṭa*, and the neighbouring Hill Country.

(High Castes.)

1 Amgotré.
2 Thappé.
3 Dubé.
4 Sapolíyé Pádhé.
5 Badíyál.
6 Késar.
7 Nádh.
8 Khajuré Prahot.
9 Jamval Paṇḍit.
10 Vaidya.
10½ Lat.
11 Lava.
12 Chibar.
13 Balíyé.
14 Mohan.
15 Bambhaval.

(Middle Castes.)

16 Raiṇé.
17 Saṭotré.
18 Kaṭotré.
19 Lalotré.*
20 Bhangotré.
21 Samnotré.
22 Káshmírí Paṇḍit.
23 Pandhotré.
24 Vilhánoch.
25 Baḍu.
26 Kérnáyé Pandit.
27 Banal Pádhé.
28 Mahité.
29 Sudhralíyé.
30 Bhatiaḍ.
31 Puroch.
32 Adhotré.
33 Mishra.
34 Paráshara.
35 Bavagotré.
36 Mansotré.
37 Sudáṭhiyé.

* "Jallá Pandit was of this class."

(Lower Classes.)

38 Sudan.

39 Sukhé.

40 Bhúré.

41 Chandan.

42 Jalọtré.

43 Nabhotré.

44 Khaḍotré.

45 Sagḍol.

46 Bhúríyé.

47 Baganáchhál.

48 Rajulíyé.

49 Sángḍé.

50 Munḍé.

51 Surnachál.

52 Láḍhaṇjan.

53 Jakhotré.

54 Lakhanpál.

55 Gauḍa Purohita.

56 Shashgotré.

57 Khaṇotré.

58 Garoch.

59 Marotré.

60 Upadhé.

61 Khindhaíyé Pádhé.

62 Kalándarí.

63 Jaraḍ.

64 Uḍihal.

65 Ghoḍé.

66 Basnotré.

67 Barát.

68 Chargáṭ.

69 Lavaṇthé.

70 Bharangoḷ.

71 Jaranghál.

72 Guhalíyé.

73 Dhariaucha.

74 Pindhaḍ.

75 Rajúníyé.

76 Baḍakulíyé.

77 Sirkhanḍíyé.

78 Tirpáḍ.

79 Bálli.

80 Salúrn.

81 Ratanpál.

82 Banotré.

83 Yantradhárí.

84 Ḍaḍorich.

85 Bhaloch.

86 Chhachhíálé.

87 Jhangotré.

88 Magḍol.

89 Phaunphaṇ.

90 Saroch.

91 Guḍḍé.

92 Kirlé.

93 Mansotré.

94 Thamnotré.

95 Thanmath.

96 Bramíyé.

97 Kundan.

98 Gokulíyé Gosain.

99 Chakotré.

100 Bargotré.

101 Dhamáníyé.

102 Kavḍé.

103 Magdiyalíyé.

104 Máthar.

105 Mahijíyé.

106 Thakuré Purohita

107 Galhal.

108 Cham.

109 Roḍ.

110 Labhotré.

111 Reḍathíyé.

112 Patal.

113 Kamaníyé.

114 Gandhargál.

115 Prithvipál.

116 Madhotré.

117 Kambo.

118 Sarmáyí.

119 Bachhal.

120 Makhotré.

121 Jaḍ.

122 Baṭiáliyé.

123 Kuḍidab.

124 Jambé.

125 Karanáthiyé.

126 Suthaḍé.

127 Sigáḍ.

128 Garáḍiyé.

129 Machhar.

130 Baghotré.

131 Sainhasan.

132 Utriyál.

133 Suhandíyé.

134 Jhindhaḍ.

135 Baṭṭal.

136 Bhainkharé.

137 Bisgotré.

138 Jhalu.

139 Dabb.

140 Bhúta.

141 Kaṭhiálu.

142 Budhár.

143 Paláḍhu.

144 Jakhotré.

145 Paṇgé.

146 Solhé.

147 Ságuṇiyé.

148 Saṇhoch.

149 Duhál.
150 Bando.
151 Kánungo.
152 Jhávdu.
153 Jhápháḍu.
154 Kalíyé.
155 Khaphaṇkho.

In these lists I have followed the manuscripts (Roman and Nágarí) of Rádhá Krishṇa, comparing them sometimes with my own less copious lists. For some of my lists I have been indebted, through Sir Donald McLeod, to Navin Chandra, a promising and amiable Paṇdit from Bengal.

The lists given above, there is reason to believe, are nearly complete. I have found it impossible to keep separate in them all the marriage caste associations of the Sárasvatas of the Panjáb. Some of these, like those of the commencement of the lists, consist only of parties connected with five family designations, a circumstance which, however gratifying to the pride of their castes, must be very inconvenient in a social point of view. The *Nágas*, for purposes of intermarriage, are said to number twelve families, and the *Dabé* even fifty-two. Though in these cases there is a wider latitude, the restriction of choice which exists is to be regretted.

There are some classes of Bráhmans, of equivocal standing among the Sárasvatas of the Panjáb, which, with the exception of the *Dattas*, are not included in the preceding lists.

(1.) Among these are the *Bhojakas*, worshippers of Déví, who are most numerous at Jválámukhí (where streams of natural gas are kept ignited). Respecting them Rádhá Krishṇa says: "It must be stated that the other Bráhmans of Jválámukhí do not recognize them as Bráhmans, but say they are descended from a servile class of agriculturists, who from their own connexion with the temples have declared themselves Bráhmans." Possibly the degradation of these Bhojakas may have originated in the possession by their ancestors of the Jválámukhí temples when they were connected with Buddhism.*

* On the Jválámukhí temples and the connexion of some of them with Buddhism, see the interesting and instructive "Travels in Kashmír and the Panjáb" of the Baron Charles Hügel (Col. Jervis's translation), pp. 42-47.

(2.) Another class of the character referred to is that of the "*Moyals*, or *Mavalas*, said to derive their name from a place called *Mava*, now desolate. They are extensively scattered over the Panjáb, especially near Amṛitsar. They are expensive in their marriage habits, and were suspected of female infanticide.* The fears of the practice of this great atrocity are not confined to them. "The suspicion of female infanticide," says the Pandit Rádhá Kiṣhan, "is not confined to the Moyals. Though much has been done by the Government to put a stop to this most heinous social crime, yet the cause which mainly leads to it (i. e. the high expenses of marriage) has not yet ceased to operate.†"

(3.) With the Sárasvata Bráhmans of the Panjáb have been associated many immigrant Brahmans from Kashmír, as partly appears from the preceding lists. Among these immigrant *Káshmírí* Brahmans, was the celebrated Rájá Dinanáth Diwán, the Talleyrand of the Panjáb, and his brother-in-law Paṇḍit Shankarnáth.‡

(4.) The *Tagé* Bráhmans of the Panjáb are generally cultivators. They belong to the Gauḍa division of the Bráhmanhood. They care little about religious rites of any kind. Yet, as if compensating for their indifference in this matter, they profess to abstain from flesh and fish, in which Gauḍa as well as Sárasvata Bráhmans freely indulge. They take widows as concubines. They are found principally on the banks of the Sárasvatí, near Thánésar.

(5.) *Huseiní Bráhmans*, who have partially conformed to Muhammadanism, are here and there found wandering about the Panjáb. Since I wrote the notice of them (under the Bráhmans of the Maháráṣhtra, § I have begun to suspect that their origin may have been connected with the Bráhman to whom the Muhámmadan founder of the Bahmaní dynasty of the Dakhan was so much indebted.

(6.) The *Datta Bráhmans* employ themselves in agriculture and serve as soldiers. They are widely scattered.

(7.) The *Dagvanta Bráhmans* are religious mendicants calling themselves Bráhmans and abstaining from animal food.

(8.) The *Áchárja Bráhmans* perform funeral rates, and are consequently considered impure.‖

* Cave Brown's Indian Infanticide, p. 125.

† Notes forwarded to the author.

‡ Griffin's Panjáb Chiefs, p. 253. Diván Ajodhya Prasád was also from Kashmír; but judging from his name, he probably belonged to the Kányakubja Bráhmanhood.

§ See above p. 29.

‖ Notes on Panjáb Photographs.

The Sárasvatas of the Panjáb have no diversity in regard to their Vaidik profession. They all belong to the Mádhyandína Shákhá of the Shukla Yajurvéda. Hindu sectarianism, however, is apparent among them, though not to the extent that it is in Southern and Western India. The most learned man connected with them is the philanthropical Pandit Rádhá Kishan, to whom I have been so much indebted in connexion with these notes. Writing of him, Mr. Griffin says: " Rádhá Kishan resides at Lahore, where he is much respected. His exertions in the cause of education have been great. He was one of the first to advocate female education, and when the American Mission opened an English School at Lahore, the sons of Pandit Rádhá Kishan were among the first scholars. In the same way he sent one of his sons to study at the Lahore Medical College, when it was first opened, and when the prejudices of the Natives against it were very strong. The Pandit is distinguished as a Sanskrit scholar, and is well versed in Hindu law."* He was chosen by His Highness Ranjit Singh to be the tutor of the young prince Dalip Singh; but an instructional course different from what he would have observed (even though liberality would in all probability have been its characteristic) was destined for that ingenuous and clever youth. The Bible when read to him, even by a Hindu, excited his attention and interest; and illustrated, as it was, by the Christian example of Sir John Login and others around him, was brought home to his heart in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. The embracement of

* Panjáb Chiefs, p. 263. In the context Mr Griffin gives an interesting account of the family of the Pandit.

Christianity, in its simplicity and purity, was the consequence.*

The Sárasvata Bráhmans of the Panjáb are in regard to secular industry very unlike their brethren of the same denomination in Southern India. Many of them are Purohitas,† or family priests. Great numbers of them are said to be rapacious mendicants and astrologers. Their character in these respects is noticed by Sir Alexander Burnes, the Baron Hügel, and other travellers in the Land of the Five Rivers. Under the British Government, with a wide diffusion of education, and with the extension of Christian influence by missionary effort, it is improving. The Bráhmans will doubtless largely avail themselves of the advantages of the University of Lahore, when it is established. Extensive reformation in social as well as in religious, intellectual, and spiritual life will probably soon appear among them.

The Hill Bráhmans (including those of Simla) devote themselves to agriculture and even the carriage of burdens. They freely use animal food. The Bráhmans of the plains neither eat nor intermarry with them. Many of them have lost all knowledge of their nominal Shákhá.

(B.) The Sárasvatas are the principal Bráhmans of SINDH as well as of the Panjáb. They are there divided into the following classes:—

(1.) The *Shríkáras*, or as they are called by some *Shikárpuris*, who are Vaishnavas of the Vallabhácharya sect. Only a single individual of their number is said to abstain from eating animal

* For an interesting account of the conversion of H. H. the Mahárájá Dulip Singh, see a most interesting work entitled "The Martyred Missionaries" (published at New York), by the Rev. Mr. Walsh, of the American Presbyterian Mission.

† Notes on Panjab Photographs sent to Government.

food, and from eating, too, at the hands of Banyá (mercantile) constituents.

(2.) The *Báris*, or *Barovis*, who are also Vaishṇavas of the same sect; they, too, freely use animal food.

(3.) The *Rávanajáhîs*, who are Sháktas, or worshippers of the female energies, particularly of the consort of Shiva, known among them by her usual names, and especially by that of Sínhaváhiní (or rider of the lion used here for the tiger.)* They drink liquor as well as eat flesh.

(4.) The *Shétapálas*, so named from their engaging in cultivation, are partly Vaishnavas, using animal food, but abstaining from liquor, and partly Sháktas, taking liquor as well as flesh. They furnish water to Banyás, merchants or shopkeepers.

(5.) The *Kuvachandas* resemble the Musalmáns in their habits, although they do not eat from their hands.

All these classes of Sárasvatas are Shukla Yajur-Védís. In using animal food they abstain from that of the cow and tame fowls; but eat sheep, goats, deer, wild birds of most species, and fish, killed for them by others. They also eat onions and other vegetables forbidden in the Smṛitis. They are generally inattentive to sectarian marks. They dress like the Hindu merchants and Amíns of Sindh, though using white turbans. They shave the crown of their heads, but have two tufts of hair above their ears. Their physiognomy is supposed by some to be not so distinctly of the A'ryan type as that of other Bráhmans. They are partial to the Gurmukhí written character used in the Panjáb.† They are the priests of the mercantile Lohánás, or Lowáṇás, and according to the late Captain James MacMurdo,

* Captain Burton informs us that most of the Tírthas in Sindh, as Hinglaj, the Máklí hills near Thaṭhá, and Dhara near Sehwán, are sacred to this goddess. Bombay Selections on Sindh, p. 649.

† See Burton, in Bombay Sindh Selections, p. 649.

to whom we are indebted for our first notices of them, "differ little from the people of that caste." "They have many small pagodas dedicated to the worship of the ocean, or rather the river Indus, for a pot of fresh water is indispensable in the ceremonies of worship."* Their fees are derived principally from their services at the marriages, births, and deaths of their followers. Though they obviously make light of many of the institutes of Hinduism (for which they are not to be blamed), they are partial to popular astrology, as far as easy prognostication is concerned. They pretend to know where articles lost are to be found. They are often household visitors, desiring to share in the family meals. They officiate at births, marriages, deaths, and shráddhas. They also cultivate land, and sometimes act as petty shopkeepers.

(6.) Associated with the Sárasvatas in Sindh are the *Pokharṇa Bráhmans.* Of them Captain MacMurdo correctly says: "The Pokharṇa Bráhmans are the original priests of the Bhátyás, and are somewhat more Hindu in reality than the Sársut, although still inferior in that respect to their Indian disciples." Captain Burton thus writes of them: "They eat no flesh, and wear the turban, not the Sindh cap; they shave their beards, and dress very like the common traders, or Saukárs. The Pokharṇo considers himself superior to the Sársudh, as the latter will eat from his hand; moreover, the Pokharno generally can read, if not understand Sanskrit, and is skilled in drawing out the Janmapatrís or horoscopes of children, &c. His knowledge of astrology is, however, very confined. Few of this caste learn Persian, or undertake business of any kind, public or private. The Pokharṇo takes the affix *Dás*, *Rám*, *Chand*, *Ráy*, *Mal*, *Jí*, and *Misra*, before or after his name; as Misra Sukhdévají, Táro Misra. They live by instructing the Hindus in their Dharma or religious duties, by deciding

* MacMurdo, in Journal of the R. As. Soc. vol. 1 p. 248.

horary questions, writing out the Tripno, or astrological aspect of a man's fortunes, and other such impositions. They are much respected by their inferiors in caste, and even by those who profess the Sikh faith. To the sanctity of their name and origin, they add the prestige of a tolerably strict life, never drink spirits, and never marry out of their own caste."* Their turbans, though small, resemble those of the Dakhaní Bráhmans. Their physiognomy is distinctively of the A'ryan type. They form only about one-twentieth of the Hindu population in Sindh. They do not enter into the service of Government.

Considerable numbers of Bráhmans (including Sárasvatas) are found in the wilds intermediate between Sindh and Rajputáná. "The doctrines of Manu, with them," says Colonel Tod, "go for as much as they are worth in the desert, where 'they are a law unto themselves.' They wear the *Janu* (*Jánaví*) or badge of their tribe; but it here ceases to be a mark of clerical distinction, as no drones are respected; they cultivate, tend cattle, and barter their superfluous ghí for other necessaries...They do not touch fish (?), or touch tobacco, but will eat food dressed by the hands of a *málí* (gardener) or even a *nái* (barber); nor do they use the *chauká* or fire-place, reckoned indispensable in more civilized regions."† As the caste system was fully developed, at Hástinapura, Indraprastha, Ayodhyá, and other places to the south-east of the primitive settlements of the Sárasvatas, they were perhaps never so much its generators and dupes as their Bráhmanical brethren in other parts of India. What appears to the Hindu eye to be corruption in them may all along have only been both primitive simplicity and liberty.

* Burton in Bombay Sindh Selections, p. 648. Krishna Shástrí Godbolé.

† Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 321.

(2.) *The Káshmírí Bráhmans.*

The Bráhmans of Kashmíra are so much isolated from other Bráhmans and so peculiar in their position and circumstances that they require to be separately noticed.

The valley of Kashmíra in which they are found, though remote and surrounded by mountains except at the emergence of the Jhélum, must in ancient times have been brought under the influence of the immigrant A'ryas, if indeed some of them did not early enter it from the highlands lying to its north. The Kashmíras are mentioned as a people in the Rámáyaṇa and the Mahábhárata.* The earliest legends of Kashmíra are associated with the Prajápati Kashyapa, ("the son of Marichi the son of Bráhmá") to whom is attributed the draining of its great lake ; and some Bráhmans claiming descent from that Ṛishi may have been among the first of its A'ryan settlers. Professor Wilson is inclined to the idea that it was the native seat of the Páṇḍavas celebrated in the Hindu epic poetry.† After being for a lengthened time under a series of Tartar Kings, it came under the sovereignty of the Hindu prince Gonardda, or Gonanda, said to have been a relation of Jarasandha of Maghada, and to have joined him in his opposition to Kṛishṇa. If there is any truth in this allegation, Brahmanical influence must have then been at work in the province, which must afterwards have been sustained by other Hindu kings. Ashoka, mentioned as one of the kings, if the Ashoka of Indian history and his authority extended to Kashmíra, must have been favorable to the intro-

* See before (for Ramáyana) vol. 1. pp. 228, and the Digvijaya of the Sabháparva of the Mahábhárata.

† Essay on the History of Kashmir in As. Res., vol. xv. p. 11.

duction of Buddhism into that province. Jalauka, the son and successor of Ashoka, was a prince of great prowess: he overcame the Bauddha heretics, and subdued the country of Kanauj. "The conquest of Kanyakubja by this prince," says Professor Wilson, "is connected with an event not improbable in itself, and which possibly marks the introduction of the Bráhmanical creed, in its more perfect form into this kingdom. Jaloka is said to have adopted thence the distinction of castes, and the practices which were at that time established in the neighbouring districts."* Turushka, or Tartar, princes again came into power in Kashmír. Abhimanya, a Hindu king, followed, who by the aid of the Grammarian Chandra, a professed descendant of Kashyapa, re-established Bráhmanism according to the Níla Purána, said to be a great authority with the Káshmírís. His successors also opposed Buddhism. One of them (Mahirakula), however, who had carried his arms to the south of India and Lanká, was favourable to the low Gandhára Bráhmans. Ultimately, he revoked his grants to these Bráhmans, and invited those of A'ryadésha to come to the country. His example in this respect was followed by Aksha, one of his successors, who "removed those Bráhmans who had adopted impure practices from their endowments, and invited others from distant places to replace them."† After a long interval, King Pratápáditya founded a college for the residence of Rauhitya Bráhmans.‡ Liláditya conquered Kanauj, the kingdom of Gauda, and the Karnáta and Western India, and must have extensively brought the

* Ut supra, p. 20.

† H. H. Wilson, ut supra, p. 30.

‡ Ibid p. 43.

Brahmanhood into connection with Kashmír. Afterwards Jayápíḍa "invited scholars from foreign countries, and so many flocked to him as to occasion a dearth of Paṇḍits everywhere except in Kashmír." Intoxicated by riches he afterwards became their persecutor.* His successors were patrons of vice and perished. Avanti Varma, of a new dynasty, then came into power, and he and his Yuvarája favoured the Bráhmans, and erected and endowed temples. After much civil discord during several reigns the mother of Abhimanya founded the towns of Kankapur and Diddapur for the Saura and Láṭa Bráhmans (of Middle India). In the view of these notices extending over many hundred years, which are universally supposed to have a considerable amount of truth in them, it may be safely inferred that the present Bráhmans of Kashmír are of mixed descent. Colebrooke says: "There is reason for doubting whether Kashmíra be occupied by a distinct nation or whether the inhabitants of it be not rather a tribe of Kányakubjas†" "The Káshmírí," says Pandit Rádhá Kishan, "are not Sárasvata Bráhmans. They follow the *Laugákshi* Sútra and the *Kaṭha* Shåkha of the Ṛig-Veda (Black Yajur-Veda.)"‡

It was in the reign of Sultán Sikandar, it is said, that the inhabitants of Kashmír generally embraced the Muhammadan religion,§ though it had Muhammadan chiefs before this ruler came into power, A.D. 1386, about

* Ibid pp. 55-59.

† Asiatic Res. vol. 7 (8vo) p. 226.

‡ MS. forwarded by Sir D. F. McLeod.

§ Bland's Account of the Atish Kedah, in Journ. of R. A. S. Vol. vii. p. 370.

200 years before it was annexed to the Moghal empire under Akbár.* Muhammadanism continues predominant there to the present day notwithstanding the Sikh influence introduced into it by Ranjit Singh. It is a curious fact that the portion of its population still adhering to Hinduism is almost entirely Bráhmanical. Of the origin of this population Paṇḍit Rádhá Kishan thus writes:—"It is related that when the Muhammadans had converted, or put to the sword all the inhabitants of the valley, only eleven families remained true to their religion. These imported Agnihotri Bráhmans of the Dráviḍa country with whom they intermarried as being of the same origin. Had the Káshmírí been of the Sárasvatas or Gauḍas, their Véda or Shákhá would have been one of the latter. The descendants of these eleven families are called *Málmáshí*, while those of the Drávida settlers are called *Bhanmáshí*. Some Káshmírí Bráhmans were obliged by the persecutions of the Musalmans to come down to Jammu, Kashtavar, and other low hills, where they were settled and intermarried with the Sárasvata Brahmans, and in process of time became intermingled with them."†

Mr. George Campbell, in his interesting, though rapid, sketch of the Ethnology of India, thus writes of Kashmíra and its Bráhmans :—

"Kashmír is a Bráhman country. The lower classes have long been converted to Muhammadanism, but they seem to be ethnologically identical with the Bráhmans, and tradition also asserts that they are of the same race. At the present day no other Hindu caste save the Bráhman is known,‡ nor is there is any trace (so far as I could find)

* See Prinsep's useful Tables by Thomas p. 247.

† MS. of Pandit Rádhá Kishan.

[‡ I have seen Káshmírís, alleged to be of the olden stock of the province, who called themselves Kshatriyas.]

that there ever was any other in the country. The Bráhman population is numerous, but it would seem as if, while the illiterate multitude adopted the religion of the ruling power, the better educated and superior class maintained their own tenets; and at this day the Bráhmans (or Pandits, as they are usually called) form quite a sort of aristocracy. They are almost all educated and exceedingly clever, and so, being to a great degree above manual labour, they are an excessive and somewhat oppressive bureaucracy, which not only has ruled Kashmír under every successive Government, but sends out colonies to seek a livelihood throughout Northern India. The Kashmír Bráhmans are quite High Aryan in the type of their features, very fair and handsome, with high chiselled features, and no trace of intermixture of the blood of any lower race. It may be partly race and partly occupation, but they have certainly a greater refinement and regularity of feature than the Afghans and others of a rougher type; with, however, a less manly-looking physique and a colour less ruddy and more inclining to a somewhat sallow fairness. The high nose, slightly aquiline, but by no means what we call Jewish or Nutcracker, is a common type. Raise a little the brow of a Greek statue, and give the nose a small turn at the bony point in front of the bridge (so as to break the straightness of line) you have then the model type of this part of India, to be found both in the living men and in the statues dug up in the Peshawur valley. There are also a good many straight noses, and some varieties as in all places, but much less departure from an ordinary handsome standard than in most countries. The figure of the ordinary working Kashmírí is strong and athletic. But none of them are martial, and the Bráhmans are in this respect no exception. They rule by the brain and the pen, and not by the sword. It is this character that has gained them the favour of so many rulers of a different faith. Kashmír long belonged to the Cabul Kingdom, but it was never in any degree colonised by Afghans, and is singularly free from any modern intermixture of foreign races. The fact seems to be that the valley never belonged to the Afghan nation, but was always retained as a Crown Appanage of the Kings, who were very jealous of admitting into it subjects whom they might find it difficult to turn out again, and much preferred to govern through the Pandits. Others have to a great extent followed the same policy. From a Hindu point of view, the Kashmír Bráhmans do not rank well. As they are priests to no one but themselves, they are necessarily much

more secular than Bráhmans, who among other Hindus claim to be a priestly class, while they eat meat and are altogether loose in their observances, to an extent which makes them very far short of the modern Hindu standard. The Káshmírí Pandits are known all over Northern India as a very clever and energetic race of office-seekers. As a body they excel in acuteness the same member of any other race with whom they come in contact. Probably they are in no respect inferior to the Maráṭha Bráhmans, but they have not in Hindustan the same advantage as the latter have had in their own country among inferior races. The Káshmírís, as foreigners among energetic races, have a much harder struggle, and though they get a good share of good things they are nowhere dominant, nor have they usually risen to such high stations as many Maráṭhá Bráhmans. The most conspicuous man whom I recollect was Rájá Dinanáth, Ranjit Singh's Financier, and in some respects Chief Minister. Although the Káshmírís seldom find their way as far as Calcutta, it is somewhat singular that in Bengal the first native to attain very high office is a man of this race, viz. Sambhunáth Pandit, Judge of the High Court. Almost all the secular Pandits use the Persian character freely; they are perfectly versatile, and, serving abroad, will mount a horse, gird on a sword, and assume at a push a semi-military air."*

In the article from which the preceding passage is quoted, Mr. Campbell speaks of the Káshmíra Bráhmans as Sárasvatas; but he will probably defer to the information of Rádhá Kishan on this matter as far as their present religious connections are concerned. The Baron Hügel's notice of the physiognomy of the Káshmírís substantially agrees with that of Mr. Campbell. "Whoever has seen this race of men will never fail to recognize them by their white skin, their clear though colourless complexion, their long projecting almost Jewish features, with dark brown and black hair and beard, which distinctly point them out."† It is difficult to believe that

* Journ. of Bengal Asiatic Society, N. S. 1866, p. 57-58.

† Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab, p. 55.

the ancestors of a people of this physiognomy have had much to do with the South of India.

Paṇḍit Rádhá Kiṣhan has very kindly furnished me with the following list of the different classes of Káshmírí Bráhmans:—

List of the different Classes of Káshmírí Brahmáns.

1 Kaul.
2 Rájdan
3 Guriṭí.
4 Jítish.
5 Dar.
6 Trakarí
7 Mujhí.
8 Munshí.
9 Butál.
10 Javí.
11 Bajáj.
12 Réí.
13 Hundo.
14 Diptí.
15 Chhichvalí.
16 Rugí.
17 Kallá.
18 Sum.
19 Hánjí.
20 Hastivalí.
21 Muṭu.
22 Tikku.
23 Gais.
24 Gáḍí.
25 Brárí.
26 Ganj.
27 Vángan.
28 Vagana.
29 Bhút.
30 Bhairava.
31 Madan.
32 Dina.
33 Shargál.
34 Hákchar.
35 Hák.
36 Kukar.
37 Chhatarí.
38 Saunpurí.
39 Mattí.
40 Khush.
41 Shakdár.
42 Vaiṣhṇava.
43 Kotar.
44 Kák.
45 Kacharí.
46 Toté.
47 Saraph.
48 Gurah.
49 Ṭhánṭhar.
50 Khár.
51 Thaur.
52 Téng.
53 Saiyad.
54 Trupuráya.
55 Muṭhí.
56 Sapháí.
57 Bhán.
58 Ványa.
59 Garial.
60 Thapal.
61 Náurí.
62 Masaldán.
63 Mushrán.
64 Turkí.
65 Photédár.
66 Kharu.
67 Karbángí.
68 Bhaṭh.
69 Kichilu.
70 Chhán.
71 Mukdam.
72 Khaparí.
73 Bulákí.
74 Kár.
75 Jélálí.
76 Sapháyu.
77 Batphalí.
78 Hukhí.
79 Kukpárí.
80 Kalí.
81 Járí.
82 Ganj.
83 Kim.
84 Munḍí.
85 Jangal.
86 Játí.
87 Rakhyas.
88 Bakáyí.
89 Géri.
90 Gárí.

91 Kálí.
92 Panji.
93 Bangí.
94 Sáhib.
95 Belab.
96 Ráyi.
97 Galikarap.
98 Chan.
99 Kabábí.
100 Yachh.
101 Jálpurí.
102 Navashaharí.
103 Kisí.
104 Dhusí.
105 Gamkhar.
106 Tholal.
107 Pista.
108 Bádám.
109 Trachhal.
110 Nádir.
111 Lidarigarí.
112 Pyál.
113 Kábí.
114 Chhátrí.
115 Vánṭí.
116 Vátlilu.
117 Kharí.
118 Vás.
119 Latí.
120 Sábanj.
121 Daṇḍí.
122 Rával.
123 Misarí.
124 Sibbí.
125 Singarí.
126 Mirjé.
127 Mal.
128 Várikí.
129 Ján.
130 Lutarí.
131 Parim.
132 Hálí.
133 Nakaib.
134 Main.
135 Ambárádár.
136 Ukhál.
137 Kanṭh.
138 Bálí.
139 Jangalí.
140 Ḍulí.
141 Parava.
142 Harkár.
143 Gagar.
144 Paṇḍit.
145 Jarí.
146 Langí.
147 Mukkí.
148 Bihi.
149 Padaur.
150 Pádé.
151 Jand.
152 Téng.
153 Tund.
154 Drábí.
155 Drál.
156 Phambbí.
157 Sajávul.
158 Bakhshí.
159 Ugra.
160 Nichví.
161 Paṭhán.
162 Vichári.
163 Unṭh.
164 Kucharí.
165 Shál.
166 Bábí.
167 Makhání.
168 Lábarí.
169 Khanya.
170 Khanyakatí.
171 Sháh.
172 Pír.
173 Khurdí.
174 Khunkí.
175 Kalposh.
176 Pishan.
177 Bishan.
178 Bul.
179 Chokí.
180 Chak.
181 Ráí.
182 Prití.
183 Patí.
184 Kichilí.
185 Káṭhí.
186 Jijí.
187 Kilmák.
188 Salmán.
189 Kadalbaju.
190 Kandahárí.
191 Bálí.
192 Manaṭí.
193 Bankhán.
194 Hakím.
195 Garib.
196 Mandal.
197 Maujaba.
198 Sháir.
199 Nun.
200 Téli.
201 Khálasí.
202 Chandra.
203 Gadir.
204 Jarábí.

205 Siharí.	211 Kábí.	217 Jatí.
206 Kalvit.	212 Khosa.	218 Rákhsas.
207 Nagarí.	213 Duráni.	219 Harkár.
208 Mungvuch.	214 Tuli.	220 Grad.
209 Khaibarí.	215 Garib.	221 Vagarí, etc. etc.
210 Kullí.	216 Gadí.	

These "classes" correspond very much with the clan or family distinctions of the Maráthá and other Bráhmans of Southern India. Consociations of them have been formed for the formation of marriage alliances and even for social meals, as in the case of the Sárasvata Bráhmans. It is a curious fact that almost all the Hindu non-Bráhmanical inhabitants of Káshmír call themselves Kshatriyas. At least so I have been informed by some of their number visiting the Maráthá country as traders. The Káshmírí Paṇḍits generally come as far as Bombay principally as vendors of manuscript books in the Persian and Nágarí characters. The Maráṭhá Bráhmans keep entirely aloof from them in religious services. This is solely owing to what appears to them their dubious *áchára*, or religious and social course of conduct.

A considerable number of the designations of the Káshmírí Bráhmans, it will have been seen from the list given above, must have been assumed posterior to the times of the Muhammadans.

The Káshmírí Bráhmans claim the *aḍhikára* (or authoritative use) of the four Védas ; but this they do simply as scholars. The *Raja Turanqiṇí* and its accompaniments are the nearest to credible historical documents yet found in India.*

3. *The Kányakubja Bráhmans.*

"The *Kányakubjas*," says Colebrooke, "possessed a great empire, the metropolis of which was the ancient city of *Kányakubja* or *Kanoj*. Theirs seems to be the language which forms the groundwork of modern Hindustání, and which is known by the appellation of Hindí or

* Copies of these works of the edition of 1835 are still procurable in the Asiatic Society's Rooms at Calcutta.

Hindeví. Two dialects of it may be easily distinguished, one more refined, the other less so. To this last the name of Hindí is sometimes restricted, while the other is often confounded with Prákṛit. Numerous poems have been composed in both dialects, not only before the Hindustání was ingrafted on the Hindí by a large intermixture of Persian, but also in very modern times, by Muhammadan as well as Hindu poets. Dóhrás or detached couplets, and cabits or stanzas, in the Hindeví, may be found among the works of Musalmán authors. It will be sufficient to instance those of Melik Muhammad Jaisí, Muhammed Afzel, and Amírkhán Anjám. Most poems in this dialect are, however, the exclusive production of Hindu poets. On examining them the affinity of Hindí with the Sanskrit language is peculiarly striking ; and no person acquainted with both can hesitate in affirming that Hindí is chiefly borrowed from Sanskrít. Many words of which the etymology shows them to be the purest Sanskrit, are received unaltered ; many more undergo no change, but that of making the final vowel silent ; a still greater number exhibit no other difference than what arises from the uniform permutation of certain letters ; the rest too, with comparatively few exceptions, may be easily traced to a Sanskrit origin. That this is the root from which Hindí has sprung (not Hindí the dialect whence Sanskrit has been refined) may be proved by etymology, the analogy of which is lost in Hindí and preserved in Sanskrít."*

Soon after the A'ryas reached the valleys of the Gangá and Yamuná, the site of Kányakubja must have been in their possession. The town itself, though old, is probably posterior to the three other classical cities of Northern

* Transactions of the Asiatic Society, vol. vii. pp. 220-1.

India—Hástinapura, Indraprastha, and Ayodhyá, from which it is at no great distance. It is possible that some hump-backed princess may have been connected with it contemporaneously with the deified king Krishna, by whom, as the legend goes, she was miraculously rectified. Considerable light is thrown on its history posterior to the Christian era by coins and inscriptions; but the date of the consociation of its Bráhmans is altogether unknown. It is now in a greatly reduced and decayed state; and its antiquities are greatly more Musalmán than Hindu.* It is scarcely now the centre of the Bráhmanical classes to whom it gives their denomination; for they are found principally in the lower part of the Antarvéda (the country intermediate between the Ganges and Jamná) and the districts of Audh,†

* For an interestiag account of Kanoj, (with valuable historical notices) see the report of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India for 1862-63. "Of the great city of Kanoj," says Major General Cunningham, "which for many years was the Hindu capital of Northern India, the existing remains are few and unimportant. In comparing Hwen Thsang's description of ancient Kanoj [of the seventh century A. D.], with the existing remains of the city, I am obliged to confess with regret that I have not been able to identify even one solitary site with any certainty; so completely has almost every trace of Hindu occupation been obliterated by the Musalmans. The only remains of any interest are—1st, the ruins of the old palace, now called the Rang Mahál; 2nd, the Hindu pillars of the Jumma Masjid; 3rd, the Hindu pillars of the Masjid of Makhdam Jahaniyab; and 4th, the Hindu statues in the village of Singh Bhaváni." Journ. As. Society of Bengal, 1865, p. 209.

† By many this name (our own *Oude*) is supposed to be a corruption of *Ayodhyá*. This, however, is not the case. The native popular form of *Ayodhyá* is *Ajodyá*. *Audh* is from *Audichya*, the "Northern Country." See note at p. 39, above. *Sakéta* and *Ayodhyá* have for some time been viewed as identical, and General Cunningham has put this beyond doubt. See, ut supra, p. 238 et seq.

including the native divisions of Baiswáḍá and Sarvar (of the river Sarjú). They are nevertheless widely scattered. The occupation of great numbers of them in military service, in later times, has contributed much to their diffusion in Northern, Central, and to a certain extent even in Western India. Wherever they may settle, they have a peculiar regard for their ancient habitat, which they frequently visit.

The physical appearance of the Kanauj Bráhmans, compared with that of many other classes of natives of India, is very imposing. They are tall and athletic, though coarser in the features and grain than many other representatives of the Bráhmaṇical brotherhood in other parts of India. In their stature, strength, and carriage they were as sipáhís, the pride of the keen-eyed Sir Charles Napier, who declared, however, that their attachment to caste constituted them the danger of the Bengal Army, as was so distinctly evinced during the fearful mutiny and revolt of 1857-58. Though they are all *matsyahára*, or feeders on fish, so abundant in their native provinces and suitable for food, and though generally at their own homes they are *amiṣhahára* or feeders on flesh, they are immoderately scrupulous about their ceremonial purity in eating and drinking, as if by strictness in one direction compensating for laxness in another, according to Hindu law. In reference to their eating, the proverb has passed among them:—*A'ṭh Kanojyá nava chulhá haiṉ*, "For eight Kanojyás there are nine cooking hearths!" I have heard them, when irritated by their neighbours, exclaim, *Ham Kshatriya-Bráhman haiṉ!*—"We are Bráhmans-of-power," the equivalent of our "High-caste-Bráhmans." By the use of this epithet of *Kshatriya*

many of them got into the Bengal Army, after their numerical complement (injudiciously large) was filled up.

The divisions of the Kanojya Bráhmans are very numerous. Considerable light has been thrown on them by Dr. Donald Butter in his "Outlines of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh." The following notes I have prepared from his interesting Report, and from the notes of my own numerous conversations with intelligent and learned Kanojyas.

(1.) *The Mishra Kányakubjas.*

The Mishras or *Mishrís* claim the first rank among the Kánojyas.

The following species of them, denominated principally from families or houses of rank, occur in the Audh territories :—

1 The Madhbání.*
2 The Champáran.†
3 The Patlál, or Patlayála.‡
4 The Ratanvála.
5 The Bahdol.
6 The Maṭol or Maṭevála.§
7 The Katariya, of the Sáma Véda.
8 The Nágariya, of the Vatsa Gotra?
9 The Payásí of the Vatsa Gotra.
10 The Gáná
11 The Téunta, or Tevanta.
12 The Márjaní.
13 The Gurhá.
14 The Markára
15 The Jignya.
16 The Paráyana.
17 The Pépará.
18 The Aterva (or Atharva?)
19 The Hathépará.
20 The Sugantí.
21 The Khétá.
22 The Grámbásí.
23 The Birha.
24 The Kausí.‖
25 The Kévatí.
26 The Baisí.
27 The Bhabajíya.¶
28 The Bélva.
29 The Usrainá.
30 The Kodíya.
31 The Tavákpurí.
32 The Himalpurí.
33 The Shringarpurí.
34 The Sitápurí.
35 The Puṭavha.
36 The Sirájpurí.
37 The Bhánpurí.
38 The Teráka.
39 The Dudhagaumí.
40 The Ratnapurí.
41 The Sunhanla.

* Principally of the Sáma-Véda, with a few of the Rig-Véda.

† Of the Sáma-Véda.

‡ Of the Sáma-Véda.

§ Of the Sáma-Véda.

‖ From the Rishi Kausiká.

¶ The preceding are from Dr. Butter's list. Those which follow, said to be all of the Sáma-Véda, have been mentioned to me by Kanojya Paṇḍits.

For the following note I am indebted to a Kanojya Paṇḍit:—"The *Mishrí* intermarry with the *Shukla*, *Tevárí*, *Dobé*, and *Paṇḍé*. They give their daughters to the *Pháṭak*, *Upádhya*, and *Chaubé*, but do not accept theirs in return. They principally belong to the White Yajur-Véda and the Káṇva Shákhá. A few of them are Ṛig-Védís. They eat only in a limited degree with Bráhmans whose áchára is unknown."

In the Mishras, several new matrimonial divisions have appeared. According to Dr. Butter those of Kanauj (properly so called), consisting of the *Henikar*, *Parsu*, and *Gopináth*, are "restricted in their matrimonial alliances to each other's families;" and those of Murádábád, consisting of the *Májgaum*, *Ankin*, and *Sonṭhiánva*, are under a similar restriction.

(2.) *The Shuklas.*

The *Shukla* division follows the Mishra.

It contains the following sections, many of whom are Sháktas, or worshippers of the female energies.

1 The Khakhayij-khor, named from two villages.
2 The Mámkhor, named from two villages.
3 The Tipthí.
4 The Bhéḍí.
5 The Bakaruva.
6 The Kanjahí.
7 The Khandail.
8 The Bálá.*
9 The Changé.
The Avasthí.
10 The Tévarásí Parbhakar.
11 The Mehuliyar.
12 The Kharbahiya.
13 The Chanda.
14 The Garga†
15 The Gautamí.‡
16 The Parasa.
17 The Tárá. §
18 The Barikhpurí.
19 The Karyava.
20 The Ajmadga-ḍhya.
21 The Pichaura.
22 The Masauvas.
23 The Soṇṭhianva.
24 The Ankin.
25 The Bír.
26 The Gopináth.

These are said to be all of the "Chakaráyana Shákhá" (?) and of the Gautama Gotra. One of my authorities says they are all of the Mádhyandina Shákhá of the White Yajur-Veda.

(3.) *The Tívárís.*

The *Tivárí* Bráhmans are said to get their denomination from their

* The Bálá intermarry with the three following, said to be of the Bháráḍáváj Gotra.
† Said to be from Garga Ṛishi.
‡ From Gautama Ṛishi.
§ Named from a village so-called.

former profession of three Védas. They say they now belong only to the Kauthuma Shákhá of the Sáma-Véda, and follow the Gobhila-Sútra. They have many divisions (among which are the following), who may intermarry with one another when their gotra is different, but who, owing to the family pretensions of each of their sections, have often difficulties in affecting their matrimonial engagements.

1 The Lonákhár.
2 The Lonápár.
3 The Munjauná.
4 The Mangraich.
5 The Jhunádiya.
6 The Sohgaura.
7 The Tárá.
8 The Gorakhpuriya.
9 The Daurava.
10 The Pendí.
11 The Sirjam.
12 The Dhátura.
13 The Panaulí.
14 The Nandaulí, or Tandaulí.
15 The Burhiyabárí.
16 The Guraulí.
17 The Jogíya.
18 The Dikshita.
19 The Sonaura.
20 The Agorí.
21 The Bhárgava.
22 The Bakíya.
23 The Kukurgaríya.
24 The Damá.*
25 The Gopála.†
26 The Govardhana.‡
27 The Tuké.§
28 The Chattu.
29 The Shivalí.
30 The Shakharéj.
31 The Umarí.
32 The Manoha.
33 The Shivarájpur.
34 The Mandhna.
35 The Sapé.
36 The Mandan Tirvédí.
37 The Laharí Tirvédí.
38 The Jéthí Tirvédí.

The majority of the Tivárí are now cultivators, horsekeepers, shopkeepers, and soldiers.

(4.) *The Dubé, or Dobé.*

The following are among the divisions of the *Dubé*:—

1 The Kanchání.
2 The Singhva.
3 The Bélava.
4 The Párava.
5 The Keraiya.
6 The Bargainya.
7 The Panchaní.
8 The Lathiáhí.
10 The Gurdvan.
11 The Methíbér.
12 The Barhampuriya.
13 The Singilava.
14 The Kuchalva.
15 The Munjalva.
16 The Paliyá.
17 The Dhégava.
18 The Sisira.
19 The Sinaní.
20 The Kudavarya.
21 The Kataiya.
22 The Panva.

* The Dama of the Antar-véda are Shaivas, and of the Káshyapa gotra, and Kauthuma shakha.

† The Gopála of the Antarveda are also Shaivas.

‡ Of the Antarvéda, Shaivas.

§ Of the Antarvéda.

The Dubé in some places are of the Mádhyandina Shákhá of the White Yajur-Veda, and follow the Gobbhila Sútra. In others they are Sáma Vedís.

(5.) *The Páṭhak* or (according to Dr. Butter*) the *Phátak*.

The *Páṭhaks* are said to be Yajur-vedís, and comprehend the following among other subdivisions.

1 The Sonaura.
2 The Ambatara.
3 The Patakhavaliya.
4 The Dhigavach.
5 The Bhadarí.

Some absurd legends in disparagement of the Páṭhaks are in circulation as that they were made from a Lodha tree (Symplocos racemosa).

(6.) *The Páṇḍé.*

1 The Tirphala, or Triphala.
2 The Jorava.
3 The Matainya.
4 The Toraya.
5 The Nákchaurí.
6 The Parsilha.
7 The Sáhankol.
8 The Barhadíya.
9 The Gegás.†
10 The Khoríya‡
11 The Pichaura.
12 The Pichaura, or Payásí.
13 The Jutíya or Jatya.
14 The Itar or Intar §
15 The Beshtaul or Beshtavála.
16 The Charpand.
17 The Sila.
18 The Adhurj.
19 The Madaríya.
20 The Majgáum.
21 The Dilipapar.
22 The Páyhatya.
23 The Nágava.
24 The Talávа. ‖
25 The Jambu.¶

"A Paṇḍé," says Dr. Butter, "cannot marry á Páṇḍiṇ (fem.), nor, in general, can any Bráhman intermarry with his own genus." Some exceptions to this rule, however, are found.** The *Páṇḍé* are very cautious, too, about eating with one another. Great numbers of the Páṇḍé were found in the Bengal army. With reference to this fact, Delhi, when in possession of the rebel sepoys, was jocularly called *Pandemonium*.

(7.) *The Upádhya.*

The *Upádhyas* are said to be Yajurvédís, and to be looked down upon by the other Kanaujyas for their taking of dána or gifts, (in

* P. 143.
† They intermarry only with one another.
‡ They intermarry only with one another.
§ Of the Sáma Véda.
‖ This and the five preceding are said to be of the Sáma-Véda.
¶ Of the Ṛig-Véda.
** Butter's Report, p. 149.

which they are not singular,) and for their personally holding the plough. Among their varieties are the following :—

1 The Harainya or Hiraṇya.
2 The Dévarainya.
3 The Khoriya.
4 The Jaithiya.
5 The Dahéndra.
6 The Gorat.
7 The Ranisaráp.
8 The Nizámábád.
9 The Dudholiya.
10 The Basgava.

The five last mentioned belong to the Sarvaríya division of the Kányakubjas.

(8.) *The Chaubé*, or *Chobé*.

The accounts given of the origin of the denomination of the Chobé differ. Some of them hold, what is likely correct, that it is owing to the former profession by them of the Four Védas. Others of them say that it is owing to the use by them of Four Védís or sacrificial pits. At present they principally profess the Sáma and Yajur-Védas. Their principal sub-divisions are :—

1 The Nayapuras.
2 The Hargadís.
3 The Chaukhar.
4 The Katayas.
5 The Rampuras.
6 The Paliyas.
7 The Hardáspuras
8 The Tibaiyas.
9 The Jamaduvas.
10 The Gargeya.*

(9.) *The Díkshita*.

The *Díkshita* receive their denomination from the *díkshá*, a particular religious ceremony of initiation (or practice) performed by their ancestors. They are Yajur-Védís. They have the following among other varieties :—

1 The Devagáum.
2 The Kakarí.
3 The Névarshiya.
4 The Antér.
5 The Sukánta.
6 The Chaudharí.†
7 The Jujatvatiyas‡

(10.) *The Lakhnau Vájayapéyí*.

These Bráhmans profess the Shukla Yajur-Véda, and are of the Upamanya Gotra. They are divided into two sections :—

1 The Unché, or the High.
2 The Niché, or the Low.

* From Garga Ṛishi. They are said to be Yajur-Vedís.

† The *Chaudharí* are found near Agra, Mainpuri, etc. They are generally cultivators, shop-keepers, and agents, few of them acting as priests or mendicants. They are probably Yajur-Védís. They receive their denomination from their acting as Chaudharís.

‡ The *Jujávatiyas* are said to be named from their patron Jujávat, King of Bundélakhaṇḍa. Their engagements are similar to those of the Chaudharís.

(11.) *The Sarvaríyas, Sáryupárís.*

The *Sarvaríyas* get their denomination from the ancient river *Saryu*, to the east of which they are principally found. They are a provincial offset from the Kanaujyas, with whom they do not now intermarry. Their general divisions are said to be the same as those of the Kanaujyas now given, in connection with which some of their sub-divisions have been already mentioned.

(12.) *Isolated Kanaujyas.*

The following are mentioned by Dr. Butter as " of inferior genera, of one species only."

1 The Samdaríya.	6 The Chandravala.	11 The Misirman.
2 The Tirguvait.	7 The Kusumbhiya.	12 The Paihtíya.
3 The Bhaurha.	8 The Bisohya.	13 The Masonáḍ.
4 The Kabisa.	9 The Kanhalí.	14 The Bijara.
5 The Kévatí.	10 The Khajuvái.	15 The Ansnaura, etc.

(13.) Dr. Butter also mentions the "undermentioned six classes of Bráhmans as restricted in their matrimonial alliances to each other's families."

1. Kanauj ké Mishrí, including—
   Hénikar,
   Parsa,
   Gopináth.
2. Murádábad ké Mishrí, including—
   Majgaṇm,
   Ankin,
   Soṇthiánva.
3. Vajapéya Nakhlau ké (mentioned above.)
4. Pandé Gegason ké.
5. Pandé Khor ké.
6. Sukul Bala Changé, and Avasthí, and Tévarási Prabhákar.*

In regard to Bainswáḍá or rather Baiswáḍá, (which gets its name from the Bais tribe of Rajputs to be afterwards noticed, who are said to have come to this locality from Ujjayin, when Málwa was governed by Vikramáditya) its people have a tradition, that the Kányakubja Bráhmans, now so numerous in its borders, had no settlement in it before the time of Tirlog Chand. The Bṛáhmans

* Outlines of the Topography of Southern Oude, p. 149.

of this district vie with the Rajputs in the expence of their marriages.* "Among these families," says Dr. Butter, "no marriage can take place without an expenditure of 700 rupees; of which 100 are laid out in gold and silver ornaments for the bride; fifty for culinary vessels; fifty for clothes; 100 rupees to be given to the boy, who is to be married, by the head of his bride's family; 101 presented by the same person to the boy's father, at the termination of the latter's visit of four days; at the marriage 150 rupees are distributed to the relations of the boy who accompany him, four rupees to each person; and the remainder is expended in bread, ghi, ḍál, sugar, etc. to supply a feast which continues five days. No other class of persons is obliged to incur such an expense in getting a daughter married."†

Of the distribution, engagements, and character of the Kánaujya Bráhmans, Mr. George Campbell gives the following information:—

"Further east, in the lower Doab, Eastern Oude, and the adjoining districts, is the great country of the modern Hindustání Bráhmans. Kanauj, the ancient head-quarters of the race, is on the old Ganges, 50 or 60 miles above Cawnpore. It is now an insignificant place, and the mass of the Bráhman population lies to the east of it. In the districts of Cawnpore and Futtehpore I believe that the Bráhman cultivators far exceed in number any other class; in Cawnpore alone there are some 250,000 of them. It is much the same immediately on the other side of the Ganges, in the adjoining parts of Oude.

"Whether from the example of the Rajputs, or for other reasons, these Bráhmans of the Antarvéda and Oude have taken largely to the profession of arms, not usually much followed by them in other parts of the country; and beyond their own boundaries in their military

* Butter's Topography of S. Oudh, pp. 145-6.

† Butter's Topography and Statistics of S. Districts of Oudh, pp. 149-50.

character they are reputed the most overbearing and disagreeable of their race. Yet I fancy that it is rather their profession than their natural character, which has attached to them this bad name. Numerous as they were in the sepoy army, and foully as that army behaved, I cannot find that the Bráhmans were really by any means worse than others; some of the most Bráhman regiments stood the best. And at home they seem to be quiet and peaceable enough. The Bráhman district of Cawnpore pays, I think, a higher revenue rate than any other in India, except the peculiar Delta of the Cauvery about Tanjore. Numerous as the Bráhmans are in this part of the country and apt as soldiers, they have not been the dominant race. I do not know much of the history of the Cawnpore district, but I have never heard of Bráhman rule; and certainly over the river, in Oude, the rule is with the Rajputs, not with the Bráhmans. All the really old Talukdars are Rajputs, as are the Rajas of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand beyond the Jamna.*

Yet the Bráhman Tálukdárs are certainly increasing in the districts to which Mr. Campbell here refers. It is still generally believed that the Kánaujya Bráhmans formed the first power in the Bengal regiments which mutinied. Considering their numbers and influence, they are to be held chiefly responsible for the atrocities which were committed in Eastern India. The Gauḍa Bráhmáns (who were not in the army) exhibited everywhere a very different spirit.

The Bráhmans of Nipál and Bengal, it may be here mentioned in conclusion, are principally of the Kánya-kubja stock; but they will be onwards separately noticed.

(4.) The *Gauḍa Bráhmans.*

The *Gauḍa Bráhmans* derive their name from the province and (now ruined) city of *Gauḍa*, long the capital of Behár and Bengal (the seat of the *Angas* and *Vangas* or *Bangas*, a non-A'ryan people mentioned in

* Ethnology of India, pp. 63-64.

early Indian history.* According to Colebrooke the Bengalí language was spoken in the provinces, of which the ancient city of Gauḍa was once the capital. "It still prevails," he adds, "in all the provinces of Bengal [that is when Mr. Colebrooke wrote], excepting perhaps some frontier districts, but is said to be spoken in its greatest purity in the eastern parts only, and as there spoken contains few words, which are not evidently derived from Sanskrit. This dialect has not been neglected by learned men. Many Sanskrit poems have been translated, and some original poems have been composed in it."† The character generally used for it is a script form of the Nágarí. The language was first made accessible to Europeans by Messrs. Halhed and Forster, and Drs. Carey, Marshman and other missionaries. A profusion of books has appeared in it in modern times.‡

Mr. Colebrooke in a note to his reference to Gauḍa makes the following important observations:—"It is

* See vol. i. pp. 141, 227. Mr. Pemberton, the recent surveyor of the Máldá district, in which Gauḍa is situated, says "Major Rennel in his Memoir of a Map of Hindostan gives the best modern account of the city that is to be found in print. Gauḍ, called also Lakhnautí, the ancient capital of Bengal, and supposed to be the *Gangia regia* of Ptolemy, stood on the left bank of the Ganges, about 25 miles below Rájmahál. It was the capital of Bengal 730 years before Christ, and was repaired and beautified by Humáyun, who gave it the name of Jannutiabad, which name a part of the Sirkár in which it was situated still bears. According to Ferishta's account, the unwholesomeness of its air occasioned it to be deserted soon after; and the seat of Government was removed to Tauda or Taurah, a few miles higher up the river." This city must have been at least sixteen miles in length, and from two to three in breadth. Geo. and Statist. Report of Maldah, pp. 40-41.

† On the Sanskrit and Prakrita languages, A. S. Res. vol. vii. pp. 223-4.

‡ See Long's Catalogue.

necessary to remark that although *Gauḍa* be the name of Bengal, yet the Bráhmans who bear that appellation are not inhabitants of *Bengal* but of Hindustán proper. They reside chiefly in the Suba of Delhi ; while the Bráhmans of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanoj. It is difficult to account for this contradiction. The Gauḍa Bráhmans allege a tradition, that their ancestors migrated in the days of the Páṇḍavas, at the commencement of the present Kali Yuga. Though no plausible conjecture be founded on this tradition, yet I am induced to retract a conjecture formerly hazarded by me that the *Gar* of our maps was the original country of the Gauras."

The difficulty in reconciling the present habitat of the Gauḍa Bráhmans with the place of their original consociation thus referred to by Colebrooke, has often attracted attention since his day. It has been noticed by Sir Henry Elliot, Colonel Cunningham, and Mr. George Campbell. General Cunningham supposes that the more ancient *Gauḍa* is "only a sub-division of the Uttara Koshala," and "that the ruins of Shrávastí [said to have been in Gauḍa] have been discovered in the district of *Gauḍa*, which is the *Gonda* of the maps," and that "both the *Gauḍa Bráhmans* and the *Gauḍa Tagas* must have belonged to this district originally, and not to the mediæval city of *Gauḍa* in Bengal."* This is an ingenious supposition. Mr. George Campbell thus writes:—"Sir H. Elliott has remarked on the difficulty of accounting for the fact that all the Delhi country is occupied by 'Gour' Bráhmans. They can hardly, he thinks, have come from Gour in Bengal, from which

* Journ. Beng. As. Soc. 1865, p. 218.

they are separated by great tribes of Kanojyas and others, and their own traditions point to Hariáṇá as their original country. I would suggest the following explanation. The principal tributary of the Sarasvatí is the '*Guggur*' or *Ghargar*, which now gives its name to the main channel where it passes through the Hariáṇá district. May not the name of *Gauḍa*, borne by the Bráhmans of Hariáṇá, be a new abbreviation of *Guggur*, or Lower Sarasvatí ?"* *Gauḍa* from *Guggur* or *Ghargar*, however, is rather a harsh derivation according to the principles of Indian orthoepy. The Gauḍa Bráhmans of all the provinces of India, whom I have personally examined respecting their general designation, unanimously testify that it originated with Gauḍa in Bengal. They are unable, however, to account for their present remoteness from that locality, and wide dispersion in Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western India. Before giving a confident decision in this matter, we should require to know, not only the history of their movements but the original principles of their consociation. They, with the Sárasvatas, are in a certain sense the most liberalized and the least regardful of Bráhmanical institutes of all the Bráhmans in India; and the Bráhmans intermediate between them and Gauḍa may be mainly seceders from the position which they have assumed. Religious accordance and sympathy with the practices of the ancient Gauḍa Bráhmans may be the real reason of the appropriation which they have made of the title of Gauḍa, and not any descent by generation. A case parallel to this supposition is found in the majority of the Bráhmans of Gujarát, and even in some instances in

* Ethnology of India, Journ. B. A. S. part II. 1866, pp. 63-64.

those of Rajputáná, as the Shrimálí,* who take their general denomination from the Pancha-Drávida (mainly from their avoidance of the taking of animal life,) although they have no ethnical connexion whatever with the south of India. The comparative liberality and common sense of the Gauda Bráhmans (including the Sárasvatas associated with them), it may be safely said, has been noticed in many districts of India. Mr. Campbell gives of it the following pleasing illustration connected with the Bráhmans near Delhi :—" Wherever they are found in this country they are capital cultivators, quiet, industrious, intelligent ; there is no better population, and the women work as well as the men. It was remarked by the fugitives from Delhi at the time of the mutiny, that whenever they came to a Gujar village they were always plundered ; whenever they came to a Bráhman village, they were always kindly treated ; while at any other village their treatment was uncertain.† Some of the less pure agricultural Bráhmans of these villages are called Tagas or Gauda Tagas." The Gauda Bráhmans in Central India were noticed for their liberality by the troops under Sir Hugh Rose, now Lord Strathnairn. In a letter, kindly addressed to me by Dr. Lumsdaine of the Bombay Medical Service, attention was directed to their free use of animal food and to their readiness to prepare it for the use of others.

The divisions among the Gauda Bráhmans are very considerable in number, though they are not so numerous as those of some other classes of Bráhmans which we

* See before pp. 109, et seq.

† Ethnology of India, p. 63.

have already noticed. The most conspicuous of them are the following:—

(1.) *The Gauḍas* or *Kévala Gauḍas.*

The *Gauḍas* or *Kévala Gauḍas,* Gauḍas simply so called, are said to be of the Yajur-veda and to have their head quarters at Haradwár.*

(2). *The Adi-Gauḍas.*

The *A'di-Gauḍas,* or "Original Gauḍas." They are of the Shukla Yajur-veda; but some of them profess to have among themselves individual professors of each of the four Védas. Many of them, on the other hand, know nothing of their connexion with any Véda whatever. Many of them visiting Bombay, who are principally mendicants, are from Kurukshétra and the countries bordering on the Satlej, Haradwár, etc. In some districts they abstain from animal food, though they profess to have permission to take it. Near Ambállá, some of them are students of the Védánta, and of the Nyáya (" for exercise.") There they don't eat or intermarry with other Gauḍas. Their sects are principally the Smártta and Shákta. Some of them at Vindrávan near Mathurá are Vallabhácháryas.

(3-4.) *The Shukalvála A'di-Gaudas.*

A variety of the *A'di-Gauḍas* are the (3) *Shukalválas* of the Jayapur State in Rajputáná. They get their name from their professing the *Shukla,* or White Yajur-véda. They have two divisions among them, the *Joshís* (so named from the connexion of their ancestors with astrology and astronomy) who are Shaivas; and the (4) *Ojhas,* part of whom are Shaktas, and part of whom are Shaivas. Their employments are public service, mendicancy, agriculture, and merchandize.

(5-8.) *The Sanáḍhya Gauḍas.*

(5.) The *Sanáḍhyas,* numerous in the east of Rajputáná, Central India, upper Hindustán, Agra, Mathurá, and even to a certain extent in the Antarvéda, also reckon themselves A'di-Gauḍas. They are Yajur-Védis, and gain their livelihood by service, mendicancy, cultivation and merchandise.†

* So called by the followers of Shiva. The Vaishnavas call it Haridwár, but with little support from Hindu tradition.

† Information of Rámasaháya, one of their community.

(6.) The *Chingalas* are a division of the Sanáḍhyas. They are found at Alwar, Tijárá, etc.

(7.) The *Dáymias* and (8) *Khandelválas*, mentioned onwards in connection with Rajputáná, also claim to be A'di-Gauḍas.

(9-11.) *The Shrí-Gauḍas.*

(9.) The *Shrí-Gauḍas*, "the Sacred or Honorable Gauḍas," are constantly mentioned; but the other Gauḍas often do not admit that they originally belonged to the Gauḍa fraternity. I remember having seen only one of them in Bombay. He was a Sámavédí, of the Bháradváj Gotra. They are the first of their class in Mr. Prinsep's list at Benares; but only twenty of them are there mentioned as resident at that celebrated tírtha. Considerable numbers of them are found in Málwá.

Of the Shrí-Gauḍas there is a division called (10) *Tambolí*, who deal in the betel-leaf and other similar articles; and another called the (11) *A'di Shrí-Gauḍa* found at Delhi, Mathurá and Vrindávan.

(12.) *The Gurjar Gauḍas.*

The *Gurjara-Gauḍas*, we have already mentioned.* They are so widely scattered now, especially in Rajputáná and Central India, that they can scarcely be reckoned a compact community.

(13.) *The Ték Bárá Gauḍas.*

The *Tek Bárá* I have heard mentioned only by name.

(14.) *The Chamár Gauḍas.*

The *Chamár Gauḍas* get their designation from officiating for *Chamárs*,† or dealers in leather, who are considered a low caste.

(15.) *The Hariyána Gauḍas.*

The *Hariyánas* are Gauḍas taking their name from the province of Hariáṇá. They have found their way to Rajputáná, especially its eastern states.

(16.) *The Kirtanya Gauḍas.*

The *Kirtanyas* are Gauḍas who wander about the N. W. Provinces and Rajputáná as singers, reciters and players on instruments.

* See p. 103, above.

† The *Charmakáras* of the Sanskrit books, and the *Chambhárs* of the Marathás, many of whom in Northern and Central India are now engaged in agriculture.

(17.) *The Sukul Gaudas.*

The *Sukul Gauḍas* live by mendicity, accepting alms from Bráhmans, but not from Kshatriyas, Banyás, or people of other castes.

In the Benares lists of Mr. Prinsep, a few Gauḍa Bráhmans are given under the designation of the *Bireshválá*, and *Silujana*.* Lieut. Boileau mentions the *Chumuvála Gauḍas* in Márwád.†

The Gauḍas are more liberal in their intercourse with the Brahmanhood in general, so far as permitted, than any other confederation of their brethren in India. Hence they have formed in Rajputáná and Central India an association, entitled the *Chanáyat* ("of six castes") for the promotion of social intercourse by eating and drinking together. It consists of the following classes:—the *Gauḍa*, the *Gurjar-Gauḍa*, the *Diva*, the *Sárasvata*, the *Sikávar*, and the *Paríkha*. In the South and West of India, they often show considerable liberality in the matter of their meals, without having resorted to any express agreement on the matter. In these provinces many of them are engaged as writers, agents, shopkeepers, and agriculturists.

5. *The Rajputáná Bráhmans.*

Many classes of Bráhmans have entered Rajputáná (in which they are now found) from other parts of India; but in this large division of Northern India, particularly in the province of Márwáḍ, several important consociations of Bráhmans have been formed and established, which deserve notice in the first instance.

(1.) *The Shrímálís.*

The peculiarities, religious and social, of this great confederation of Bráhmans, I have already mentioned in connexion with its important branch in Gujarát;‡ and they need not be here again repeated. *Bhin-*

* As. Res. vol. xviii. p. 493. † Pers. Nar. p. 237.

‡ See above, pp. 109-111.

mál is in the district of Jhálod in the South of Márwád. Speaking of it, and *Sáchod*, which we shall soon have occasion to notice, Colonel Tod says :—"These towns are on the high road to Kachh and Gujarát, which has given them from the most remote times a commercial celebrity. Bhinmál is said to contain about fifteen hundred houses, and Sauchore (Sachod) about half the number. Very wealthy Mahájans or 'merchants' used to reside here, but insecurity within and without has much injured these cities. There is (in Mál) a temple of Baráha (Varáha), the incarnation of the hog, with a great sculptured boar."*

It is on the mercantile community that the Shrímálís are mostly dependent for support, both as priests and mendicants; and in consequence of this circumstance they have wandered far from Bhinmál, their original home. They are to be found, especially, in most of the Western States of Rajwádá, in Central India, and in Bombay. They claim to be the priests of the Shrimálí and Shrí-Shrí-Málí Banyás.

(2.) *The Sachodas.*

The *Sachoda* Bráhmans, I have also already noticed.† Colonel Tod mentions them as "the officiating priests of some of the most celebrated temples in these regions, as that of Dváriká, Mathurá, Pushkar, Nagar-Párkar, etc."‡ The temples to which he here refers are those of Krishna belonging to the libidinous Vallabhácharya Mahárájas, to whom they act as servants. In the celebrated Maháráj Libel case, one of them gave the following evidence in the interest of the prosecutor Jadunáthjí Brijaratnají Maháráj. "It is usual to pay three rupees a month [besides food] to servants of my class. I put in order the Mahárája's clothes after he has taken them off. I did not leave him for five minutes. It is my custom to sleep outside the door when the Mahárāj sleeps in his bedroom. I will not leave the Mahárāj alone, even if he told me, I would not go; not that we suspect him, but because some one must be constantly within call."§

(3.) *The Palliválas.*

The Pallivála Brahmáns have likewise been mentioned ‖ They derive their name from Pállí, which, though now much reduced,

* Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 209.

† See before, p. 100.

‡ Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 299.

§ History of the Maharáj Sect, Appendix.

‖ See before, p. 119.

is still the commercial capital of Márwáḍ. In A.D. 1212, eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj by the Ghori Shábuddín, Shivaji and Saitrám, the grandsons of its last Hindu Rhátoḍ king, with a band of followers, on a pilgrimage to Dváriká, or on the look out for a new settlement, were invited by the Bráhmans of this place to assist them in repelling the inroads of the hill Mainas and Mérs and of the wild beasts of the forests. They complied with the call made to them; and were invited to settle at Pállí. Here Shivaji had a son by a Solankhí Rajputní; and at her advice he resolved to possess himself of the lands of these Bráhmans. "It affords," says Colonel Tod, "another example of the disregard of the early Rajputs for the sacred order that, on the Holi or Saturnalia, he found an opportunity to 'obtain land,' putting to death the heads of his community, and adding the district to his conquests.* The Pallivála Bráhmans now principally devote themselves to merchandise. After alluding to the Rajputs of Jesalmér, Colonel Tod writes, "Next to the lordly Rajputs, equaling them in numbers, but far surpassing them in wealth, are the Palliválas. They are Bráhmans, and denominated *Paliváala* from being temporal proprietors of *Pállí*, and all its lands long before the Rhatoḍs colonized Marwáḍ." Their introduction into Jesalmér he attributes to their banishment from Márwáḍ on the occasion of some Muhammadan military exaction, for non-compliance with which they pleaded their caste. Many of them, he also says, at the same time settled in Bikanér, Dhat, and the valley of Sindh (?). About all the internal trade of the country, he goes on to say, passes through their hands. They are the *Metayers* of the desert, advancing money to the cultivators, on the security of the crop; and they buy up all the wool and ghí of the country, which they transport to foreign parts. They never marry out of their own tribe; and contrary to the law-books, give a consideration for their brides. They worship among other things the bridle of a horse. Colonel Tod thinks them the remains of the priests of the Palli Scythian race;† but this is rather a wild conjecture. Speaking of Kathoḍí, near Jésalmér, Lieut. Boileau says, "The village of *Kathoḍí* is chiefly inhabited by Palliválas, called elsewhere *Borás;* a tribe of Bráhmans who engage in mercantile pursuits. A large body of these people, some of whom were from this particular place, ran away to Ajmér some

* Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 700; vol. ii. p. 13.

† Rajputáná, vol. ii. p. 287.

time ago, in consequence of fines being levied from them by the Ráwal, but not being permitted, or not having an opportunity of carrying their wives and families out of the Jesalmér territory, they were obliged to return to the place from whence they came, and chew the cud of bitter discontent as well as they were able."* The Palliválas are numerous in Jésalmér, Bhikánér, Marwáḍ, Jayapur, and other states. Considerable numbers of them visit Bombay on business.

(4.) *The Nandávánas.*

Of these Bráhmans I have not been able to find more information than that given in connexion with Gujarát.†

(5.) *The Pushkaras or Pokharṇas.*

The *Pushkara* or *Pokharṇa* Bráhmans get their name from the lake of Pushkar or Pokhar, near Ajmér, a tírtha mentioned in the first Khaṇḍa of the Padma Puráṇa, and now celebrated throughout the whole of India. They have now, however, but little connection with that locality, their comparative indifference about it perhaps originating in the sectarial incidents connected with it in latter times. As they all trace to it their designation and original consociation, I may be excused for here inserting the notes of a hasty visit which I paid to it on the 25th February 1860. " Went with Dr. Small to the Pokhar town and lake, about six miles W. by N. of Ajmér. To get into its basin, we had to pass over two Gháṭs, the first of which borders the Anaságar artificial lake of Ajmér. Found the town much submerged in consequence of the fall of rain last season and the imperfect drainage of the water of the lake, which is esteemed so sacred that it is considered a sin to aid its flow by artificial means by an enlargement of the opening at its margin (where there are traces of a *band*), and from which there issues a small stream called the Sárasvatí. The under rooms of the Government office were filled with water to the ceiling, and we had to mount a wall to get to the upper rooms. Many shops and houses were unusable from the entrance of the holy fluid, supposed to be indicative of good fortune in the future. It is

* Tour through the Western States of Rájwárá, in 1835, p. 45. Of the Pallivälas the Rev. John Robson writes thus to me:—The *Pallivâls*, the paṇdits here say, have sprung originally from the Shrímálís of Gujarát. There are none of them in Ajmér; but there are three families in a village near it. They are engaged in traffic, and know nothing about the points you ask. They also go by the name of *Bohra*. They and the Sachoḍas and Hariyáṇas are not to be met with in Ajmér, but they are in Kishangaṛh.

† See above pp. 114, 119.

difficult to account for the origin of the tírtha, except when it is viewed as an oasis in the desert, as the scenery around it is neither very wild nor very sublime. Colonel Morrison, whose acquaintance we had the pleasure of making at Erinpura, is probably correct, when he thinks that the lake, being originally a natural one (notwithstanding subsequent enlargements by the Parihár chiefs of Mandor), must have been viewed with great wonder in India, where there are few or no other lakes of similar character. The temple of Brahmá, so often noticed in connexion with it, is not an affair of much consequence, except in the fact of its being dedicated to that deity, whose worship is discarded by modern Hinduism. It is said to have been built by Gopál Párikh, minister of the Maráthá Rájá of Gwaliér, at the cost of Rs. 130,000, which must be an exaggeration.* The Bráhmans don't directly compromise themselves by taking care of the temple (which in point of fact is under the charge of Gosávís); but they lay claim to a share of the offerings presented at the shrine. The four faces of Bráhmá on the image are uniform, but they have a lengthened chin in place of a beard. The temple is exteriorly associated with an image of Shiva with four visible heads placed on a linga, and must therefore be principally frequented by the votaries of that God.† There are various other temples on the margin of the lake, built by Rajput grandees, as Biji Singh of Jodhpur, Raja Mán of Jayapur, and Jawáhír Mal of Bharatpur. There is also one erected at the cost of the famous Ahalyá Báí of Indur. I was surprised to find only two Pokharṇa Bráhmans at the place. Their head-quarters are now at the town of Pokharṇá, N. W. of Jodhpur. The resident Bráhmans, who occasionally saluted us by holding out their hands (as if for gifts), according to the prescriptions of the law-books, belong to the Gauḍas, Sanávaḍas, Gurjara (query, Gurjara Gauḍas?), Sachoḍas, Párikhas, and Purohitas. The town is said to contain about 2,000 houses, of which two or three hundred are shops. It is visited by numerous pilgrims, seeking to bathe in the lake ('holy poker'! as a friend denominates it) particularly at full moons, and at its festivals and fairs."‡

* Sárasvatí (the 'lady of the lake') to whom the lake is dedicated, having been assigned to Brahmá as a spouse, probably suggested the idea of having a shrine here in honour of her husband.

† One of the five heads of Shiva is supposed to be invisible in cases of this kind. This image probably owes its existence to the presence of the Gosávís.

‡ Compare with this, Tod (Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 773 et seq.) and Dr. Irvine (Topography of Ajmere, p. 48.)

The Pokharṇa Bráhmans we have already noticed in connexion with Gujarát and Sindh. Speaking of them, Colonel Tod says: "Another singular tribe, also Brahminical, is the Pokharṇa, of whom it is calculated there are fifteen hundred to two thousand families in Jésalmér. They are also numerous in Márwár and Bíkanér, and are scattered over the desert and valley ot the Indus. They follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits chiefly, having little or no concern in trade. The tradition of their origin is singular; it is said that they were Beldárs, and excavated the sacred lake of Pushkar or Pokhar, for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Bráhmans, with the title of Pokharṇa. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *Khodálá*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition."* In the population tables of Lieut. (afterwards Major-General) Boileau of the Bengal Engineers,† we find the population of these Bráhmans, 150 at Bandar-Sindri in Kishangaḍh; 400 at Bikampur in Jesalmér; 1,500 at Jayapur; 5,000 at Jéselmér itself; 10,000 at Jodhpor; 1,500 at Meḍata; and at Pokharn, in Márwád, 1,500. He also noticed them in many villages through which he passed. There can be no doubt that they are a numerous body in the northern and western states of Rajputáná, where, however, they are less devoted to religious rites than in Sindh.

(6.) *The Pokhar Sévakas.*

Besides the Pokharṇa Bráhmans, or Bráhmans of Pokhar properly so called, there are found at the lake itself and at some other places a consociation of Bráhmans called *Pokhar-Sèvakas*, who devote themselves to temple service and to cooking for the Vallabhácharya Mahárájas, and are consequently looked down upon by their more independent brethren. My observant friend the Rev. John Robson, M. A., A'jmér, thus writes of them:— "They are called Pokhar Sévag, though they call themselves *Pará-sharí*, the descendants of the Ṛishi of that name, in order to exalt themselves. They are a comparatively modern class of Bráhmans. The following is the account of their origin. A Mér, whose name I have not been able to find out, had three sons, Bhupál, Narpat, and Gajpál. The Sewags are descended from Bhupál, whom they call

* Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 287.

† Appended to his Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajputáná, a work in which there is much valuable geographical information.

Pota; from Narpat are descended the Lodya Banyás; and from Gajpál the Mérs that inhabit the Pokhar valley. At the time that these three brothers lived the hill of Badrináth was thickly wooded, and in the grove there lived a great muni (I have not yet learned his name) to whom Bhupál brought rice and fruit every day, and in whose service he was constantly employed. One day the muni asked him what he wished in return, and Bhupál told him he did not wish great wealth or power but just enough to keep himself alive, and that he might gain wisdom. The muni asked him whether he would like to become a Bráhman, and he said he would, on which the muni taught him the Yajurvéda, in virtue of which he was elevated to the rank of a Bráhman. The Lodya Baniás and Mérs of Pokhar worship them, and they direct strangers in their ablutions at Pokhar, for which they receive charity. They are looked down on by other Bráhmans, and for a long time were not admitted to any of the offices connected with Bráhminical temples, being employed more by the Saraojis, (who are Jainas), but now they are pretty generally admitted as blowers of the shankh (conch). They are widely spread in Rajputáná, and do not intermarry with other castes. Their gotra is that of Vasiṣhṭha, their Shákhá the Mádhyandina, and their sítra the Káláyiní. An incident that occurred in the reign of Sawai Jaya Singh of Jayapur will show that at that time they were not considered regular Bráhmans. That king had gone to Pokhar, and been directed in his ablutions by one of the Séwags whom he worshipped and to whom he gave a fine dress, and for whom he built a temple, I think. One of the same caste in Jaipur married the daughter of that Séwag, and got from him the dress which Jaya Singh had given. Some time after Jaya Singh saw the dress on the Jaipur Sewag, and asked him whence he had gotten it. He told him that he had got it from his father-in-law in Pokhar. As soon as Jaya Singh learned that the Pokhar Séwags were the same caste with those of Jaipur he hastened thither, turned the Séwags out of the temples, and put in their place Gauḍa, Sanávaḍa, and Gujaráti Bráhmans, who now worship in the temples. Such are the principal facts I have learned with regard to the Pokhar Bráhmans. The Pokhar Mahátmya says nothing concerning them, except that by the curse of Sávitrí they were condemned to be poor."

(7.) *The Méḍataválas.*

The *Méḍataválas*, as we have already noticed under the

Gurjjara Bráhmans,* were originally consociated at the town of Meḍata or "Mairta" in the Jodhpur State. They rank themselves among the Shrí Gauḍas † They are well known in Marwáḍ, but are not very numerous in that or any of the other provinces of Rájwáḍá, except at the town from which they derive their name.

(8.) *The Páríkhas.*

The *Páríkhas*, usually called the *Purohita-Páríkhas*, are the family priests of the Jayapur, or Ḍhunḍhár Kings, in whose territory especially they are abundant. They claim to be the hereditary priests of the Surya-Vansha Kshatriyas; but are said to get their name from their judging of pearls. They profess to be of the Mádhyandina Shákhá of the White Yajur-veda, their Ṛishi being Gargá. Yet they claim to be descended from Vasishṭha. When his hundred sons with their wives were destroyed through the jealousy of his rival Vishvámitra, a son, called *Sava*, fell from the womb of one of these wives, who had Paráshara as his son, the father of Vyása, the father of Shak and Vhayashak, from whom, as their progenitor, the Páríkhas have their name."‡

(9.) *The Lavánas.*

The Bráhmans of this name are to a small extent found in Márwáḍ. Perhaps they get their name from officiating among the mercantile Lavánas. Lieut. Boileau calls them "camel-loaders.§

(10.) *The Dákotas.*

The *Dákoṭ Bráhmans*, of Bhikanér, Marwaḍ, Kishanagaḍh, Upper Sindh, Jayapur, etc. are mendicants, said to be the offspring of a Bráhman and an A'hir woman. They eat impurely, and receive impure articles, such as oil, in charity. They worship the God Shani (the Hindu Saturn), and their favourite day for asking alms is Saturday. They profess astrology. The following interesting notice of their traditions and habits is by Mr. Robson:—"There are numbers of them in Ajmér. They are worshippers of Sanichar (*Shanaishchara*) and receive all the gifts given to that God. They are as a rule very ignorant and subsist chiefly by begging. I have heard of only one who had read any-

* See above p. 106.

† For an account of this town, see Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 712, et seq., and Boileau's Personal Narrative p. 147.

‡ Letter of Mr. Robson.

§ Boileau's Personal Narrative, p. 225.

thing, and he is in the village of Lamba in Jayapur. The account they give of themselves is mainly from tradition, as they have no books. They say that in the Tretá Yuga when Ráma invaded Lanká he sat one day on the seashore, and gave a gift to Sanichár (*Sanichir ka dán* consists of black cloth, til, oil, iron, charcoal, buffaloes, salt). The gift he divided among some Ṛishis who were there; but they refused to take it, as it is thought an unworthy thing to accept it. Then a Ṛishi called Dánka made an image of Kusha, and having given it life said, "This, my son, will take thy gift." Ráma gave it to him, and said 'for a watch and a quarter of the day Sarasvatí shall remain in thy memory.' From being the sons of *Dánka* Ṛishi, they are called *Dákots*. Their Ṛishi is Dánka; their Véda, the Atharvan; their Shákhá,* the Mádhyandina; their Gotra, Káshyapa. They marry only among themselves. The other Bráhmans consider it pollution even to touch them, as also the Rájputs and Baniás, and even some of the lower castes. On the other hand, their society is secretly sought for by many of the Bráhmans, on account of their being the priests of Sanichár. The worship of this God is increasing chiefly among the Baniás, who fear his power greatly. They often give gifts of great value to him, substituting good sterling rupees for the other more appropriate gifts. Some of the Bráhmans take the cash but always through means of a Dákot who generally divides the spoil with them. My paṇdit told me that some months ago a Dahimá had come to him, and being of the same caste, he gave him a room in his house. But his (the paṇdit's) father saw a Dákot come in, and give him some rupees, on which he went up to him, charged him with receiving a "gift from Saturn, and turned him out of the house. The story, whether true or not, shows the low position of the Dákots in society, and the disgrace that seems to attach to the priesthood of Saturn."

(11.) *The Garudyas.*

In places where the Dákots do not exist, a mixed caste called *Garu*, vulgarly *Garudya*, receive Saturn's gifts. They are said to be descended from a Bráhman and Chambhárani of Dorái near Ajmér. They are the priests of the Chambhárs and Balais. These Garudyas seem to correspond with the Garodas, the priests of the Dhéḍs of Gujarát.†

* If they are of this Shákhá they must belong to the White Yajur-Veda. See above p. 11.

† See above, p. 122.

(12.) *The A'chárjas.*

The *A'chárjas* are also a low Brahmanical caste found in Marwáḍ and Ajmér. They get their name from a prákṛit corruption of *A'chárya,* an instructor in duty, but applied to a class of Bráhmans in Rajputáná who are set apart for conducting funeral ceremonies, and who, on account of the degradation of their office, have become for generations isolated from their brethren. Similar degraded classes of Bráhmans are found in almost every province of India. "The story of their origin is that when Dasharatha died no one of his sons was present, and a Bráhman who was there took care of the body till Bharata came. Bharata burned the body, and performed the Karmma Kuṇḍa till the eleventh day, when he gave all Dasharatha's clothes and jewels to the Bráhman. The Bráhman at first refused to take them, but Vásishṭha Ṛishi bade him do so. When Ráma came and heard what had happened, he bestowed on him this blessing, whosoever shall not worship you on the eleventh day, his ceremonies for his father shall not be complete. The Purohita may take gifts on other days after a death, but on the eleventh none but an A'chárja may take them. On that day he takes some Kusha (grass), dips it in cow's urine, repeats a mantra received from Rámachandra, and sprinkles the house, which then becomes clean. The A'chárjas are generally an ignorant unread class, and know nothing but this one mantra, which they will not reveal. Some of them work as siláwats and others in the fields. Their Gotra is the Bháradvája, and their Ṛishi Vasishtha. I have not been able to meet any who can tell me their Véda."*

(13.) *The Burá Bráhmans.*

The *Burá Bráhmans* (Evil Bráhmans ?) are found in great numbers in the Rajput States, and extend to Upper Sindh. They are mendicants, much dreaded by the people. They claim the clothes, bedding and *lotá* of the dead, especially of the rich. Their usual cry is,

A'j, Mátá, máro moṭhá,
Tab mujkho milá roḍá.
" Oh ! Mátá, fat and rich ones slay,
To grant me food enough this day."†

" This people," says Dr. Irvine, " is rather numerous in Rajputáná, and forms the terror of fat Shéṭs and Banyás, especially if one be met with in the morning."

* MS. of Mr. Robson.

† Irvine's Topography of Ajmer, p. 9.

(14.) *The Kápaḍis.*

There are also low mendicant Bráhmans who beg from Banyás. They are found principally in the Jodhpur and Jayapur States.

(15.) *Dahimas or Dáyimas.*

The *Dahimas* or *Dáyimas* are named from the Dahima Rajputs to be onward mentioned. They are very extensively spread in Marwáḍ and Kishangaḍh, Ḍhunḍhár and other parts of Rajputáná.* They consider themselves to be descended from the twelve sons of "Pipyálayan, son of Dadhicha." "The account of their origin which I have from my pandit, himself a Dahima and a tolerable Sanskrit scholar, is as follows:—Man Dhata, King of Márwár (a Parihár he must have been) wished to perform sacrifice and went to Haradwár where Pipyálayan was doing *tapa* in order to get him to take part in the sacrifice. He refused to take part himself, but sent his twelve sons with the King to perform all that was necessary, enjoining them at the same time not to take any reward, as both he (Pipyálayan) and his father Dadhicha had lived without gifts. They went with Man Dhatu and directed him in performing the sacrifice, but refused to take the gifts which he offered. The king after much entreaty persuaded them to take the pán supárí, and on each leaf of pán he inscribed the name of a village. They suspecting nothing returned to their father who cursed them, saying, you have become *pathagrih*, and spurned them from him. They went back disconsolate to the king of Márwáḍ, who gave them his twelve daughters in marriage, and confirmed them in possession of their villages. They had 172 sons, from whom are the different subdivisions of the caste. Many of them must have become extinct. My pandit could enumerate only ten or twelve of them. He is himself a *Mandola* from *Mandor*, the ancient capital of Márwáḍ. They seem to be mostly paṇdits, and their income seems to be derived principally from reading the Bhágavata and other Katháś. Their Ṛishi is Dadhicha; Gotra, Kaushika; Veda, White Yajush; Shákhá, Mádhyandina; and their Pravaras, three. With regard to the marriage between the Bráhmans and the Rájá's daughters, I asked the paṇdit why that was given up. He said that the Rájás had given it up because the Bráhmans were poor, and the Bráhmans in revenge declared that the Rajás had lost caste."† The story is a very improbable

* The Rev. John Robson.

† They are said to profess both the Rig-véda and the Yajur-véda, and to be engaged in public service, agriculture, mendicancy, and merchandise. Information of Pandit Rámasaháya.

one. It is not unlikely that the Dahimas have got their name from the Dahima Rajputs of Biáná, whose decay from great splendour is noticed by Colonel Tod.*

(16.) *The Khandélavâlas.*

The *Khandélavála* Bráhmans get their denomination from the town of *Khandéla*, one of the most northern towns of the Jayapur State near the borders of Shékhavatí. They abound in the Jayapur territories, and are found in some of the other Rajput states. They claim connection with the A'di-Gauḍas, with whom we have already associated them as mentioned above.† They are said to be Yajur-Védís, and mostly followers of Shiva, who is generally viewed as the tutelary god of the Rajputs. Some of them whom I have met are Vallabhácháryas, and Ṛig-Védís. They engage in public service, merchandise, agriculture, and mendicancy.

(17.) *The Divas.*

The *Diva* Bráhmans are numerous in Bhikanér, Márwáḍ, and especially at Náthadwára in Méwád, where they conduct the Vallabhácharya worship of Kṛishna and (with the Maharájas so-called) glory in the gifts and endowments which are presented to the Hindu god of lust. It is much to be regretted that the keen (though indulgent) eye of Colonel Tod did not penetrate the iniquitous system of this shrine.‡

(18-23.) *The Sikávadas*, the *Chamatavúlas*, (from Bharatpur?) the *Márus*, the *Shrívantas*, the *A'bhíras*, the *Bharatánás.*

These Bráhmans are found principally in Western Rajputáná and especially the Jayapur territories. I have not been able to learn anything respecting them, except in the case of the A'bhíras elsewhere noticed, but the fact now mentioned.

(24.) *The Sanávaḍas.*

The Sanávaḍas are pretty numerous in the same and other districts of Rajputáná. The place of their original consociation is unknown. Perhaps they are the same as the *Sanáḍhyas*, or *Sanoḍhyas* of other districts.

* Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 119.

† See before, under Gauḍa Bráhmans.

‡ See his romantic description of it and its incidents, in his first volume, pp. 521, 662.

(25.) *The Vágaḍís.*

The *Vágaḍí*, or *Bágaḍí* Bráhmans are of ancient date, and are the priests of the Vágaḍís and the wild tribe of the Mínas.* They have a very low standing in the Bráhmanhood. They will be afterwards mentioned in connexion with Central India.

(26-28.) *The Mewáḍas.*

Of these there are three divisions, already mentioned in connexion with Gujarát: the *Triváḍí Méváḍís* (sometimes called Joshís);† *Bhaṭṭa Meváḍís*, and the *Vava* or Chorásí *Méváḍís*. They were all originally consociated in the province of Méwáḍ, in which many of them are now cultivators, public servants, priests and mendicants.

(25.) *The Rájgurus or Rájgors.*

The *Rájgurus*, or as they are more commonly called the *Rajgors*, are not confined to Rajputáná, but are found wherever the Rajputs are scattered. In the State of Jodhpur they have the proprietory of no fewer than 300 villages, which have in different reigns been allotted to them. This fact I learned at one of these villages named Porárá, almost the whole population of which consisted of Rájgurs and the members of their families. In other States, too, they have large possessions. They call themselves, as I have found in Rajputáná, *Bṛihaṭ* (Bṛishṭha), or Broken Bráhmans. They say they fell into their present position from having officiated among the Rajput princes and chiefs after these professed Kshatriyas had departed from the *áchára* (or line of life) prescribed to them in the Hindu law-books. By the regular Bráhmanhood they are despised; but they have great influence wherever they are found, as family priests, astrologers, securities for life and property, collectors of debts, and substitutes in moral responsibility (!) for the sins of their clients. Their connection with Rájput infanticide was long of an appalling character.‡ They are the priests of the *Chárans*, about to be mentioned, and give much literary assistance to the Jainas. Some of them are good practical readers of Sanskrit, though they have devoted comparatively little attention to its grammar. The most learned individual of their number with

* Irvine's Topography of Ajmere, p. 21.
† See above, p. 104.
‡ See author's work on Infanticide, pp. 57, 66, 70, 327.

whom I have met (who was introduced to me by Dr. Bháu Dájí) has a most extensive acquaintance with the Jaina literature. He mentioned to me that they have a great many subdivisions among themselves, as the *Shévaḍa*, *Méta*, *Gundécha*, *Shíya*, *Chávindya*, *Pancha-Lada*, etc. It is rather remarkable that Col. Tod should have taken but little notice of the Rájgurs in his nearly exhaustive work on Rajputáná. In many respects they resemble the Bháṭs and Chárans, the Bards of Rajputáná, whom I shall now notice, though they do not themselves distinctly claim descent from the Bráhmans, though they largely share in the honours accorded to a priesthood esteemed absolutely sacred.

(30.) *The Bháṭs, Bháṭ ṭas, or Bhárats.*

These names seem to be etymologically the equivalents of the Sanskrit *Bhaṭa* or *Bhaṭṭa*, popularly formed from *Bhartṛi*, a nourisher or protector, and figuratively applied to mendicant and learned Bráhmans. Wherever Rajputs are settled, however, they are used to designate a class of eulogistic bards, genealogists, and chroniclers, very abundant among those reputed descendants of the ancient Kshatriyas. Their name and occupation suggest the Latin *vates*. Their engagements are partly the same as those of the *Sútas* and *Bandijanas* of the Sanskrit books.* It is possible that they may have been originally Bráhmans cleaving to the Rajputs like the Rájgurs, though of an earlier confederation, or perhaps the irregular descendants of Rajputs themselves ; for in physiognomy they seem to be of the A'ryan type, and claim and receive civil and religious honour of a very extravagant character. " The Bháṭs or Ráos," says Sir John Malcolm, " seldom sacrifice themselves ; but as chroniclers or bards, they share power, and sometimes office with the Chárans.† Among the Bhilálás and lower tribes they enjoy great and exclusive influence ; they give praise and fame in their songs to those who are liberal to them, while they visit those who neglect or injure them, with satires, in which they usually reproach them with spurious birth and inherent meanness. Sometimes the Bháṭ, if very seriously offended, fixes the figure of

* See vol. i. pp. 57, 65, 66, 127, etc.

† "According to the fable of their origin," says Sir John, " Mahádeva first created Bháṭs to attend his lion and bull ; but these could not prevent the former killing the latter, which was a source of infinite vexation and trouble, as it compelled Mahádéva to create new ones. He therefore formed the Cháran." Central India, vol. ii. p. 132.

the person he desires to degrade on a long pole, and appends to it a slipper as a mark of disgrace. In such cases the song of the Bháṭ records the infamy of the object of his revenge. This image usually travels the country, till the party or his friends purchase the cessation of the ridicule and curses thus entailed. It is not deemed in these countries in the power of the prince, much less any other person, to stop a Bháṭ, or even punish him for such a proceeding: he is protected by the superstitious and religious awe, which, when general among a people, controls even despotism."* They hold that their own lives are sacred, and by the people in general it is believed that this is the case. Their extravagant demands for *dána*, or largesses, on the occasion of Rajput marriages (as well as those of the Chárans) were among the most powerful inducements to infanticide in Káthiawáḍ. It was proposed by some philanthropists to put an authoritative limit on these demands. This proposal was very properly condemned by Major, now Major-General, Sir G. LeGrand Jacob. "I doubt the expediency," he wrote, "of introducing any such rule under British sanction....We might slightly diminish present mischief by fixing a standard, but the doing so would only give perpetuity to an evil that the hand of time is gently eradicating." These views were approved by the Bombay Government.† The Bháṭs in Rajputáná frequently act as conveyors of goods, and drovers of cattle for hire, trusting to the reputed sacredness of their persons for the safety of their charge, and to their escape (to a certain extent at least) of toll and fiscal duties. But who shall protect one band of Bháṭs from another? A curious case of an onset between two of their *tandas*, or caravans, is recorded by Colonel Tod.‡ He also mentions a voluntary sacrifice of eighty souls of their community, when seeking to enforce a claim on the Maharájá Umra of Marwáḍ, who, on a certain occasion, had resisted their extravagant demands.§ This is the most fearful case of *trága*, or *tyága* (abandonment of life) with a view to frighten the superstitious of which we have any authentic notice in modern times. Another of the customs of the Bháṭs, and also of the Charans, that of *dharaná* or extortion, is practised by their sitting for hours, and days if necessary, for the

* Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. pp. 37-8.

† Author's Infanticide in Western India, p. 250.

‡ Rájasthán, vol. i. p. 702.

§ Ib.

enforcement of the payment of debts and other claims of themselves and clients.

(27.) *The Cháranas.*

The Cháranas are commonly supposed to get their name from the feeding and rearing of cattle. It is possible, however, that they may be the *debris* of some of the ancient Bráhmanical *Cháranas.** The most interesting notices which we have of them are probably those from the pen of Sir John Malcolm. "They are divided," he says, "into two tribes, the Kachilí, who are merchants, and the Máru who are bards.† These again branch out into one hundred and twenty other tribes, many of whom are the descendants [in the female line] of Bráhmans and Rajputs. The Káchilí and Máru Chárans do not intermarry; but the latter intermarry with Rajputs." "The Bráhman priests, who were the religious guides of the Rajputs while they remained on the banks of the Ganges, do not appear to have followed them, in any numbers, to their remote habitations on the verge of India. Beings were therefore wanted, on whose sanctity weak and superstitious minds could repose, who had, or pretended to have, knowledge; whose faith was trusted, and who would constitute a link between men who could not confide in each other. Such the Chárans soon became, and the usages they adopted give a singular picture of the society which they may be said in a great degree spiritually and morally to govern. The Chárans must understand the rites of worship, particularly those of Shiva and Párvatí, the favourite deities of the Rajputs. They are taught to read and write, and the class who traffic (generally in camels and horses) are shrewd men of business; while the Máru Chárans apply their skill to the genealogy of tribes, and to the recital of numerous legends (usually in verse), celebrating the praises of former heroes, which it is their duty to chant, to gratify the pride and rouse the emulation of their descendants. The Cháran's chief power is derived from an impression, that it is certain ruin and destruction to shed his blood, or that of any of his family, or to be the cause of its being shed. They obtain a high rank in society, and a certain livelihood, from this superstitious belief which they are educated to inculcate, and which they teach their children to consider as their chief object in life to maintain. A Cháran becomes the safeguard of travellers and the security for merchants; and his bond

* See above p. 9 et seq.

† Besides these two classes of Chárans there is another in Kachh, called Tumár. Infanticide in Western India, by the author, p. 338.

is often preferred among the Rajputs, when rents and property are concerned, to that of the wealthiest bankers. When he trades himself, he alone is trusted and trusts among the community to which he belongs. The Cháran who accompanies travellers likely to be attacked by Rajput robbers, when he sees the latter approach, warns them off by holding a dagger in his hand; and if they do not attend to him, he stabs himself in a place that is not mortal, and taking the blood from the wound, throws it at the assailants with imprecations of future woe and ruin. If this has not the desired effect, the wounds are repeated; and in extreme cases one of the Cháran's relations, commonly a female child or an old woman, is made a sacrifice. The same process is adopted to enforce the payment of a debt to himself or a claim for which he has become security. It is not unusual, as the next step, to slay himself; and the catastrophe has been known to close in the voluntary death of his wives and children. The females of the Chárans are distinct from all the other population, both in dress and manners. They often reside in separate villages, and the traveller is surprised to see them come out in their long robes, and attend him for some space, chanting his welcome to their abode. The Cháraus are not only treated by the Rajputs with great respect (the highest rulers of that race rising when one of this class enters or leaves an assembly), but they have more substantial marks of regard. When they engage in trade, lighter duties are collected from them than others. They receive at all feasts and marriages presents that are only limited by the ability of the parties. The evil consequences of a Cháran being driven to undergo a violent death, can be alone averted by grants of lands and costly gifts to surviving relations; and the Rajput chief, whose guilt is recorded (for all these sacrifices are subjects of rude poems) as the cause of such sacred blood being shed, is fortunate when he can by any means have his repentance and generosity made part of the legend."*

From an intelligent and educated Cháraní (female Cháran) from Jámanagar, I have received, as this sheet is passing through the press, the following reliable information. "The Cháraus of Rajputáná, Káthiáwáḍ, Málwá, etc. are composed of three castes which may all eat together—the *Pradíya*, the *Tumbéla*, and the *Sudará*. The Pradíyas give their daughters only to their own caste, but receive daughters also from the other castes. The two other castes give

* Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 133, et. seq.

their daughters freely to the Pradíyas, but not to one another. The favourite divinity of them all is Déví, the consort of Shiva.

In the course of my own missionary journeys, I have frequently come in contact both with Chárans and Bháṭs, and have had a good deal of conversation with them, confirming the views taken of them by Colonel Walker,* Sir John Malcolm, and Col. Tod, to whom we are indebted for the fullest notices of them. The first reference to them which I find in my journals is under the date, of Bábará (in Kaṭhiáwáḍ) Feb. 10, 1835 :—

"When we asked the chief some questions about his family, he called forward his Cháran or domestic bard, who repeated a poem, in which the deeds of his forefathers were most extravagantly extolled, and their various genealogies recorded. The bards are a *sine qua non* in all the establishments of the chiefs in this part of the world. Sometimes they are Bháṭs, sometimes Chárans. They have almost unbounded influence over those who retain them, and in a worldly point of view they are well provided for. They are ready to disfigure and dismember themselves, and even to take their own lives when their wishes are opposed. They seem to be more regarded than the Bráhmans." Subsequent visits to the same province led me to notice the mitigation of their pretensions and influence as far as founded on superstition and fear. Some years ago I was introduced by my friend Dr. Glasgow, to two or three of them in a village near Rájkoṭ, who had embraced Christianity. On visiting Jodhpur (in February 1860) I found that Capt. Nixon, the Political Agent at the capital of Márwáḍ, was investigating, in the neighbourhood, a case of *trága*, in which a Cháran had killed his mother, in a local quarrel, to bring her blood upon an opposing party. The inquiry which he was conducting was agreeable to the engagements of H. H. the Mahárájá of that province, who, with the Rajput princes in general, has come under obligations to the British Government to suppress trága and all other forms of Hindu suicide. While I was at Jodhpur at the time mentioned above, I had much interesting conversation with the most learned Bráhman of the Darbár, Prabhulál Joshí, who

* In his Reports on Kathiáwád and Papers on Infanticide.

showed that he had a great deal of Védic and philological knowledge, and the most learned Cháran, also of the court, Bhárata Dána, who seemed to have mastered the whole of the legendry of the Mahábhárata, as well as that of the local chronicles of the Rajputs. It is much to be regretted that no systematic attempt has yet been made to collect and publish the bardic poems of Rajputáná, which in a historical, if not in a literary, point of view have great interest, as well shown by Col. Tod and Mr. Kinloch Forbes.

The latter gentleman thus writes of the Bardic Chronicles :—

"Of the poetic value of the bardic chronicles we have in some degree enabled our reader to form his own estimate. Perhaps it may be thought of them (as Johnson thought of the so-called 'Poems of Ossian') that 'nothing is more easy than to write enough in that style if once you begin.' Where poets form an hereditary profession, the character of the poetry can scarcely be secure from this criticism. Their exaggerations are awkwardly great, and all their little fishes are apt to speak like great whales, their descriptions and their similes have so little variety that they might almost be stereotyped. Still it must, we think, be admitted that there is often in the bardic sketches much of spirit and of effective, however rude, colour and drawing. Their historical value may be accurately measured by a rule with which the biographer of the 'Queens of England' furnishes us: 'No one,' says Miss Strickland, 'who studies history, ought to despise tradition, for we shall find that tradition is, on the whole, accurate as to fact, but wholly defective and regardless of chronology.' The bardic accounts, where they are written, and are *intelligible without oral explanation*, may rank with the contemporaneous ballad poetry of other nations: where unwritten, they approximate to common oral tradition. The written genealogies, where they do not ascend to fabulous periods, are doubtless correct in the main. In matters of less strictness, even the bards themselves, though they admit a certain laxity, assert their material accuracy. The following is their canon :—

"'Without fiction there will be a want of flavour,
But too much fiction is the house of sorrow.
Fiction should be used in that degree,
That salt is used to flavour flour.'

"And in another couplet they assert that,—

"'As a large belly shows comfort to exist,
As rivers show that brooks exist,
As rain shows that heat has existed,
So songs show that events have happened.'

"There is one subject, at least, upon which bardic testimony cannot be impugned—the subject, we mean, of manners and customs; and without contending for what is extravagant, we may remark that the bards, even if by an

operation the very reverse of that which is performed by amber, have enshrined in the rude casket of their traditions much of that for which history is more especially valuable. . . . . The bardic song, with all its virtues and its vices, its modicum of truth and its far larger mass of worthlessness, is now nearly silent, and can never revive; the swords which it celebrated are broken or rusted, the race by whose deeds it was inspired is fast passing away. Perhaps it may be the fate of even these poor unworthy pages to call attention, for really the last time, to the verse which has been, for so many centuries, alike a solace in peace and stimulant in danger to the sons of the Kshatrís."*

This estimate is as correct as it is happily expressed. It may be coupled with the following notice by Mr. Forbes of the peregrinations of the bards among the minor chiefs of Gujarát and Káthiáwáḍ, applicable also to those in Rajputáná and Central India:—

"When the rainy season closes, and travelling becomes practicable, the bard sets off on his yearly tour from his residence in the 'Bháṭawára' of some city or town. One by one he visits each of the Rajput chiefs who are his patrons, and from whom he has received portions of land, or annual grants of money, timing his arrival, if possible, to suit occasions of marriage or other domestic festival. After he has received the usual courtesies, he produces the 'Wahí,' a book written in his own crabbed hieroglyphics, or in those of his fathers, which contains the descent of the house, if the chief be the Tiláyat or head of the family, from the founder of the tribe; if he be a 'Phatáyo,' or cadet, from the immediate ancestor of the branch, interspersed with many a verse or ballad, the 'dark sayings' contained in which are chanted forth in musical cadence to a delighted audience, and are then orally interpreted by the bard, with many an illustrative anecdote or tale. The Wahí is not, however, merely a source for the gratification of family pride, or even of love of song; it is also a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined when marriage is on the *tapis*, and disputes relating to the division of ancestral property are decided, intricate as these last necessarily are from the practice of polygamy, and the rule that all the sons of a family are entitled to a share. It is the duty of a bard at each periodical visit to register the births, marriages, and deaths which have taken place in the family since his last circuit, as well as to chronicle all the other events worthy of remark which have occurred to affect the fortunes of his patron; nor have we ever heard even a doubt suggested regarding the accurate, much less the honest, fulfilment of this duty by the bard."†

This may well illustrate the interest of many of the documents in the possession of the bards, especially those connected with later times. Many of the reputed ancient genealogies in their possession are not trustworthy; but, by their comparison, historical facts may be elicited. It is to the credit of the bards that, on proper acknowledgment being made, they are generally willing to furnish copies of their manuscripts to worthy desiderants; copies of the older and more extended poems, as those of Chanda, should be procured from different provinces for the purpose of collation for a standard text.

* Rásmálá, vol. ii., pp. 265-66.

† Rásmálá, vol. ii., pp. 263-64.

In concluding our notice of the Bráhmans of Rajputáná, the following testimony of Colonel Tod, the warm and generous friend of all its provinces, is worthy of particular attention :—"There is scarcely a State in Rajputáná in which one-fifth of the soil is not assigned for the support of the temples, their ministers, the secular Bráhmans, bards, and genealogists. But the evil was not always so extensive ; the abuse is of modern growth." "The Bráhmans, Sanyásís, and Gosains are not behind those professional flatterers, the bards ; and many a princely name would have been forgotten but for the record of the gift of land." It is to land that the avarice of those of whom he complains is principally directed. It is, however, not bounded by land. "The political influence of the Bráhmans is frequently exemplified in cases alike prejudicial to the interests of society and the personal welfare of the sovereign. The latter is often surrounded by lay Bráhmans as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal, besides the *guru* or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of ghostly comforter sometimes adds that of astrologer and physician, in which case God help the prince."* He also accuses the Bráhmans of sometimes forging charters in their own favour, stating in illustration that "there is not a doubt that the grand charter of Náthadwára was a forgery, in which the prince's butler was bribed to aid."

Speaking of the Jayapur State, he says—"Of Bráhmans following secular as well as sacred employments, there are more in Ambér than in any other State in Rájwáḍá ; from which we are not to conclude that her princes were more religious than their neighbours, but, on the contrary, that they were greater sinners."

* Rájasthán, vol. i., pp. 507-514.

In all this there is much truth, while no doubt considerable benefit often arises from the secularization of the Bráhmans, who are often the only parties in particular provinces who are capable of conducting public affairs. A distinct attempt should everywhere be made, by education and instruction, for the amelioration of their circumstances. No monopoly of business should be allowed to remain in their hands, while no work for which they are better qualified than others should be withheld from them simply because they are Bráhmans. Their capacity for thought, and for labour requiring thought, cannot be doubted, but their moral character in individual cases should always be inquired into.

6.—*Central India Bráhmans.*

The following general account of the Bráhmans of Central India* is from the pen of Sir John Malcolm:— "Besides the various tribes of Bráhmans from the Dakhan [particularly those of the Maháráshṭra], there are no less than eighty-four† sects in Central India; but almost all these trace, or pretend to trace, the emigration of their ancestors, and that at no distant period, from neighbouring countries. The six sects, or Chanátí tribe of Bráhmans,‡ alone claim the province of Málwá as their native country, and even they refer back to a period of twenty or thirty generations, when their ancestors came into it; but still they have a pride in being termed Málwá Bráhmans, which to the rest would be a reproach.

* In this notice, by 'Central India' is to be understood the districts lying to the south of Rajputáná and the north of the Sátpuḍa range of mountains.

† That is simply a large number.

‡ This is a consociation of six castes of Bráhmans.

The Gujarát Bráhmans are very numerous; some of these are employed in the offices of religion, while others trade, and gain a respectable livelihood as writers and accountants. Many of the Márwár or Jodhpur Bráhmans are also traders; but the great mass from that country, as well as from Udayapur, are labourers and cultivators, forming, indeed, a very considerable proportion of the most industrious husbandmen of Central India. The Hindustán Bráhmans are not so numerous, and a considerable proportion of them are concerned in trade. Those from Oude (classed with the natives from Behar, and known by the general name of Purabís, or Eastern Bráhmans) are almost all soldiers, and seldom, if ever, settle in this country. A few of the military Bráhmans of the above tribes, and of those from Benares and Kanoj, are supported by the charity of the Maráṭhá princes and chiefs, while many have found employment as servants of the rich Southern (Drávida) Bráhmans; and the latter, though they will neither eat nor intermarry with these sects, have studied their convenience by coming to the conclusion that they are not defiled by the lowest Purabís giving them water, washing their clothes, and performing other menial offices.

"All the Bráhmans of Central India, excepting the Southern, are classed by the conquerors under the general head of Rángaḍí, or rustic. They are in general a quiet, submissive race, with the exception of the Purabí or Eastern Bráhmans, who, coming from Oude and Behar, filled the ranks of the insubordinate corps of regular infantry which for so many years domineered over this country, and treated its inhabitants with such insolence and rapacity, as to render them equally dreaded and hated as the Paṭháns.

"The Bundelakhaṇd Bráhmans, and some of the lower orders from Kanoj, who come annually to Central India, will be noticed among the classes to whose level and association their impure habits and crimes have degraded them.

"There is, perhaps, no part of India [if we except Gujarát] where the tribes of Bráhmans are so various, and their numbers so great, as in Central India; but there is certainly none where there are so few of them either wealthy, learned, or where there is less attention paid to the religious rites of the Hindú faith, or to its priests, by the rest of the population."*

These statements, both as far as my own observations in Central India, and enquiries respecting it, are concerned, appear to me to be very correct. I have found only the following classes of Bráhmans originally consociated within its boundaries:—

(1) *The Málavís.*

The ***Málaví Bráhmans*** are the proper Bráhmans of the province of ***Málwá*** and the adjoining country. They principally belong to the Mádhyandina Sháhkhá. They are found not only in their own special habitat, but in smaller numbers in the Ńágpur and Berar territories. Those of them who have been long settled in provinces exterior to Málwá, as in Gujarát, are isolated in caste from their main body. Their áchára is not approved of by the Maráṭhá Bráhmans. They are often shopkeepers and cultivators.

(2) *The Nárbadís or Nemáḍís.*

The *Nárbadís* or *Nemáḍí Bráhmans* are the Bráhmans of the country lying on the banks of the Narbadá or Narmadá river, between the Vindhya and Sátpuḍa ranges. Those of them with whom I have conversed are Yajur-védis, but of which recension of the Yajur-véda they could not tell me. They often wander, into the provinces contiguous to their own, as mendicants. Their language is intermediate between the Gujarátí, the Málaví, and the Maráṭhí.

* Central India, vol. ii., pp. 122-24.

(3) *The Rángadís.*

While it is a fact, as mentioned above by Sir John Malcolm, that the Maráṭhás apply the term *Rángaḍí* to all the established Bráhmans of Central India, there is a consociation to whom the designation belongs by way of distinction. It is that which is found in the mountain and hilly tracts to the west. Its members officiate particularly at marriages among the Bhíls and other wild tribes there located. They correspond with the *Vágadí* or *Bágadí* Bráhmans, who are found among the same tribes, as in Rajputáná among the Mínas.

(4) *The Bágadís.*

These Bráhmans have got their name from their ministering to the cultivating, warlike, and thievish caste of Bágadís. They are not held in repute among the general Bráhmanhood of any part of India.

On one occasion I asked a Bráhman to furnish me with a list of the most common castes of Bráhmans found in Málwá; he complied with my request by giving me the following brief list:—The *Shrí-Gauḍ*, *Gurjar-Gauḍa* of two distinctions, *Baḍi-Samájavále* (those of the great association, perhaps the *Chanáti*), the *Chhottí Samájavále*, *Paríkha*, *Daimá*, *Khanḍélvála*, *Audíchya*, *Audumbar*, *Pallivála*, *Dashora*, *Bavisha*, *Chauvisha*, and *Jujotya*. These we have already noticed in connection with other provinces (Kanyakubjas, said to be named from Jijanta Singh, who befriended them). Respecting the Bráhmans at the "sacred" and classical tírtha of Central India, Ujjayin, Lieutenant Edward Conolly thus writes in his animated and interesting account of his visit to that locality :—

"The Bráhmans of large towns are proverbially avaricious and quarrelsome. Those of Ujjayin, being perhaps worse than elsewhere, are consequently held in little esteem. I gave a rupee to one of the attendants at Bhairava's temple; hardly had we crossed the threshold before the usual wrangling commenced. Am I not so-and-so? "Am not I a Bráhman?' shouted one voice. 'You may be a Bráhman, or any-

thing else,' was the retort, 'but we'll share the money for all that.' Lamenting to a Kanoj paṇḍit at my side the degradation of his sect, he explained that nearly all the Bráhmans of Málwá are of the Gujaráti classes, which are looked down upon by those of Hindústán, and are notorious for their rapacity and avarice: he assured me that, in the larger temples, not one even of his own class could escape their extortions, for that they would not let a visitor quit the shrine without his leaving what they chose to consider a donation proportioned to his means: but perhaps, added he, they are not so much in fault as the people amongst whom they dwell—*Jaisá desh, taisá bésh.* Pilgrims, on arriving at Ujjayin, hire guides to go with them the rounds of the holy places. These cicerones (Audíchya Bráhmans*) sit at the gháṭs expecting their prey. They require from any Bráhman or respectable person whom they have escorted, a certificate to that effect, in which they are very particular in inserting the name, family, habitation, &c., of the visitor. He who can show the greatest and most respectable budget of these documents takes a sort of lead amongst his fellows, *hæc dignitas, hæ vires.* When a well-dressed Hindú stranger approaches the gháṭs, the guides press round him: 'Take me, I have read,' cries ones; 'I have been here for thirty years, and know every corner,' pleads another; while a third holds aloft a dirty piece of paper, and shouts in his ear, 'I escorted Shástrí so-and-so—here's his certificate.' These pious men then push,† bawl, and abuse, while the puzzled visitor, alarmed at the hubbub, with difficulty extricates himself from their clutches, and must wonder in silence at this first specimen of the holiness of Ujjayin."‡

This experience is probably consistent with that of every visitor of any of the celebrated Hindú tírthas of India; but it must be remembered that they are mendi-

* "These are the more numerous; but poor Bráhmans of other Gujaráti classes are found, as the Nágár, Audambar, &c. Maháráshṭra Bráhmans also may be met with; my guide was of this ját, a very ignorant old man (I chose him for his wrinkles) who could do nothing but mutter mantras, and, when asked a question, kept his teeth closed and shook his head."

† "As long as there is no gold or silver before them (says Lucian of some similar hypocrites), they are very good friends; but show them a single farthing, and the peace is broken immediately; there is no longer any order or agreement amongst them; they are just like the dogs; throw but a bone, they all sally out, bite one another, and bark at him that carries it off."—Franklin's Translation.

‡ Journ., As. Soc. of Bengal, 1837, pp. 821-22.

cant Bráhmans who at such places principally present themselves to view. Yet it can easily be supposed that great changes have come over the priesthood of these provinces since the days of Vikramáditya, and the Rájá Bhoja so famous as a patron of literature. Even a worse charge than mendicancy, however, is to be preferred against the Bráhmans of Central India. Speaking of the wondrous professional *bands* of that part of the country, Sir John Malcolm says—"The Thags are composed of all castes ; Muhammadans even are admitted : but the great majority are Hindús ; and, among these, the Bráhmans, chiefly of the Bundelakhaṇd tribes, are in the greatest numbers, and generally direct the operations of the different bands." The Thags have been well-nigh extirpated by the British Government ; but not a few of the Bráhmans of Central India are still understood to be dexterous thieves and robbers. As, with few exceptions, particularly among the Bráhmans of the Mahárásh̤ṭra, the Bráhmans of this part of India belong to the Panchagauḍa, they freely use animal food. Some of them, indeed, did not refuse to act as cooks to the British soldiers engaged in suppressing the Mutiny of 1857.*

7.—*The Maithila Bráhmans.*

The Maithila Bráhmans derive their designation from Mithila, an ancient division of India, the king of which was Janaka, the father of Sítá, the wife of Ráma, the hero of the Rámáyaṇa. It comprehended a great portion of the modern districts of Tirhút (olim, Tíra-bhukti, 'bank boundary'), Sáran and Púrṇiya, and also

* This fact was first brought to my notice by an able medical officer of the Bombay Army, Dr. Lumsdaine.

part of the adjacent tracts of Népál.* Of the language of this province Colebrooke thus writes :—"*Maithila*, or *Tirhutíya*, is the language used in Mithila, that is, in the Sirkár of Tirhút, and in some adjoining districts, limited however by the rivers Kushí (Kaushikí) and Gaṇdak (Gaṇdakí), and by the mountains of Népál. It has great affinity with the Bengálí ; and the character in which it is written differs little from that which is employed throughout Bengal. In Tirhút, too, the learned write Sanskṛit in the Tirhútíya character, and pronounce after their own inelegant manner. As the dialect of Mithila has no extensive use, and does not appear at any time to have been cultivated by elegant poets, it is unnecessary to notice it farther in this place."† Three Maithila dramas of considerable merit in a poetical point of view have been brought to light since Colebrooke's time. They are the Gaurí-Pariṇaya by Shivalála, the Parighaṭa-Harana by Umápati, the Prabhávatí Haraṇa by Vanághu. Another poem is valued among them, called Bihárí, by Bihárí Mishra.

Speaking of the divisions and nominal divisions of the Bengal Bráhmans (to be afterwards noticed), Mr. Colebrooke says—"In Mithilá the additions are fewer, though distinct families are more numerous : no more than three surnames are in use in that district, *Thákura*, *Mishra*, and *Ojha*, each appropriated in any families."‡ Besides these, there are the *Chaudharí*, *Ráya*, *Parihasta Khan*, and *Kumára*.

* F. Hamilton's Népál, p. 45. Hamilton's Gazetteer, vol. ii., p. 663.

† On the Sanskṛit and Prákrita Languages, in As. Res., vol. vii., p. 225. On the District of Tirahút, see Report by A. Wyatt, Esq., Calcutta, 1854.

‡ As. Res., vol. v., p. 66.

There are certainly fewer distinctions recognized among the Maithilas than among any other of the great divisions of Bráhmans in India. Those mentioned to me in Bombay, Calcutta, and Benares are the following—

(1) *The Ojhás, Ujhás, or Jhás.*

This denomination is said by my informer (Sadánanda Upádhyáya) to be derived from *Upádhyáya*, the process being—(a) *Upájjhá*, (b) *Ojká*, (c) *Jhá*. They are of the Mádhyandina and Ránaníya Shákhás of the White Yajur-véda, and are *Sháktas*, worshippers of Káli or Dévi, and other *Sháktis* or female energies of the Hindús.

(2) *The Thákuras.*

The *Thákuras* are only the superior classes of the *Mishras*, who have assumed their denomination for titular purposes.

(3) *The Mishras.*

In this division are found both Vaidik and Tántrik Bráhmans, and also the following Bhédas or distinctions :—

1. The *Chaudharís*, who get their name from their claiming the *adhikara* of the four Védas, though in point of fact only Sáma-védís and Shukla Yajur-védís are found among them.

2. *Rájas*, who are Sáma-védís and Shukla Yajur-védís.

3. *Parihastas*, who are Sáma-védis and Shukla Yajur-védís.

4. *Khánas*, who are of the Mádhyandina Shákhá of the White Yajur-véda.

5. *Kumáras*, who are of the Sáma-véda, or of the White Yajur-véda.

(4) *The Púras.*

The *Púras* (Perfectionists?) are said to be Rig-védis. They have two sub-divisions, *Bakriyár* and *Chérviyár*, founded on the names of the male and female goat. Jogánanda Sárasvatí, a Pátanjali (by birth a Maithila Bráhman), informs me that the Púras do not belong to the original Maithila Bráhmanhood, though they have been long settled in the province. This devotee, who has a very good knowledge of English and Sanskṛit, says that he was forced to become a Yogí in consequence of his family refusing to receive him into caste, because of his recovery from a severe illness in connexion with which the death-ceremonies had been performed upon him.

(5) *The Shrotriyas.*

The *Shrótriyas* or *Sotís* are named from the conversancy of their ancestors with the Shruti, or traditional law. Some of them are Sáma-védis (of the Kautumbha Shákhá), and some of them are Shukla Yajur-védi Mádhyandinas. They may be of any caste of Maithila Bráhmans.

(6) *The Bhuiharas.*

These are landholders and cultivators.

The Maithila Bráhmans are scattered not only over the provinces above indicated, but are found in some of the towns of Népál, Bengal, and Central India. They were allowed to participate in the Dakshiná (or largesses) of the Péshwas of Puṇá; and a few of them thus found their way to the Maráṭhá country. Their present customs were settled, according to Dr. F. Buchanan, at the close of the twelfth century, under the prince, Nányapadéva, Rájá of Samangaḍha, or Simrun in the Taráí, who had acquired the sovereignty of Tirahút.* Modifications are attributed to Harisingh Déva by Sadáyananda Upádhyáya. They are respected for their learning, and especially for their knowledge of the Nyáya system of philosophy. The Bráhmans of other provinces, who refuse to eat and intermarry with them, do not object to unite with them in *Adháyana*, or ceremonial reading. Some Maráṭhá Bráhmans go to Tirahút to study the Nyáya. They indulge less perhaps in animal food than the other Pancha-Gauḍa Bráhmans. Some of them consecrate the flesh they use to the goddess Kálí.

Those of the Maithila Bráhmans who are not Sháktas

* F. Buchanan's Account of Népál, pp. 45, 46. Mr. Hodgson finds that Nányapadéva founded Samangaḍha, or Simrun, A.D. 1097 (see Journ. As. Soc., vol. iv., p. 123, and Thomas's ed. of Prinsep's Tables, p. 271).

are Vaidiks and Rámavats, worshippers of Ráma, considered as an incarnation of Vishṇu, using the tilaka of the Rámanandís. The Vaidiks and Rámavats cultivate the knowledge of grammar and the Smṛitis, particularly in the compilation of Vachaspati Mishra, who is a commentator on the Nyáya. Besides him there are three other principal writers on the Indian philosophy among the Maithilas—Maṇdana Mishra, Gangeshopádhyáya, and Pakshadhara Mitra. Many of the students of the Nyáya and Sánkhya in the Queen's College at Benares are Maithilas. It would be well in every such case, both for culture and comparison, if other branches of knowledge were combined with the study of these systems of philosophy so-called.

The classes of Maithila Bráhmans, properly so called, profess to intermarry and to eat with one another. The daughters of some families are said to be acquirable only by purchase.

8.—*The Népál Bráhmans.*

The introduction of Bráhmanism into Népál, the region of the Kirátas and other wild tribes of the Tartar or Turanian race, must have been in comparatively late times. It is probable that it was in the propagation of Buddhism that the Aryas in any considerable numbers found access to that mountainous region, though the Pándava Bhíma is said to have betaken himself to it at an earlier period, and Rájás with Sanskrit names are said to have reigned there before the Christian era* along with the Súryavansha Rájás [adjusted to B.C. 178 for their commencement]. It was not, in fact, till the beginning

* See Thomas's edition of Prinsep's Tables, pp. 268-9.

of the fourteenth century, when war arose in consequence of the desire of the Muhammadan emperor to get the daughter of the Hindu king of Chitor, or Chitaur, in Rajputáná, that, according to some authorities, the Parvatíya Hindus (or mountaineer Hindus of the neighbourhood) began to extend themselves to Népál. The Bráhmans of the Parvatíyas we should naturally expect to be Sárasvatas. Yet Dr. F. Hamilton says—"I cannot find even in Kuman, the seat of the first [Parvatíya] colonists, that there are now any other Bráhmans except those called the Bráhmans of Kuman, a colony avowedly introduced from Kanoj by Thor Chandra, who lived after the middle of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, and therefore subsequently to the colony from Chitaur. The country had previously been inhabited by Jars, Magars, and other impure and infidel tribes."* Mr. Hodgson, however, who had better and longer opportunities than Hamilton's, goes further back than this period for the introduction of Bráhmans into this part of the Himálaya Range. After remarking that the original inhabitants of this range are Turanian, he says—"From the twelfth century downwards, the tide of Musalman conquest and bigotry continued to sweep multitudes of the Bráhmans from the plains of Hindústán into the proximate hills which now compose the western territories of the kingdom of Népál. There the Bráhmans soon located themselves. They found the natives illiterate, and without faith, but fierce and proud." To their earliest converts, and also to their own offspring by mountaineer concubines, he goes on to say, "were accorded the lofty rank and honours of the Kshatriya tribe." "From these two roots mainly sprung the *Khas*, originally the name of a small clan of creedless barbarians,

* Hamilton's Népál, p. 12.

now the proud title of the Kshatriya or military order of the kingdom of Népál," "who have also got the patronymic titles of the first or Bráhmanical order." The original Khas, thus favoured by it (that order), became entirely devoted to the Bráhmanical system. "The Khas language soon become a corrupt dialect of Hindí."*

Dr. Hamilton states :—" East from the Kálí" (river), "the Bráhmans, who are of pure birth, are only few in number, there being no means for their subsistence, as they confine themselves mostly to the duties of the sacred order. They are of the Kanoj (Kanyakubja) nation, and of the sect of the Sháktas, following chiefly the doctrine of the books called Tantras. Where the chiefs who pretend to have come from Chitaur settled, many of them were men of great learning. In other parts, very few have made any sort of progress in grammar, law, or philosophy ; but they are considered as profound astrologers. Although very few have taken service either from men or in temples, they contaminate themselves by uncommon liberties in the gratification of their appetites. They are divided into these ranks that do not intermarry. The highest are called *Yajur-védi*, from the sacred book which they profess to follow, and they assume the title of *Upádhyáya*. These are the instructors (Gurus) and priests (Purohits) for Bráhmans and Rajpúts, and eat goats, sheep, and some kinds of wild fowl, but abstain from venison. The two lower orders are called *Kamiya* and *Purabí*, and act as instructors and priests for the lower orders. These not only eat the same animals as those of the highest rank, but many of them rear fowls and swine for their tables."†

* Bengal Selections, No. xxvii. † Hamilton's Népál, pp. 16, 17.

All the Bráhmans, the same intelligent author informs us, may keep widows of the same class as concubines. The offspring of such connections are called *Jansís*. They are numerous, and devote themselves to agriculture and commerce, not shrinking from any kind of drudgery, even that of carrying loads to the market. Before the assumption of the government by the Gorakhas* (supposed to have been originally of the Magar tribe), they were considered entitled to all the immunities and privileges of the sacred order. The descendants of Bráhmans by the lower tribes are called Kshatrís.†

Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, to whose observation and research connected with all that pertains to Népál we are so greatly indebted, further says—

"The proud *Khas*, the soi-disant Kshatriyas of Népál, and the Parbatíya Bráhmans, with all their pharasaical assertions of ceremonial purity, take water from the hands of Kachár Bhotiyas—men who, though they dare not kill the cow under their present Hindu rulers, greedily devour the carrion carcase left by disease—men whose whole lives are as much opposed to practical, as their whole tenets are to speculative, Hinduism."‡ Yet the spirit of caste is rampant in Népál, notwithstanding the fact that the Newárs, or aborigines of the valley of Népál, are Buddhists. The violation of caste in connexion with the intercourse of the sexes is visited by dreadful punishments by the Népál Government of Káthmándu, while some of the Western Hindús wished it to serve itself heir of their resolution to uphold Bráhmanism by the power of the sword. "When the banner

* "The original seat of the *Khas* is ordinarily said to be *Gorkhá*, because it was thence immediately that they issued seventy years ago (Mr. Hodgson writes in 1833), under the guidance of Prithví Náráyaṇa, to acquire the fame and dominion achieved by him and his successors of the *Gorkhalí* dynasty. *Gorkhá*, the town, lies about sixty miles W.N.W. of Káthmándu. *Gorkhá*, the name, is derived from the eponymous deity of the royal family, *viz.*, *Gorakshináth*, or *Gorkhanáth*, who likewise has given his name to our Gorakhpur."—Hodgson, *ut supra*, p. 145.

† Hamilton's Népál, pp. 17, 18, 26.

‡ Hodgson on the Law and Legal Practice of Népál.—Journ. R. A. S., vol. i., p. 46.

of Hinduism dropped from the hands of the Maráṭhás in 1817, they solemnly conjured the Népálese to take it up, and wave it proudly, till it could be again unfurled in the plains by the expulsion of the vile Feringis, and the subjection of the insolent followers of Islam."*

"Below" (that is, in the low country of India) "let man and woman commit what sin they will, there is no punishment provided, no expiatory rite enjoined. Hence Hinduism is destroyed; the customs are Muhammadan; the distinctions of caste are obliterated. Here, on the contrary, all those distinctions are religiously preserved by the public courts of justice, which punish according to caste, and never destroy the life of a *Bráhman*. If a female of the sacred order go astray, and her paramour be not a *Bráhman*, he is capitally punished; but if he be a *Bráhman*, he is degraded from his rank, and banished. If a female of the soldier tribes be seduced, the husband with his own hand kills the seducer, and cuts off the nose of the female, and expels her from his house. Then the *Bráhmana*, or soldier husband, must perform the purificatory rites enjoined, after which he is restored to his caste. *Below, the Shástras are things to talk of: here, they are acted up to.*"†

"The customary law or license which permits the injured husband in Népál to be his own avenger, is confined to the *Parbatyas*, the principal divisions of whom are the *Bráhmans*, the *Khas*, the *Magars*, and the *Gurungs*. The *Néwars*, *Murims*, *Kachar*, *Bhoteas*, *Birantis* (Kirátas), and other inhabitants of Népál, possess no such privilege. They must seek redress from the courts of justice; which, guiding themselves by the custom of these tribes prior to the conquest, award to the injured husband a small pecuniary compensation, which the injurer is compelled to pay. Nothing further, therefore, need at present be said of them. In regard to the *Parbatyas*, every injured husband has the option, if he please, of appealing to the courts, instead of using his own sword; but any one, save a learned *Bráhman* or a helpless boy, who should do so, would be covered with eternal disgrace. A *Bráhman* who follows his holy calling cannot consistently with usage play the avenger, but a *Bráhman* carrying arms must act like his brethren in arms. A boy, whose wife has been seduced, may employ the arm of his grown-up brother or cousin to avenge him. But if he have none such, he, as well as the learned *Bráhman*, may appeal to the prince, who, through his courts of justice, comes forward to avenge the wrong (such is the sentiment here)

* Hodgson in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. i., p. 48. † Hodgson, ib., p. 49.

and to wipe out the stain with blood—death, whether by law or extra-judicially, being the doom of all adulterers with the wives of *Parbatyas*. *Bráhmans*, indeed, by a law superior to all laws, may not be done to death by sentence of a court of justice. But no one will care to question the *Parbatya* who, with his own hand, destroys an adulterer, *Bráhman* though that adulterer be. If the law be required to judge a *Bráhman* for this crime, the sentence is, to be degraded from his caste, and banished for ever, with every mark of infamy. If a Parbatya marry into a tribe such as the *Néwar*, which claims no privilege of licensed revenge, he may not, in regard to such wife, exercise the privilege. But must not a *Parbatya*, before he proceed to avenge himself, prove the fact, and the identity of the offender, in a court of justice? No! An appeal to a court would afford a warning to the delinquents to escape, and so foil him. He may pursue his revenge without a thought of the magistrate; he may watch his opportunity for years, till he can safely execute his design; and when he has, at last, found it, he may use it to the adulterer's destruction. But he may not spare the adulteress: he must cut off her nose, and drive her with ignominy from his house, her caste and station for ever gone. If the wife have notoriously sinned with many, the husband may not destroy any but the first seducer; and though the husband need prove nothing beforehand, he must be prepared with legal proof afterwards, in case the wife should deny the fact, and summon him before the courts (no other person can) for murder and mutilation. There are, indeed, some *Bráhmans* among the soldiery of Népál; and the wife of a *Bráhman* may not be mutilated. But in proportion as the station of a *Bráhmaní* is higher than that of all others, so must its prerogatives be dearer to her, and all these she must lose if she confess. She must be drawn from her home by her husband, and degraded and banished the kingdom by the State."*

From the specimens of law and practice mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, it is abundantly evident that the institutes of caste mentioned in our first volume are still of special authority in Népál. In that province, too, a considerable propagation of Bráhmanism still

* Hodgson in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. i., pp. 48-51.

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continues, by the intermarriage of *soi-disant* Rajpûts with the ancient tribes of its mountains and valleys. Mr. Hodgson gives the following list of the tribes or family classes of the Bráhmans of Népál :—

1 Arjal.
2 Pondyál.
3 Khanál.
4 Régní.
5 Bhattrágí.
6 Nirola.
7 Acháryá.
8 Bhaṭṭ.
9 Sapankoṭya.
10 Maháráshtra.
11 Koinrála.
12 Pakonyal.
13 Sattyal.
14 Dohál.
15 Lamsál.
16 Rimál.
17 Devakotya.
18 Parbatya Vash.
19 Parbatya.
20 Misr.
21 Davárí.
22 Koikyal.
23 Népálíya.
24 Barál.
25 Pokharyál.
26 Rupakhéti.
27 Khativára.
28 Dákhal.
29 Adhikári.
30 Doéjá.
31 Rukái.
32 Saivál.
33 Rijál.
34 Dhúngiál.
35 Loiyál.
36 Dotiyál.
37 Khandyál.
38 Katyál.
39 Danjál.
40 Singyál.
41 Bikrál.
42 Ukniyál.
43 Bhaṭṭvál.
44 Gajniyál.
45 Chavala Gáí.
46 Vasta Gáí.
47 Banjára.
48 Daji.
49 Sotí.
50 Ostí.
51 Utkulí.
52 Kandaria.
53 Ghartmél.
54 Ghartyál.
55 Nivipánya.
56 Temrakotí.
57 Uphaltopí.
58 Párijai Kavala.
59 Homya Gáí.
60 Champa Gáí.
61 Gúra-Gáí.
62 Subérí.
63 Paṇḍit.
64 Teva Pánya.
65 Timíl Sina.
66 Kaphalya.
67 Gaithaula.
68 Gairaha Piplí.
69 Ghimirya.
70 Simkhárá.
71 Phunvál.
72 Chamkasainí.
73 Púrasainí.
74 Dhurárí.
75 Bhurtyál.
76 Panéru.
77 Loityal.
78 Sidhyál.
79 Barál.
80 Gotanya.
81 Ghorasainé.
82 Risyál.
83 Chélisya.
84 Dhongána.
85 Bharárí.
86 Bagalya.
87 Dulál.
88 Parajulí.
89 Bajgáí.
90 Satola.
91 Ghurcholí.
92 Kelatoní.
93 Gilal.
94 Lahoní.
95 Muthbarí.*

* Hodgson's Papers on the Colonization, Commerce, Geography, &c., of the Himálaya Mountains and Népál (Beng. Sel., No. xxvii., p. 147).

We are not informed as to the relationship which these classes of Bráhmans bear to one another. But, judging from the names as they stand, I should say that they are not likely to be of a very intimate character. Yet, like most of the hill Bráhmans, they have probably lost all distinctive knowledge of their Shákhás. They are not so much addicted to arms as the Bráhmans of the plains.

9.—*The Bengálí Bráhmans.*

The Bengálí language we have already noticed in connection with the Gauḍa Bráhmans,* though it is used but by very few of that priestly consociation. The *Bengálí Bráhmans* are those of the province of Bengal, the *Vanga* or *Banga* of the Sanskrit books properly so called. The principal printed notices which we have of them are furnished by Colebrooke, Dr. Buchanan, Hamilton, Ward, the *Calcutta Review*, and the *Gazette of India*. All the accounts given of them—founded, however, on a not very trustworthy tradition—represent the body of them as introduced into their present locality in comparatively late times.

"The Bráhmans of Bengal," says Colebrooke, "are descended from five priests, invited from Kányakubja, by Adishúra, king of Gauḍa, who is said to have reigned about three hundred years before Christ.† These were

* See above, pages 159-166.

† The chronological adjustments which have taken place since the time of Colebrooke, very considerably modernize the time of Adishúra. Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, in his notes on the Séna Rájás of Bengal as commemorated in an inscription from Rájasháhí, deciphered and translated by C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., C.S., makes the following remarks:—"This arrangement brings the time of Víra Séna [A.D. 994], probably the first of the family who settled in Bengal, very near the

Bhaṭṭa Náráyaṇa of the family of *Shaṇdila*, a son of *Kashyapa;* Daksha, also a descendant of *Kashyapa;* Védagaura, of the family of *Vatsa;** Chandra, of the family of Sávarṇa, a son of Kashyapa;† and Shrí Harsha, a descendant of Bhavadvája.

"From these ancestors have branched no fewer than a hundred and fifty-six families, of which the precedence was fixed by Ballála Séna, who reigned in the twelfth century of the Christian era.‡ One hundred of these families are settled in *Váréndra*, and fifty-six in Rádhá,

time which I have assigned to Adishúra in my paper on Mahendrapála, and it would not be too much to assume that Víra was the immediate successor of Adishúra. . . . The author of the Káyastha Kaustubha places the advent of the Kanauj Bráhmans in Bengal in the year 380 Bengalí or 892 A.D., which would place Adishúra in the midst of the Pálas [the preceding dynasty], and be altogether inconsistent with the five original Bráhmans and Káyasthas of Bengal. My date of Adishúra is founded upon the genealogical tables of the Káyasthas as now current in this country. These tables give twenty-seven generations from the time of Adishúra, and, at three generations to a century, the time of that prince is carried to 964 of the Christian era." He goes on to say, what is very probable—"Víra Séna may be taken to be the same with Adishúra," the word *shúra* being a synonym of *Víra*, 'a hero,' the *ádi* being indicative of the initial position occupied by Víra in the genealogy of the dynasty.—Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1865, pp. 139-40. The only difficulty I see in the case consists in the statement of the *Ayiní Akbári* that Adsur (Adishúra) belonged to a distinct dynasty of eleven Kait (Káyastha) princes who reigned 714 years.—See Prinsep's Tables (edition of Thomas), vol. ii., p. 271.

* I have altered the punctuation here.

† The *ávarṇas* were of the *Yaskas*, belonging to the Bhṛigas. By 'families' here are meant '*gotras*.'

‡ The date of Ballála Séna is given on satisfactory grounds at A.D. 1066, by Bábu Rajendrálala Mitra.—Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1865, p. 126.

or Northern Bengal. They are now dispersed throughout Bengal, but retain the family distinctions fixed by Ballála Séna. They are denominated from the families to which their five progenitors belonged, and are still considered *Kányakubja Bráhmans.*

"At the period when these priests were invited by the king of Gauḍa, some *Sárasvata Bráhmans* and a few Vaidikas resided in Bengal; but five (?) families of Vaidikas are extant, and are admitted to intermarry with the Bráhmans of the Rádhá."*

But of the different classes of Bráhmans now in Bengal properly so called, it is expedient to give a particular notice:—

(1.) *The Rádhá Kulína Bráhmans.*

The *Kulína Bráhmans* or *Svabháva Kulínas* are Bráhmans of (*kula*) a family first said to have been recognized as such by Ballála Séna, because of their having the following nine distinctions:—Observance of Bráhmanical *achárá*, meekness, learning, good report, a disposition to visit holy places, devoutness, observance of marriage among equals only, † asceticism, liberality. Those who belong to this class, are *Kevala Kulínas*, or *Kulínas* of *Svabháva*, or natural disposition—absolute Kulínas. These Bráhmans, "it is said, usually marry two wives—one out of their own class, and one out of the class of the Shrotiyas; and they take a consideration from the bride [that is, from her relatives] on the occasion of all intermarriages amongst themselves, except in cases where there is an exchange of daughters."‡

As a rule, they live with their wives in their own houses. They have often Brahmahotra lands, rent free. Some of them who have learned English are employed as clerks, teachers, and subordinate judges, &c. Among their best-educated men at present are Jagánand Mukerjea, Pleader of the Calcutta High Court; Paramananda Mukerjea, Inspector of Schools; and Vishnulleandra Bánárjí, Munsif.

* Asiatic Researches, vol. v., pp. 64, 65.

† Ward makes this to be, "to possess a dislike to receive gifts from the impure."—Ward on the History, &c., of the Hindus, vol. i., p. 79.

‡ See Report from C. Hobson, 819, *Gazette of India*, March 30th, 1867.

(2.) *The Bhanga Kulínas.*

The *Bhanga Kulínas* are Bráhmans who have "fallen" (as their name implies) into a lower state than the absolute Kulínas, from their not having married among their equals. They have among themselves the following sub-divisions:—The *Svakṛita* ('self-made') *Bhanga Kulinas* or the *Ekapurusha Bhanga*, the *Svakrita Bhanga-putra*, the *Tripurusha Bhanga*, the *Chaturthapurusha Bhanga*, the *Panchapurusha Bhanga*, the *Shashtapurusha Bhanga*, the *Saptami-purusha Bhanga* or *Baushaja* or *Vaushaja*.

Paṇḍit Táránátha Tarkavácbaspati says that the marriage with the Shrotriyas is first effected.

The chief *prakáras* (or distinctions) of the Kulínas, which altogether are 36 in number, are—

1. The Phulé, who are found near Shántipur.
2. The Khaḍadaha.
3. The Vallabhí.
4. The Sarvánandí.
5. The Paṇḍitaratní.*

All these try to marry in their own *mélás* or consociations. If one of the Phulé marry a daughter of any other *mélá*, he is considered degraded.

It is a curious fact that Ballála Séna, whose arrangements with the Bráhmans have continued so long in force, belonged to the Vaidya or physician caste, though he is said to have married a daughter of the Kanojya Rájá. He was probably guided in framing them by members of the priestly order. The work in which they are recorded is called *Mishra.* To it have been added the genealogies of the Kulínas to the present time.

(3.) *The Vaushaja.*

The *Vaushaja* are thus spoken of—"In the fifth generation after the first act by which a Kulína of the first class has fallen into the second class, *i.e.*, has become a Bhanga Kulína, he falls into the third class (the Baushaj)."† And so in other cases of progression to a lower depth. Most of the Ghaṭṭakas, or registrars of Kulína

* A Bráhmani concubine of Ballála Séna is said to have had a son who was a good paṇḍit. Ballála Séna made him the founder of this Mélá, now of 800 families.

† C. Hobhouse in *Gazette of India*, 1867, p. 283.

marriages, are said by Dr. James Taylor to belong to the Vaushaja. They keep registers of pedigrees in which the lineage of every Kulína family in the country is said to be recorded from the time of Ballála Séna. For their labours in this matter they get a fee on Kulína marriages.*

The marriages most sought after among the Kulínas, are marriages with the *Svakrita Bhanga Kulínas*, the *Bhanga Kulínas* of the second generation, the *Bhanga Kulínas* of the third generation, and the *Bhanga Kulínas* of the fourth generation. The male members of the first and second of these sub-divisions may contract an unlimited number of marriages during the life-time of the first wife; and, "except in cases of exchange, whether these marriages are contracted with Kulina women of their own class, or with the daughters of parents in inferior classes, a consideration is given by the parents or family of the bride to the bridegroom."* In other words, these Brahmans may practice polygamy, and take hire for doing so, without restrictions! All the world has heard of the polygamous and covetous practices of the Bengal Kulínas in the matter of marriage. The following official notice of their actual doings in these respects is worthy of particular attention:—

"We will now describe some of the main customs in the matter of marriage, which, on the authority of the statements made in petitions to the Legislative Council, and in some instances within the knowledge of more than one of the native gentlemen on our Committee, obtain amongst the Bhanga Kulínas; and we will state what are declared in the papers before us to be the evil results of some of those customs.

"*1st.*—In addition to the presents usually given amongst all classes of Hindus on the occasion of marriage, a Bhanga Kulína always, except when he gives his daughter to a brother Bhanga, and takes in exchange that brother Bhanga's daughter, exacts a consideration for marriage from the family of the bride.†

"*2nd.*—A present is often given in addition on the occasion of any visit made to the house of the father-in-law.

"*3rd.*—If the daughters of the first and second sub-divisional classes of Bhanga Kulínas cannot be given in marriage to husbands of their own classes, they must remain unmarried.

* Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 227.

† Sometimes when Bhangas are unequal, presents are also given.

"*4th.*—The number of wives, including those of the same class, is said to be often as many as 15, 20, 40, 50, and 80.*

"*5th.*—Polygamy is said to be resorted to as a sole means of subsistence by many Bhanga Kulínas [who may be said to live on their numerous fathers-in-law, whom they visit, especially in the month Jyesht].

"*6th.*—Marriage, it is said, is contracted quite in old age, and the husband often never sees his wife, or only, at the best, visits her once in every three or four years or so.†

"*7th.*—As many as three and four, even twenty-three, marriages have been known to have been contracted in one day.

"*8th.*—Sometimes all a man's daughters and his unmarried sisters are given in marriage to one and the same individual.

"*9th.*—It is so difficult to find husbands in the proper class for Kulína women, that numbers, it is said, remain unmarried.

"*10th.*—The married or unmarried daughters and the wives of Kulínas are said to live in the utmost misery; and it is alleged that crimes of the most heinous nature, such as adultery, abortion, and infanticide, and that prostitution are the common results of the system of Bhanga Kulína marriages generally.

"*11th.*—Cases are cited of men who have married 82, 72, 65, 60, and 42 wives, and have had 18, 32, 41, 25, and 32 sons, and 26, 27, 25, 15, and 16 daughters.‡

"*12th.*—Lists have been adduced of families in the Burdwan [Vardhámán] and Hughli districts alone, showing the existence of a plurality of wives on the above scale, and in numerous cases.

"*13th.*—The principle on which Kulinism was perpetuated, *viz.*, that of preventing intermarriages between certain classes, is violated.

"*14th.*—Families, it is said, are ruined, in order to providing the large sums requisite to give a consideration on the occasion of their daughters' marriages, or are unable to marry their daughters at all for want of means to procure such consideration.

* Paṇḍit Táránátha Tarkaváchaspati tells me that he knows of one person who has at present 100 wives, and has heard of another who has 350. Paṇḍit Nabinachandra Bánárjí knows of one who has 160 wives.

† Paṇḍit Navinachandra Bánárjí has known a case of a boy marrying a woman 40 years old, and a girl of six months being married to a man 80 years old.

‡ Paṇḍit Táránátha Tarkaváchaspati says that often a father does not know his children. The wife, too, often does not know her husband.

"15*th*.—Marriages are, it is said, contracted simply in order to this consideration, and the husbands do not even care to enquire what becomes of their wives, and have never even had any intention of fulfilling any one of the marriage duties.

"16*th*.—The crimes that are said to result from the Kulína system of marriage, are said to be habitually concealed by the actors in them and by their neighbours, and this so as to baffle the efforts of the police at discovery.

"17*th*.—No provision is made for the maintenance of one wife before marriage with an unlimited number of others."

The report from which this extract is made (dated 7th February 1867, and published in the *Gazette of India*), is signed by C. P. Hobhouse, H. T. Prinsep, Sutt Shara Ghosal, Ishwur Chundra Surma, Ramanath Tagore, Joy Kissen Mukerji, Degumber Mitter. The three last-mentioned native gentlemen, while subscribing to the report generally, state that "the practice of polygamy among those who observe it, obtains in a much more mitigated form than a few years before." The report substantially bears out the statements of Ward, though they are scarcely all comprehended by it:—

"When the daughter of a superior Kulína is married to the son of an inferior person of the same order, the latter esteems himself highly honored: if a Kulína marry the daughter of a Shrotriya, or of a Vungshuji, he receives a large present of money—in particular cases two thousand rupees, but in common cases a hundred. The Shrotriyas and Vungshujis expend large sums of money to obtain Kulína husbands for their daughters; and, in consequence, the sons of Kulínas are generally pre-engaged, while their unmarried daughters, for want of young men of equal rank, become so numerous that husbands are not found for them; hence one Kulína Bráhman often marries a number of wives of his own order. Each Kulína marries at least two wives—one the daughter of a Bráhman of his own order, and the other of a Shrotriya; the former he generally leaves at her father's, the other he takes to his own house. It is essential to the honor of a Kulína that he have one daughter, but by the birth of many daughters he sinks in respect; hence he dreads more than other Hindus the birth of daughters. Some inferior Kulínas marry many wives; I have heard of persons having a hundred and twenty; many have fifteen or twenty, and others forty or fifty each. Numbers procure a subsistence by this excessive polygamy: at their marriages

they obtain large presents, and as often as they visit these wives, they receive presents from the father; and thus, having married into forty or fifty families, a Kulína goes from house to house, and is fed, clothed, &c. Some old men, after the wedding, never see the female; others visit her once in four or five years. A respectable Kulína never lives with the wife, who remains in the house of her parents; he sees her occasionally, as a friend rather than as a husband, and dreads to have offspring by her, as he thereby sinks in honour. Children born in the houses of their fathers-in-law are never owned by the father. In consequence of this state of things, both the married and unmarried daughters of the Kulínas are plunged into an abyss of misery; and the inferior orders are now afraid of giving their daughters to these nobles among the Bráhmans.

"These customs are the cause of infinite evils:—Kulína married women neglected by their husbands, in hundreds of instances, live in adultery; in some cases, with the knowledge of their parents. The houses of ill-fame at Calcutta, and other large towns, are filled with the daughters of Kulína Bráhmans; and the husbands of these women have lately been found, to a most extraordinary extent, among the most notorious and dangerous dacoits—so entirely degraded are these favourites of Ballála Séna."*

Comment on these unnatural, shameful, and injurious practices is almost superfluous in this place. It is much to be regretted that the report circulated to Government has as yet led to no practical result. The difficulty in legislating against Kulína polygamy consists in the desire, on the one hand, not to give any legal countenance to polygamy, and, on the other, not, by force of public legislation, to run counter to the Hindu law-books, which allow a Hindu to have more than one wife. The advancement of education and civilization will doubtless, as it has begun to do, to a certain extent mitigate the evils which exist; and conversions to Christianity will altogether end their propagation in the families in which they occur; but the evils now existing may, according to the suggestions of the *Friend of India*, be mitigated by establishing a system of public marriage registration, by making more definite the claims of wives for support from their husbands, and by similar measures.

The names of the principal families of the four classes of the

* Ward, vol. i., pp. 81-83.

Rádhi Bráhmans are Mukhapádhyaya (Mukerjea), Bandapádhyaya (Banerjea), Chattapadhyaya (Chaterjea), Gangopádhyaya or Gangulí, and Ghoshal.*

(4.)—*The Rádiya Shrotriya Bráhmans.*

The *Shrotriyas* get their designation from the *Shruti*, applied to the Véda. Their synonym is *Vaidikas;* but this term is applied in Bengal to the Saptashatís, its original Bráhmans. Their non-inclusion in the *Kulínas* suggests the idea that the latter title has been conferred more in a secular than a religious sense. They are supposed to have only eight of the nine specified qualities of the Kulínas. With the Kulínas they both eat and intermarry, as mentioned above. Their family appellations are more numerous than those of the Kulinas, amounting, according to Colebrooke, to fifty.† "The customs of the Shrotriyas and Banshaj," says Ward, "are not different from those of other Bráhmans, except in their marriages: the son of a Banshaj makes a present of money to obtain the daughter of a Shrotriya. The greatest number of learned men in Bengal at present are found among the Rádhis ‡ and Vaidikas. A person who performs religious ceremonies according to the formulæ of some particular Véda, is called a Rig-véda, Yajur-véda, Sáma-véda, or Atharva-véda Bráhman."§ Connection with a particular Véda has not been a matter of choice with particular Bráhmans for the last two thousand years. It is more than doubtful whether representatives of the four Védas respectively are now found among the Shrotriyas or any other class of Bráhmans of Bengal, all of whom are said to be Sáma-védis of the Kuthuma Shákhá. Though Sanskṛit learning, in the native sense of the term, is declining in Bengal, as in all the other provinces of India, it contains some distinguished Sanskṛit scholars, as of the Shrotriyas, Paṇḍit Táránátha Tarkaváchaspati Bhaṭṭácharya; and of the Vanshajas, Ishwara-chandra Bánárjí Vidyáságara. Raghumaṇi Vidyáthushaṇa, Purohita of the Rájá of Nadia, a great patron of learning, who was a great expounder of Hindu law-books, was a Shrotriya. He asked Government to devote his remuneration for the work performed in this respect in its behalf to a Sanskṛit College. To the Bansh-

* Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, vol. v., p 59; *Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii., p. 59.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. v., p. 65.

‡ The Rádhis may be Kulínas, Shrotriyas, or Banshaj.

§ Ward, vol. i., p. 83.

Shrotriyas also belonged the learned paṇḍit of Sir William Jones.—The celebrated Rájá Rámamohan Ráy was a Banshaj.

(5.) *The Varendras.*

The *Varendra* Bráhmans, or Bráhmans of *Varendra*, it is said in the *Calcutta Review*, are sub-divided into four grades similar to those of the Rádhís, but under somewhat different names; for the official report quoted above, they are said to be divided into two classes—*Kulínas* and *Kagas*. Polygamy is not so excessive among them as among the Rádhís. Their family appellations are Maitra, Bhíma or Káli, Rudra Shunyamani, Láhuḍí, Bháduḍí, Sadhuvageshi, Bhadura (admitted by the election of the other seven).* They are said to be of the Sandilya, Bháradvája, Sávarna, Vátsya, and Káshyapa Gotras. The *Varendra Shrotriyas* are of two classes—the *Sudha Shrotriyas*, of eight, and the *Kashta Shrotriyas*, of eighty-four, family appellations.† All of them are Sáma-védís of the Kuthuma Shákhá.

(6, 7.) *The Saptashatis.*

The *Saptashatis* are the descendants of the original Bráhmans of Bengal. They are sometimes called *Vaidikas*, though they have little claim to Védik learning. It is said they have only one Gotra, that of Vájishletha. They are divided into the *Páschátya*, or Western, and the *Dakshinatya*, or Southern, which for all social purposes are separate castes.‡ Ward says that originally they were all equal in honour; and their ignorance was the cause of Adisháva's application to Vírasingh, the king of Kányakubja, for other Bráhmans.§ He also states that (some of) the Vaidiks are said to have fled from Orissa, for fear of being made *Vámachárís*, of the "left-handed class," or followers of the Tantras. Few of the Saptashatis, I have learned at Calcutta, are acquainted with Sanskṛit books. Their studies are confined to Grammar, Alankára, and to the Dashakarma, or the ten of the most commonly used sacraments of the Hindus.‖ They gain their livelihood by attending at Shrád-

* *Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii., p. 59; *Gazette of India*, March 30, 1867, p. 283; Colebrooke in Asiatic Researches, vol. v., p. 65.

† Colebrooke, *ut supra*.

‡ *Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii., pp. 59, 60.

§ The learned Páudit Táránátha Tarkaváchaspati says that it was from inability to perform sacrifice from ignorance of Védik learning. The Rev. Mr. Long suspects that it was from the prevalence of Buddhism in Bengal.

‖ Ward, vol. i., p. 84.

dhas and other general ceremonies. Few of them engage in secular employments.

(8.) *The Vaidikas.*

Besides the Vaidika Bráhmans now referred to, there are other Bráhmans denominated Vaidikas in the Bengal provinces. Dr. James Taylor says—" The Vaidika Bráhmans were originally the priests, or readers of the five tribes of Kanoja Bráhmans who came into the district. As the original Bráhmans of Bengal had been exiled by Adishura on account of their ignorance of religious ceremonies, so the Vaidikas, it is alleged, were excluded by Ballála Séna from the ranks of Kulína, Shrotriya, and Kápá, into which he divided the Rádhí and Varéndra Bráhmans. This is the version of their history which is usually given by the Ghaṭṭakas; but the Vaidikas themselves assert that they opposed the right assumed by Ballála Séna of re-modelling the castes, and therefore declined conforming to the distinctions conferred on their brethren. The Vaidikas are pretty numerous in Vikrampura, and are chiefly pandits and astronomers. Forming but one class, they are less fettered by the rules and usages of caste, and, with regard to the marriages of their daughters, they are not subject to the pecuniary restrictions imposed on their less fortunate brethren, the Rádhí and Varendra Bráhmans."*

(9.) *The Agradánís.*

Of these, Ward writes as follows:—" The *Agrádáni* Bráhmans, of whom there are four or five hundred families in Bengal, by receiving the sesamum, gold, calves, bedstead, &c., at the *préta-shráddha*, have sunk in caste.† They marry and visit amongst themselves only. It is singular that, after the Shastra has directed these things to be given to Bráhmans, the reception of them should involve persons in dishonour."‡ Yet the law-books have precisely forbidden the acceptance of the articles mentioned at the particular Shráddha at which they are received.

It may be here noticed that in no province in India is so much money uselessly and injuriously spent in Shráddhas as in Bengal, where thousands, and even hundreds of thousands of rupees, are known to have been spent in the vain attempt to better the circumstances of the spirits which have returned to God who gave them, and who

* Topography of Dacca, p. 228.

† The *préta* is the first of the Shráddhas.

‡ Ward, vol. i., pp. 85-87.

have to answer before his impartial tribunal for the deeds done in the body.*

(10.) *The Maraipora Bráhmans.*

The *Maraiporas* are the Bráhmans who repeat the mantras over the bodies of the dead when they are about to be burned. Mr. Ward says, they "receive a fee of from one to ten rupees, lose their honor by officiating on these occasions, and are compelled to visit and marry among themselves."† The degradation is common to all the Bráhmans who perform similar services throughout India. It is owing to the caste impurity which they are supposed to contract. In a like way, the Parsis who carry the dead to their Dukhmas (or Towers of Silence) become a separate caste, only freely intermixing and marrying within their own body.

(11.) *The Rapali and other Shúdra—Serving Bráhmans.*

The *Rapali Bráhmans* get their designation and low position from their becoming officiating priests to *Rapalis*, a Shúdra caste, who weave sackcloth, manufacture ropes, twine bags, and who are also employed as cattle-drivers. Other Bráhmans get their designation and humiliation from their serving other classes of Shúdras, as the *Siwavuakara* (goldsmiths), *Gopala* (herdsmen), *Dhoba* (washermen), *Sutradhara* (joiners), *Kalu* (oilmen), *Bágádí* (fishermen of a particular class and pálkhi-bearers), *Dullira* (bearers of dúlí), *Pátiní* (ferrymen), *Jalika* (fishermen using the net), *Shaundika* (spirit-distillers), *Doma* (representatives of an old degraded caste mentioned in the Sanskrit body), &c., &c.‡ In some other districts of India similar services are performed by Bráhmans without much altering their position in caste.

(12.) *The Daivajna Bráhmans.*

The *Daivajnas*, prognosticators and astrologers, who cast nativities, compose almanacs, discover stolen goods, are also degraded in rank in Bengal.§

* See on this matter Ward, vol. iii., pp. 360, 361; various notices in *Allen's Asiatic Journal*, as that of Rádhakanta Déb's mother; and *Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. 1846, p. 642.

† Ward, vol. i., p. 84.

‡ Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 234.

§ Ward, vol. i., p. 85.

(13.) *The Madyadoshi.*

The *Madyadoshi*, nominally drunkard Bráhmans, are said to be the descendants of Virúpáksha, a *Vírabhúmí* Bráhman, who, although notoriously addicted to intoxication, was famous as a religious mendicant to whom the working of miracles was attributed. They are not a numerous body of Bráhmans.

(14.) *Vyásokta Bráhmans.*

The *Vyásokta Bráhmans* are said to be the descendants of a Shúdra who was constituted a Bráhman by the word of Vyása. They are numerous in Bengal, and form a distinct class by themselves, not much respected by the other Bráhmans.

(15.) *The Pír A'lí Brahmans.*

The story of the present caste position of these native gentlemen (among the most considerate and honorable of Indian patriots), though most ridiculous, is yet so characteristic of the spirit of caste, that a place must be here found for its insertion. I give it as prepared, in answer to my inquiries, by Mr. Shib Chandra Bánárjí at the request of the Rev. W. Fyfe.

What is the Tagore family? Why is this family known amongst the Hindu community as "Pir Álí"? Why is such an illustrious family separated from the Bráhmans, from amongst whom alone they must receive their daughters-in-law and their sons-in-law, and yet these latter must consider themselves as lowered in the estimation of other Bráhmans the moment they form matrimonial alliances with the Tagore family?

"In the year 994 of the Bengal era, Adishura, the first king of the illustrious race of *Sénas* who swayed the sceptre of Bengal, invited five Bráhmans of Kanauj to come and settle in Bengal, and teach his subjects to be truly religious according to the precepts of Hinduism. Of these five Bráhmans, Bhattanáráyaṇa is the progenitor of the present Tagore family.

"Bhattanáráyaṇa had sixteen sons. Náru or Narasingha (one of the sixteen) is the one from whom the Tagore family are descended.

"The eighth in descent from Náru (Narasingha), or ninth from Bhattanáráyaṇa, was Dharanidhara.

"The grandson of Dharanidhara was Dhananjaya, who held the office of judge in the reign of Zakhan Sén.

"The tenth in descent from Dhananjaya was Purushottama, to

whom the name 'Pír Áli' was first applied, and that for the following reason:—Purushottama was an inhabitant of Jessore, where there was a case which was to be investigated by an Amín named Pír Áli Khán. Those who were interested in this investigation, and all the well-to-do inhabitants of Jessore, flocked round this Amín Pír Áli Khán, to see how he would conduct his investigations, and to aid him with any information that might be needed for the occasion. It so turned out that some of the gentlemen of Jessore said to Pír Áli Khán that 'smelling is half-eating.' A few days after, Pír Áli Khán asked some of the gentlemen who had enlightened his mind with the Hindú belief that 'smelling is half-eating,' to see him at his house. When the gentlemen of Jessore had all assembled in Pír Áli Khán's house, that pious Muhammadan, fired no doubt with the sincere zeal of propagating his faith, ordered his savoury dinner to be served up, so that the Hindú gentlemen of Jessore might have their nostrils regaled with the odours of a Muhammadan dinner, and this being tantamount to 'half-eating,' as a matter of course the Hindús would lose their caste!

"Those who thus lost caste by being entangled in the wily meshes of Pír Áli Khán, are called '*Pír A'lí*.' Some of those who thus lost caste became converts to the Muslim faith, but Purushottam chose to remain as an outcaste Hindú 'Pír Álí.'

"The fifth in descent from Purushottam (*i.e.*, the twenty-sixth from the parent stock Bhattanáráyaṇa) was Panchanan, who left his paternal seat in Jessore, and settled in Govindpur, the name then given to the place where Fort William now stands. Panchanan was one of the most distinguished officers of the British Government in those days, and, by dint of energy and prudence, probity and industry, accumulated a competence, and earned for himself the title of *Thákur*, which literally means a god or baron, and has been corrupted in English into 'Tagore.'

"Jayaram (the son of Panchanan) was appointed Settlement Amín of the 24-Pargannás, and, having conducted his duties with great credit to himself, and great profit to his employers, accumulated wealth, the whole of which, however, he lost (with the exception of Rs. 13,000 in cash) at the time of the capture of Calcutta.

"The British Government bought the house of Jayaram Tagore of Govindpur, as the site of the present Fort William, and so he had to take up quarters elsewhere.

"Jayaram Tagore removed to Pattoríaghatta. He departed this life in the year of our Lord 1762. He is the great-grandfather of Dwarkanáth Tagore and Prasanna Kumár Tagore. The former was the son of Rammani Tagore, and the latter of Gopímohan Tagore."

From all this it would appear that the Tagores, in the course of time, have smelt something better than the savoury dinner of a Muhammadan Amín. It is not to be wondered at that they should be among the first in Bengal to seek to loosen the bonds of caste.

Besides the classes of Bráhmans noticed, there are in Bengal considerable numbers of Kányakubja, Sanaḍhya, Sarvaríya, Maithila, and Uḍíya Bráhmans, who have in late times come from the provinces to which they properly belong.

On the Bráhmans of Bengal Mr. Ward makes the following general remarks :—

"Not only in these last instances are many of the Bráhmans fallen into disgrace, but, if this order is to be judged by the Hindu law, they are all fallen. We are assured that, formerly, Bráhmans were habitually employed in austere devotion and abstinence, but now they are worldly men, seeking service with the unclean, dealing in articles prohibited by the Sháistra, &c. This general corruption of manners is, in a great measure, to be attributed to the change of Government: the Hindu kings used to enforce upon all castes a strict attention to idolatrous ceremonies, on pain of corporal punishment; and they supported great multitudes of Bráhmans, and patronized them in the pursuit of learning. Having lost this patronage, as well as the fear of losing their honour and of being punished, they neglect many of the forms of their religion, and apply themselves to things, in their apprehension, more substantial. A number of Bráhmans, however, may be found, especially at a distance from large towns, who despise worldly employments, and spend their lives in idolatrous ceremonies, or in visiting holy places, repeating the name of the god, &c.

"As respects learning also, the Bráhmans are equally sunk as in ceremonial purity: they are, it is true, the depositaries of all the knowledge their country contains, but it must be remembered that a Bráhman who can read what his forefathers wrote, is now scarcely to be found in Bengal.

"Many Bráhmans are employed by Europeans and rich Hindús; rájás still maintain a number; others are employed in the courts of justice; some find a subsistence from the offerings where a celebrated image is set up; many are employed as paṇḍits to Europeans; others pursue a mercantile life; while a number become farmers, employing Shúdras to cultivate their fields, that they may avoid the sin of killing insects with the ploughshare; others are drapers, shopkeepers, &c. The Shástra expressly forbids their selling milk, iron, lac, salt, clarified butter, sesamum, &c.; yet many Bráhmans now deal in these things without regard to the Shástra, or the opinions of stricter Hindús, and add thereto the sale of skins, spirits, and flesh. A Bráhman who is accountary will write the accounts, and receive the allowance called dustúrrí upon every joint of beef purchased by his employer, without a qualm, but if you mention his killing a cow, he claps his hands on his ears in the utmost haste, as though he were shocked beyond expression. I have heard of a Bráhman at Calcutta who was accustomed to procure beef for the butchers; many traffic in spirituous liquors.

"It has become a practice in Bengal for men of property to promise annual presents to Bráhmans, especially to such as are reputed learned; these presents very frequently descend from father to son: they consist of corn, or garments, or money, according to the promise of the giver; and instances occur of a Bráhman's receiving as much as a thousand rupees from one donor. These annual donations are generally given at the festivals.

"Other sources of support arise from collecting disciples and becoming their spiritual guides; from pretending to remove diseases by incantations, repeating the name of some god, &c.; many are employed as ghaṭṭakas in contracting marriages. Large presents are also received at the numerous festivals, and it is said that no fewer than five thousand Bráhmans subsist in Calcutta on the bounty of rich Hindús.

"But the greatest means of support are the *Devottaras*, *viz.*, houses, lands, pools, orchards, &c., given in perpetuity to the gods; and the *Bráhmottaras*, similar gifts to the Bráhmans. The donors were former kings, and men of property, who expected heaven as the reward for their piety. It is still not uncommon for houses, trees, pools, &c., to be offered to these celestial and terrestrial deities; but it is far from being so frequent as formerly; and, indeed, the Honourable Company, I am informed, forbid this appropriation of lands; as the revenue is

thereby injured. When a gift is made as a devottara, the donor, in presenting it, entreats the officiating priests who own the image to worship the god with the produce of what he gives. Sometimes a son, on the death of his father and mother, to rescue them from misery, presents to his spiritual guide, or to the Bráhmans, a house, or some other gift. Formerly poor Bráhmans solicited alms of rich land-owners, who gave them portions of land in perpetuity. In these ways, the devottaras and Bráhm have accumulated till the produce amounts to an enormous sum. I have been informed that, in the district of Burdwan, the property applied to the support of idolatry amounts to the annual rent of fifteen or twenty lakhs of rupees. It has been lately ascertained, as my native informants say, that the lands given to the gods and Bráhmans by the different rájás, in the zilla of Nádía, amounts to eighteen lakhs of bígas, or about 600,000 acres. When all these things are considered, it will appear that the clergy in catholic countries devour little of national wealth compared with the Bráhmans."*

As Mr. Ward had a minute and accurate knowledge of the different classes of natives in Bengal, these statements are to be depended upon as descriptive of the Bráhmans of his time and his locality. Considerable improvement, however, has occurred in the Bráhmanical classes near the mouths of the Ganges during the last two-score years. This is the result of the diffusion among them of education, of the government of the English, of intercourse with Europeans, and last, but not least, of the influences of the Christian Missions. Some of the Bengal Bráhmans are distinguished for their learning, and are palpably advancing in culture and civilization. It was said by the saintly Henry Martyn that "if ever he lived to see a native Bengálí Bráhman converted to God, he would see the nearest approach he had yet witnessed to the resurrection of the dead." Even this great phenomenon has been repeatedly

* Ward, vol. i., pp. 85-88.

witnessed—in connexion with the labours of Carey, Marshman, and their successors of the Church of England and London Society's Missionaries, and more especially of Dr. Duff, and the Scotch Missionaries associated with him in his great evangelistic and educational enterprize at Calcutta.*

10.—*The Assamese and South-East Border Bráhmans.*

The province of Assam was late in being brought under Aryan influence. The tribes by which it is inhabited are almost all of Turanian origin, and belong to the Sub-Himalayan immigration, the languages of which began some years ago to attract particular attention. Large numbers of them, notwithstanding this fact, have entered within the pale of Hinduism, propagated among them in modern times by Bráhmans and devotees.

Speaking of the province of Assam, a writer well acquainted with its population gives the following information :—

1. "A number of the *Rádhí Bráhmans* of Bengal have immigrated into the province."

2. "Those usually known as the *Assamese Bráhmans* are *Vaidikas* of the ancient kingdom of Kámrúp. Some of the Vaidiks have become *Varṇa* [that is, ministrants to the mixed classes], and in consequence have degraded themselves in the eyes of their brethren. They instruct the impure tribes, which is considered a great piece of meanness to which none of the Vaidiks of Bengal have submitted.

3. "There is also a class of Bráhmans usually known as *Maro-*

* For a list of the converts of this Mission up to 1854, see the graceful and interesting memorial of the Rev. John Pousie prefixed to a selection of his discourses lately published at Calcutta.

Singho Bráhmans. They are commonly employed in all low offices, totally unconnected with religion."*

The Bráhmans of the adjoining territories are much in the same position as those now mentioned. While they propagate Bráhmanism, after a sort, they sacrifice many of its institutes to obtain a livelihood. Referring to those of *Kachár*, it is said, in a valuable report lately published, "there are a few Bráhmans, the purity of whose caste is generally doubtful, and some families of *Dattas* and *Devas*" [from Bengal].† Among the tribe of Kashyas alone, the Bráhmans seem to have made no progress.‡

On the propagation of Hinduism by Bráhmans, and devotees among the border tribes now referred to, the following passage throws some light :—The Manípurís became Hindús about one hundred years ago, when Ghorit Nawarj, the founder of the family of the present rájá, was converted by a wandering Sanyásí, who then discovered the purity of the origin of the Manípurí people. As, however, they had fallen away from the orthodox faith and practice, he caused the rájá and his principal adherents to make expiation, and to bathe with certain ceremonies in a river which flows near the capital ; after which he declared that the whole people were received back into the Kshatrí caste, to which they had formerly belonged. This conversion, and a similar occurrence among the Kachárís mentioned below, are curious instances of a kind of fiction which probably was in more common use in the earlier ages of Hinduism,

* Rushton's Gazetteer for 1841, vol. ii., p. 86.

† Principal Heads of the History and Statistics of the Dacca Division, &c., p. 329.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 285.

and without which, perhaps, it could not have relaxed its rigid principles, nor received within its pale the indigenous races of India its adherents had conquered.*

There are but few Bráhmans in any of the districts of Kachár ; and in the hill portions of that province there are said to be none.†

11.—*The Oḍradésha or Utkala Bráhmans.*

The *Oḍras* are mentioned in the Smṛiti of Manu as Kshatriyas who had gradually sunk into the lowest of the four classes "by their omission of holy rites and seeing no Bráhmans."‡ The inference to be made from the notice taken of them (especially when they are viewed in connexion with the other peoples there mentioned), is that they were long in being brought under Aryan influence. Their country, however, in consequence of its numerous tírthas and temples, has become "exalted" or "famous," a quality supposed to be indicated in its synonym of *Utkala.* The boundaries of the Uḍiya language are but imperfectly known. Dr. George Smith, in his well-digested and highly useful Annals of Indian Administration, says—"Uriya extends along the sea-coast from the Subanrikha to near Ganjam; landwards its boundary is uncertain, it melts gradually into the Khond and other rude hill dialects, and co-exists with them. In Bastár and the neighbourhood, some classes speak Uriya and some Khond."§ "*Or Dés* or *Oresa,* the old original seat of the *or* or *odra* tribe," says Mr. A. Stirling, whose "Description of Orissa

* Principal Heads and Statistics of the Dacca Division, p. 331.

† *Ibid*, p. 334.

‡ See vol. i. of this work, pp. 59-63.

§ Transactions of the Asiatic Soc., vol. xv., p. 163.

Proper or *Kaṭṭak*" is both an able and interesting document, "(had) the Rasikalia river marking its southern, and the Kans Bans, which passes near Soro, in latitude about 21° 10′ N., its northern, extreme ; but in the process of migration and conquest, the *Uria* nation carried their name and language over a vast extent of territory, including, besides Orissa properly so-called, a portion of Bengal and Telingáná."*

Mr. Stirling says further on—" The Puráṇas and Upapuráṇas are lavish in their praises of Utkal Khaṇḍa, the real etymology of which word I apprehend to be 'the famous portion or country,' and not 'the famous country of Kálá,' as rendered by a very high authority. It is declared to be the favorite abode of the Dévatás, and to boast a population composed, more than half, of Bráhmans. The work called the Kapila Sanhitá, in which Bharadwája Muni explains to his inquiring pupils the origin, history, and claims to sanctity of all the remarkable Khetras of Oriṣa, opens with the following panegyric—" Of all the regions of the earth, Bharata Kohand is the most distinguished, and of all the countries of Bharata Kohand, Utkala boasts the highest renown. Its whole extent is one uninterrupted tírtha (place of pilgrimage). Its happy inhabitants live secure of a reception into the world of spirits, and those who even visit it, and bathe in its sacred rivers, obtain remission of their sins, though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall describe adequately its sacred streams, its temples, its Khetras, its fragrant flowers, and all the merits and advantages of a sojourn in such a land ? What necessity, indeed, can there be for enlarging on the praises of a

* Annals (1866-67), p. 61.

region which the Dévatás themselves delight to inhabit? Hindus of modern times, however, freely admit that the estimation in which Orissa is or was held is to be ascribed entirely to its temples, places of pilgrimage, and its Bráhmanical institutions. At all events, the European observer will soon discover that, notwithstanding its Puranic celebrity, the soil of the country is generally poor and unfruitful, all its natural productions of an inferior quality, and that its inhabitants rank the lowest, in the scale of moral and intellectual excellence, of any people on this side of India."*

Of the language of Orissa, Mr. Sterling gives precise information. It is a "tolerably pure bháshá (dialect) of the Sanskṛit, resembling closely the Bengálí, but far remote apparently from any affinity with the Telinga. Most of the titles of which the natives are so fond are pure Sanskṛit; more than three-fourths of the nouns and roots of verbs may be traced to that language, and its few simple inflections are obviously founded on the rules of the Vyákaraṇa. The basis of the alphabet is the common Hindí or Nágari character, somewhat disguised, however, by a peculiarity in the mode of writing it. In the direction of Bengal, the Uria language is used tolerably pure, following the line of the coast, as far as the Hijelli and Tamluk divisions at least. I have been credibly informed that in the Misadal parganná all revenue accounts are written on tál-patra, or leaves of the palmyra tree, in that dialect. On the western side of the Midnapúr district, the two languages begin to intermingle, at Rani Sarai about twenty miles north of the Subanrekha. A very mixed and impure

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., pp. 166-7.

bháshá is used in the zemindari of Naraingaḍh and the hill-estates beyond it, which improves a little at Midnapúr (itself situated in a Jangle Mehal called Bhanjabhúm), and at that town becomes more decidedly Bengáli. The inhabitants of the country on the north of Kirpoy (officially termed the Jangle Mehals) probably speak the language of the Bengal province quite correct and unmixed. To the westward the Gond and Uria languages pass into each other on the estates of Sonepúr, the rájá of which country informed me that half his people speak one, and half the other dialect. On the south we find the first traces of the Telinga about Ganjam, where a different pronunciation may be observed. The people there call themselves *Udias* and *Wodias*, instead of Urías." The language of Orissa Proper still, however, prevails at Baurwa, forty-five miles south of Ganjam, on the lowlands of the coast, and as far as the large estate of Kimedi in the hills, beyond which the Telinga begins to predominate, at Chikakol it is the prevailing dialect, and in Vizagapatam Telinga only is spoken in the open country. In the mountains of the interior, however, the dialect of the Odraf is used by the bulk of the inhabitants, from Gumsar down to Palcondah, Brastar, and Jayapúr.

"I know of no original composition deserving any notice in the language of Orissa, excepting the epic poem called the Kanji Kaviri Pothi, which celebrates the conquest of Kanchwaram, one of the most distinguished events in the modern history of the country. There is no deficiency, however, of translations of the more esteemed writings of the great Hindu authors, both religious and scientific, and every temple of importance has its legend or Sthán Purán, every almanac-maker his Pánji, and Bansábali, composed in the local tongue."*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 11.

Of the divisions of the Uḍiya Bráhmans, I have found it extremely difficult to obtain reliable information, though at various times and places I have examined considerable numbers of them respecting this matter. The following account of them, I have drawn up principally on the authority of Shrímukha Lamanta, a learned member of their community whom I had lately the pleasure of meeting at Calcutta.

(1.) *The Sháshaní.*

These are Kulínas, principally of the Shukla Yajur-véda and Madhyandina Shákhá, while there are among them a few of the Krishna Yajur-véda. There are among them the following twelve sub-divisions :—

1. The Sávanta.	5. The Kárá.	9. The Senápati.
2. The Mishra.	6. The Achárya.	10. The Párnágrahí.
3. The Nanda.	7. The Satapastí.	11. The Nishank.
4. The Paté.	8. The Bédí.	12. The Báinipati.

They eat with one another in the same *pankti*, or row, on equal terms ; but with other Bráhmans they only eat sweetmeats. Many of them are holders of land. The Nanda Bráhmans on the southern coasts of Orissa and the Telingáná country occupy an important position.

(2.) *The Shrotriya.*

These Bráhmans perform religious services and ceremonies for others. They have the four following sub-divisions :—

1. *Shrotriyas,* properly so-called, who confine their services to other Bráhmans and Kayasthas.

2. *Sonárbaní* Bráhmans, who officiate among the lower class of goldsmiths called Sonárbaní.

3. *Télí* Bráhmans, who officiate among *Télís* (oilmen), *Tamulís* (dealers in pán-súpáre), and *Dhobís* (washermen), &c.

4. *Agrabaksha* Bráhmans, who, in their unscrupulous acceptance of gifts, especially of the first offerings at Shrádhas, resemble the Agradání Bráhmans of Bengal. They are probably the Bráhmans of whom Mr. Stirling writes :—"Inferior Bráhmans are those called Devalaka and Gráma Yájak, who attend the village gor, and perform funeral obsequies for hire."*

* A. Tracey, vol. xv., p. 198.

None of these Bráhmans either eat or intermarry with one another because of their supposed difference in rank.

(3.) *The Panda.*

They are divided into two sub-divisions—the *Pandas*, who are the encomiasts of the great religious shrines of Orisá, and the officious guides of pilgrims; and the *Padahárí*, who live in Mathras, like Mahantas or superior devotees, and who are consequently more restricted in their wanderings.

The principal names of the *Pandas* are Dája and Tipádí, Paya, Vághí, Muori, Devatá, Paní, Pádhá, Vahalí, Sálú.

(4.) *The Ghátíya.*

The *Ghátíya* get their livelihood from their services at the holy rivers to which pilgrims proceed for ablution. They are divided into two classes—those who live near Gháts, and those who conduct pilgrims to Naví Gayá, and to the river Vaitaraní, &c.

(5.) *The Mahasthána.*

The *Mahasthàn* or *Mastán* Bráhmans.—"There is another class," says Mr. Stirling, "known commonly in Orissa by the name of Mahasthán or Mastán Bráhmans, who form a very considerable and important class of the rural population. Besides cultivating with their own hands gardens of the kachu (*Arum Indicum*), cocoanut, and Areca, and the piper betel or pán, they very frequently follow the plough, from which circumstance they are called Halia Bráhmans, and they are found everywhere in great numbers in the situation of mukadams and serberakars, or hereditary renters of villages. Those who handle the plough glory in their occupation, and affect to despise the Béd or Véda Bráhmans who live upon alms. Though held in no estimation whatever by the pious Hindu, and although not free from some of the vices of the Bráhman character, *viz.*, audacity, stubbornness, and mendacity, they are unquestionably the most enterprizing, intelligent, and industrious of all the Company's ryots or renters of málguzari land in Orissa. Their moral and intellectual worth, indeed, seems to rise exactly in proportion to their emancipation from those shackles of prejudice and superstitious observances which narrow the minds and debase the natures of the higher orthodox class. I have not been able to trace satisfactorily the origin and history of these Mastán Bráhmans, who, I am informed, resemble exactly the cultivating Bráhmans of Tirahút and Behar, but

the point is one well worthy of investigation."* These cultivating Bráhmans, it will have been seen, have their congeners in most of the provinces of India.

(6.) *The Kalingas.*

An ancient people called the *Kalingas* are mentioned as connected with the countries near the sources of the Ganges.† The *Kalinga Bráhmans*, however, belong in designation to the newer though still ancient *Kalinga*, extending along the coast of South-Eastern India from the lower portions of the Krishna to Kalingapattana, at which last-mentioned place they are still to be found. My learned friend Dr. Bháu Dájí, who lately visited them in their habitat, has informed me that they profess to belong to the Kanva Shákhá of the white Yajur-véda; but that they have almost altogether abandoned Bráhmanical *áchára*. They support themselves by agricultural operations, driving of bullock-carts, and other similar employments, and speak the Orisá or Uḍíya language.

The sects prevalent among the Uḍíya Bráhmans are the Shaiva, the Gáṇapatya, the Mádhava, the Shákta, and the Vallabháchárya to a small extent. These castes do not intermarry. Of the Orissa Bráhmans in general, Mr. Stirling expresses an unfavourable opinion:—"If they cannot gain an adequate livelihood by the regular modes, they may eat at a feast in the house of a Shúdra, or receive charity from one of that class ; also they may cut firewood from the hills and jungles, and sell it. Should these resources fail, they may, after fasting for three days, steal a little rice from the house of a Bráhman or any other, in order that the king, hearing of their distress by this means, may assign something for their maintenance. Should all these expedients prove insufficient, they may engage in the duties of the Kshatriya and Vaishya, but as soon as they have collected a little property, they must repent and return to their original occupation."‡

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 199. † See vol. i., p. 186.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 198.

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